Add Mss 45779, Indian correspondence, 265 folios, 147 pages, microfilm, Adam Matthew reel 21
ff1-81 to Cranborne/Salisbury:
ff82-135 Northcote/Iddesleigh;
ff136-95 Louis Mallet;
ff196-265 various to Napier and Ettrick and Lady Napier

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

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

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

$5$

Ld Cranbourne 18 Augst 1866 [Cranborne]
We must look at what was the intention of the Royal India Commission. Lord Stanley

unsigned letter draft, ff7-7v, pencil

$f7$

Ld Cranbourne
As the Session of Parlt is approaching, it has occurred to me
 touched w that you might possibly afford most
valuable assistance in advocating those administrative
Reforms which are necessary for giving effect to Public
Health improvements in India -
I was impressed with this on reading your most able
speech on the Orissa famine. We know perfectly well that
the P. H. service is just in as great a chaos as was the
Orissa administration & that at the present time
there is just as little personal responsibility in the
former as there was in the latter -
Crowds of people have died in India since the Orissa
famine from Cholera including many of H. M.’s troops
And it would be just as difficult to fasten the
responsibility of those deaths on the right man as it was
in the case of the O. famine -
The prevention of famine indeed has always been
an important part of P.H. service -
The subject is too long & too important for a
letter. But such is the interest I feel in it & so
high do I estimate your influence in obtaining a
P. H. code for India that weak as I am, I should
be very glad to have the opportunity of discussing the
subject with you when you could conveniently do so -
ff7v {this is too faint to read}

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

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

One of my reasons is: - your noble speech about the India Famine at the Lord Mayor’s Meeting: - another, of course, that we hail the reign at the I.O. of one who is a real workman & born ruler of men: - a third that I have now been engaged for 15 years in Indian Sanitary administration: & that a great part of its official & private documents passed thro’ my hands.

The first part of my little book has grown out of this: the second out of this dreadful famine.

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

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

Pray believe me
ever your faithful servant
Florence Nightingale

(The above in pencil)

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

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

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

ff16-24v, Calcutta, December 11, 1874, from Lord Northbrook to Lord Salisbury in reply to the letter from FN forwarded to him by Lord Salisbury
For criticism 19/1/75
Dear Lord Salisbury

I cannot thank you enough for your great kindness in sending, nor Lord Northbrook enough for his great consideration of the Soldiers’ Health question in writing so admirable & thoroughly capital a letter -

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

For instance:
Fort William - Hospital Water supply:
“pure water in carts from the Calcutta Mains” No doubt they will go on to that first requisite for a perfect Hospital pure water in pipes & cisterns ad libitum? - not in Carts like Champagne.

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

Barrackpoor the same
Hazareebagh

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

I/We Sanitarians feel on this side the world, only very humble/timid - for it is no business of mine/ours, and if it is right to do it it will be done - in saying that Hazareebagh is just one of the places - a naturally healthy situation, in a good Strategical position, in a cheap well supplied province: where there ought to be the best of Barracks - & in asking whether they would/ such might not be built for your moveable Reserves whence you may any day withdraw all your fighting men & leave only women, invalids & children to keep the Barracks aired without risk of their being attacked by mobs or insurgents: whereas, in front of great native Capitals, can you in troublous times withdraw a man without strong remonstrances from your political Agents, & frightening all the non-fighting folk out of their wits - But you will tell the shoemaker not to go beyond his last.
Umballa

I know I deserve the same stricture & a great deal more from you for asking about the Water supply at this Station.

will not the Raja of Puttiala give as much water as the Queen & all her European troops & subjects in India can drink?

and will he ever ask or accept if he can help it a sixpence for the water?

for is he not a loyal Indian prince and a gentleman?

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

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

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

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

And if the Viceroy were to say to his Engineer:

(postponing irrigation or navigation for the present) send in a project for drinking water for the Umballa Barracks: will not the thing will be done?

If he says to the Raja of Puttiala: “our
Umballa soldiers want water what will you take for your water springs?" will not H.H. say, as the Hittite did to Abraham: "the land is thine: it is worth so much - but what is that between me & thee?"

Will/ May not Lord Northbrook then buy the springs, & do what he likes with them? [You will remember how this Raja’s grandfather dealt with Sir Geo: Clerk when Ld Ellenborough bought Kupowlie Hill to house his troops returned from Cabul. The spirit in which the grandson will act, if rightly handled, is said to be the same.]

Peshawur: the most flagrant case in India: what am I to say that will not ‘sentir della speziera’ only as I ought to smell: I must borrow expressions far more abject in their humility than the Hittite’s: as when I heard a Greek peasant on the Salamis shore say to Mr. Wyse that “God Almighty was an Englishmen’ [No compliment could ever beat that for depth & point & the poor man meant nothing more profane than Homer.]
In such a flagrant case then as Peshawur, would it be possible to turn the flank of so costly a difficulty?

to have your main Punjab frontier Garrison Reserve, East of the Indus, say at Rawul Pindee with a good Bridge over & Tunnel under the Indus - defended by small but strong works at each end - a Railway to Peshawur - & no more troops at Peshawur than can hold securely a small strong isolated Fort, so strong & small that the Garrison can be relieved, weekly if necessary, by Railway - from Cherat - the Indus passage Forts - or Rawul Pindee a strong moveable force at Cherat or anywhere else where the water is good, & site healthy West of the Indus - Pallas herself might well shrink from giving her own opinion in such a case - But this is experienced Indian opinion. If however it ought to be done we know it will be done under the two present heads of the Indian Empire.
It is the apparent impossibility of making Peshawur even tolerably healthy except at an unprecedented & intolerable cost that causes these suggestions.

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

Kamptee: like Peshawur: what can one say/ ask but something like the above which is entirely out of/side the duty of us Sanitarians to say/ ask at all? viz - should there not be an entire new arrangement of your force for the whole province? but again, if there should then it will be done - “The Barracks are not good, & the Hospital is bad” indeed. Will reporting make them better. or save them from ultimate condemnation?
As regards intemperance:
most truly are we to be congratulated that the Temperance movement is spreading -
For is not spirit - drinking the great curse of the British soldier?
If he could be weaned from it by supplying him with good tea & coffee & iced water, in his Recreation rooms, even at the public expense, the saving in efficiency would amply compensate the Public.

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

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

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

f31, January 25, 1875, in acknowledgement that permission to forward FN’s letter has been granted
ff32-5, May 10, 1875, re difficulties in getting accurate financial reports of work in India

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

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

[9:755]

f38
Copy.

IRRIGATION RETURNS Private
INDIA

SOUTH ST

PARK LANE, W.

Oct. 5 /75

Dear Lord Salisbury,

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

[end 10:]

You said that you could not be satisfied with the present position of the question. And the Irrigation matter is
one which
which cannot drop. Therefore

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

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

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

Pardon my troublesomeness & let me go on

Irrigation Enquiry

Might not the enquiry be by a Commission, if that is the shortest & best way of getting at authenticated facts? bearing in mind that what is wanted is: not theory nor opinions, but facts & the results of actual experience. that therefore no special or professional qualifications are required in the Inquirer, beyond those necessary to enable him

It has been suggested that the Commission might be of Sir Andrew Clarke; & one good Civilian?
him to collect & present his facts (great qualifications indeed! perfect independence & impartiality & freedom from bias, as to prevailing or fashionable theories - with industry & promptitude, so that the inquiry may not, (as some of its predecessors have - have they not?) - run on for years and official generations. )

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

- each local Governm't. & Administration x collecting the replies, & returning them to the Commissioner.

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

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

x Note: that the information is wanted from practical & regular cultivators: not from wild tribes: so that as a rule the Superintendents of Hill & Forest Tracts need not be asked for returns: - need they?
B. Special facts relating to great works which affect more than one village.

(Works which are incomplete: should these either not be excluded? or special care taken to note extent & effects of incompleteness?)

OLD WORKS repaired or extended: should not these be so noted?)

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

2. Description of work as to locality, construction, extent of channels, main or subsidiary, &c., &c., &c., date of construction & time occupied.

3. Cost of construction: showing separately interest, if any, has been charged for borrowed money.

4. Cost of (a) maintenance (b) management (c) repairs actual or estimated

5. Returns distinguishing (a) direct, in form of water rate, enhanced rents tolls, forest rects. &c., &c.

(b) indirect
Dear Lord Salisbury:

I am sure that I need no apology with your kindness & genius & great interest (in a subject so vital to India that I should be impertinent if I were to doubt these) What I do need to make apology for is: not in asking for enquiry: - but perhaps in the length of these notes meant to show the direction inquiry should take, if it is desired to have real results & returns. But these notes can easily be set aside: the enquiry I am sure you will not set aside: since evidence is necessary to show what is the duty of the Govt in promoting irrigation by great works ? by small ? by wells & tanks ? by great & small Canals ? by private Capital ? by great national grants & loans ?

So many authorities are hopelessly at variance as to facts, or the basis of any theory of Govt duty: (in writing this I am not simply writing as a parrot, if parrots write; - for I have laboured thro’, & tried to tabulate, immense piles of (so called) Indian Statistics myself:) that Secretaries of State have almost come to look upon the question perhaps hopelessly too as a mere worrying puzzle: & it seems left to Lord Salisbury’s genius victoriously to solve it & arrive at real definite results which Governments can act upon.

Hope deferred makes my heart sick - what must the Indian Cultivator’s heart be? - - & the famines? - - -

I will at least not take up your time with wordy apologies. but pray believe me
dear Lord Salisbury
ever your faithful servt.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[end 10:136]

& only beg you to believe me
dear Lord Salisbury
ever your faithful servt.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

The Marquis of Salisbury

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

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

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

f65
Copy. 35 SOUTH ST, PARK LANE, W. [10:136]

June 5 /77
MADRAS DRAINAGE
MOST PRIVATE
Dear Lord Salisbury

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

This is of course for yourself alone.

& I am ever your faithful servt.

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

unsigned letter, ff68-9v, pen

**f68**

Madras Drainage

35 South St

Park Lane W.

Sept 1877

Dear Lord Salisbury

[10:138]

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

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

May I rush at once into a few observations?

From the Duke’s letter I gather that both the system to be adopted & the man to be employed to carry it through are still unsettled points:

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

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

[end 10:138]
Hence, all that can be done consistently with the principle is to help Municipalities with the most competent & skilled advice - but is not this therefore the more important? & with moderate loans at interest & not allow them to job. We cannot force anything under this system.]

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

The Fa/ Governor of Madras knows more about the subject than any one in Madras but is not a really Scientific opinion wanted? [end 10:138]

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

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

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

This is true.

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

Major Tulloch of the Local Government Board.

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

Let them submit Mr. Clark’s plans to Major Tulloch & Mr. Rawlinson. The one will look to see that the leading principles are applicable to India & to Madras: & both will help materially with the details.
The Municipal President:
Of course a first rate Chairman is a great necessity:
should not means be taken to obtain the services of a good practical Indian Civilian as Chairman -- the Government aiding him with its countenance & helping him to find money. [they are spending nearly as much money in doing things badly as would enable them to do them well.]

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

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

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

f72, envelope, postmarked {illeg}

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

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

ff77-8, Minute from the Revenue Committee regarding FN’s proposal
an hour’s leisure, or an evening to himself - Now, he has never an evening or a morning for his wife & children & himself. And the greater part of the night has sometimes been absorbed by his work. He has scarcely ever taken a holiday. The result was, as might have been expected, an illness, for the first time in his life - due entirely, as his doctor /physician says, to overwork, during which he was at / {illeg} death’s door. And he is now at Cannes, trying to recover.

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

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

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

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

Canonry

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

Canonry?

F.N.

Florence Nightingale
The Marquis of Salisbury K.G.
f81, archivist’s note describing correspondence between FN and Sir Stafford Northcote

unsigned letter draft, ff82-85v, pencil

f82
My apology for writing you on a matter intimately affecting the interest health of Her Majesty’s British troops in India is that I took part in the Royal Commission of enquiry into the Sanitary state of the Army, and that ever since that time I have been lending what little aid I can lend to the improvement of Indian Stations, hospitals, & the like. On this subject I have been in frequent communication with the authorities both here and in India, and thus it happens that a short time ago my opinion was requested by Capt. Galton on the certain proposals made by the Indian Government for using doors in every
case where we would
use windows as a means
of ventilating both barracks
& hospitals thereby exposing
the both healthy & sick
men to grave risks
from a method of
ventilation which had
been directly condemned
by the Royal Commission
as well as by Medical
officers serving in India.

The subject is one of the
very greatest import to the
future healthiness both of
Barracks & hospitals in
India for the proposal
of the Indian Government if carried out
wd simply be to increase the
{illeg}/ risk of disease & death
at all stations where
there are rapid changes
of temperature. The matter
was referred to the War Office
Sanitary Commission & will
Public works departmt
Letter 1 April (No 61) 1867

as to the relative merits of doors & windows for Barracks and Hospitals for European troops in India.

I have no doubt come before you with their opinion in proper time My present object in writing is not to discuss this matter but rather to ask your consideration for of the means by which the decision of the was arrived at; and I now proceed to but in doing so it necessary to go back history of the {illeg} The Royal Commission appointment of three of health one for presidency to advise local Governments on questions referring health of the Commissions were after a despatch of Charles Wood but the
authorities in India never adopted any organized system of procedure, by health officers such as we have in this country, and at last they broke up the Commissions, retaining I believe the name without the organization/ constitution recommended by the Royal Commission & proposed to make the duty of Inspector of health a part of the duty of Inspector of Prisons. This matter was I believe in Lord de Grey’s hands just before he left office & I believe also that he has left on record in the India office his views on the future organization of the health Service in India.

I am not aware whether, during subsequent ministerial changes have any action has been taken in regard to the organization of a more
efficient health service
but the recent occurrence
which has led me to write
to you has shown that
the whole affair has gone
to ruin and that if any
good is to come of the
Royal Commission over
which Lord Herbert &
Lord Stanley presided
some immediate action
is necessary
  I will now state the
case in a few propositions
1st  The R.C. recommended
certain principles for
ventilating barracks and
Hospitals
2nd  These principles were approved
& sent to India in a
detailed form for local
application to suit suit
local circumstances by the
India office on the recommendation of the
Army Sanitary Commission
at the W. O. on which
Sir Proby Cautley & Sir R. Martin represent the India office. All the members being experts.
3rd The In Government in India instead of proceeding to apply the principles and consulting the Sanitary Health Commission on the principles send by the assistance of these Health Commissions. Sent the whole subject abroad all over India to the following authorities:

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

Madras
Bombay
Bengal
N.W. Provinces
Punjab
Straits
British Burmah
Central Provinces
Oudh
Mysore
Hyderabad
Rajpootana
Central India
As already stated the effective constitution of the Sanitary Commissions had been broken up so that they no longer represented the decision of the Royal Commissioners and none of the other authorities to whom the question was sent had have any knowledge of it except the Medical authorities. These last gave opinions similar to those given by the R. C., and by the Army Sanitary Commission at the War Office, and still the Government in India, adheres recommends the continuance of this most objectionable of all Barrack & Hospital Construction arrangements in the teeth of the only persons competent to advise them.
them. It is this procedure which has alarmed all who take an interest in the future public health civil & military of India. We feel that with such a course of proceeding it is impossible that good can come & the great question now is: how to put the Indian health question once for all on a satisfactory footing. I believe that I have now ventured to address you. I have already written to Lord Stanley who was one of the Presidents of the Royal Commission & he has kindly offered to speak with you on the subject. Those who feared the prospective ruin of the health question in India from the proposed changes in the Constitution of the Commission there were in the right. And they afford the best possible reason for taking up the question again. It is in the hope of being able to act in new adjustment that I have now ventured to address you.
Altered  {archivist: [Draft for FN’s letter to Sir Stafford Northcote 25 July 1867]}

London July 1867

Rt Honble
Sir Stafford Northcote M.P.

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

{ff82-3 continue with minor variations}

f87v

... These Commissions were appointed by Sir John Lawrence after he
went out, in accordance with a
Despatch of Sir Charles
Wood, August 15, 1863,
(but which was not
acted upon till Sir
John Lawrence became
Governor - General.)
The authorities in
India have not
however followed up
this measure by
other measures essential
to give it practical
effect.
They have not
adopted any organized
system of procedure
by Health officers, as was recommended
by the Royal
Commission &
such as we have in this country.
And at last they
broke up the Commissions,
(to save cost,) retaining
however the heads
& the name, but
without the constitution
recommended by the
R. Commission &
without substituting
any other constitution which increasing local experience might have [recommended/pointed out as find more efficient.

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

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

The matter was under Lord de Grey’s consideration just before he left office. And he has left on record in the India Office (about June 20, 1866) his
the foolscap wanders collecting opinions on the universal suffrage principle.
As already stated, the effective constitution of the Presidency Sanitary Commissions had been broken up, so that they no longer represented the recommendations of the R. Commissioners, nor indeed responsibly represented anything, except a new element of discord & dissension, a new element of uncertainty.

And none of the other authorities
...good can come. It is not only that “too many cooks spoil the broth.” It is that actually many of the “cooks” who are invited to make the “broth” are not “cooks” at all [It is as if I were to invite Railway clerks & Workhouse officials into my Hospital kitchen to help me in the cooking.]

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

This was the point raised by Lord de Grey. It can only be done after thorough consideration of the
problem to be met. These late papers have merely shown that those who feared the prospective ruin of the Health question in India from the delay in working out the any Public Health Service at all, as also in working out an efficient responsible constitution for the Sanitary Commissions in India were had unfortunately too much reason for their fears. And these occurrences afford the best possible reason for taking up the question again - It is in the hope of being able to aid in this that I have now ventured to address you.

I have already written to Lord Stanley who was the surviving one of the Presidents of the (said) Royal Commission - And he kindly said that he would speak with you on the subject. Pray believe me Sir ever your faithful servt Florence Nightingale
I entirely agree with you that in carrying out any measures for protecting public health due regard should be paid to local information & peculiarities. This is in fact indisputable but the principle applies to details rather than to great leading Sanitary works. The question which made occasioned my writing to you was precisely one of this nature. It regarded the application of a great general principle to suit local circumstances and the gist of my complaint against the method pursued by the Government in India was this, that instead of proceeding to apply the principle to suit local circumstances they threw the question broad cast over all—it India to all classes of persons, and after having got opinions especially from Medical officers who understand the points, the Government in India passed a minute in the teeth of the advice they had asked for and determined to apply an iron rule to the almost infinite variety of circumstances to which ventilation has to be applied. And as a certain result of this decision if carried out we must all look for the continuance of certain diseases among the troops which are perfectly well known to
have been occasioned at certain stations by the very kind of door ventilation which the Government has decided should be applied to all.

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

These health commissions were recommended & appointed & also under /connected with these there were to have been officers of health & executive authorities. Health questions in India comprise two classes. 1st Those of Military stations & the populations about them. 2nd Those of groups of population where there are no Military stations. Both have to be provided by/for. Both require authorities to administer under the advice of the Commissions on all special questions & also laws & regulations to -admittance to be administered. Both require inspection. Both require funds. And what is
of great importance the India office here should keep its hand so over the work in India that it should know about by every mail what is being done to improve stations & people and it ought to be able to check the work and to report annually to parliament. Even in Algeria this is done & the reports are published annually to show the progress in wellbeing & health of the entire community civil & military. Almost every case of disease is reported, at least of special diseases. Why should we not do this for India. The practice since the report of the R. C. was published has been nothing more than playing with one of the greatest questions of our foreign empire. Those who interest themselves in these subjects know that we, the English people, are rotting out everywhere because we will not learn what the natural laws are in which we must obey in order to
live. Look at Bermuda, Demerara, Mauritius as recent examples & to India itself. Knowing recurring epidemics are the result solely of want of civilization & neglect in applying remedial agencies. It is not as if the questions were new. Every thing is known. There is one thing only wanting which requires to pervade all government offices having any thing to do with foreign possessions & that is “intelligent doing”. There is no question of the kind so great as this Indian question. I have reason to know that we have made the natives think more about it than we have been able to get government to act. And now is the time to begin. (not wishing to press him.)

If I might suggest any thing, it would be that the subject should be considered here before Sir J. L. is written to. I have been in the habit of communicating with him & have written on this very point, but what we really want is not so much to deal with the present case as to enter on a new phase altogether & to organize a health service once for all. It is not a difficult matter to do. And it requires to be done. And it ought to be considered just as much in the estimates - as any other part of the public service, and also as much a part of the current work of the Sec of S for India in Council as any other part of the public service. You have members of Council of large Indian experience who thoroughly understand the whole subject.
Dear Sir Stafford Northcote

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

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

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

f113
by Districts, Officers of Health & Inspectors followed by the execution of works & measures with such
Dear Sir Stafford Northcote

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

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

We have besides had a great many papers (after Indian fashion)
on the subject, which show that the Sanitary arrangements are just as unsatisfactory now as they were years ago. & that there is no reasonable hope of anything really efficient being done, unless there be established a properly constituted Public Health Department at the India Office and in India - as a recognised branch of permanent administration.

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

It is true that Barracks are being built & that some Stations are
being improved. But these things do not constitute Public health administration, any more than building houses in London.

E.g. why are Mean Meer & Peshawur so deadly to Regiments quartered there? It is not the first time that these catastrophes have happened. Men have been perishing by Cholera year after year. And we who have been asking & receiving deluges of information, both public & private, on this matter, cannot nevertheless at this moment give an opinion as to the causes of unhealthiness at either Station - No document in our possession gives the slightest hint as to what steps have
been taken to remedy the unhealthiness. Surely the most costly of all administrative proceedings is to send these strong Highland Regiments into districts of country where the causes of unhealthiness ought to be perfectly known when no efficient steps are taken to remove them.

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

It is obvious that such calamities ought not to recur - neither in the Army, nor among the Civil population.
Our present position is simply this:
that, four years ago, the Report of the R.
Commission was sent to India. that
every thing promised fair in the first instance.
- that the beginning of a Public Health administration was
first made & then unmade, before the administration itself was organized.
Something has been done on no definite system, and without any defined responsibility. - so that in all probability (to quote my Nursery) “all the Queen’s horses & all the Queen’s men” could not find out who or what was to blame for either Meean Meer or Peshawur.
In Madras Presidency alone was any definite method proposed for organizing a Public Health Department — viz — by Officers of Health & Inspectors, acting under the Presidency Commission. — But it was first discouraged, then rejected. And the Head of the Commission, Mr. Ellis, was so disheartened that he intended to resign, because he could do no good — He is now Secy to the Govt. of Madras —

This great question being now in this position — Sir John Lawrence who has done the very best he could under the circumstances will be home in a year or little more. And
there will be no security that the work which he has been doing his utmost to forward will make progress for a single day after he has returned - that is, not unless there is some Executive machinery, in India to carry out on the work & some Controlling machinery here to know that it is being done.

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

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

It is perfectly true that you cannot improve the Public
Health in India, except by local action in India in the places where causes of disease exist - But your Committee would forward the systematizing of local efforts. And, from the perfect command of the whole Indian subject of its Head, he would be able to advise on all administrative points connected with the reform of Stations, Bazaars & towns while he would also aid in the consideration of methods of procedure, Sanitary laws & all the machinery, so requisite, - which may be proposed in India for the future improvement of the country. All persons in India having any Public Health functions
to perform would know that their proceedings were watched by a special Department of the India Government. [Nothing stimulates them so much.] And such things as have happened at Peshawur could scarcely pass without rigid scrutiny & discovery of the causes & their ultimate removal.

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

This would bring
us farther administrative experience
But - What we really want is a thoroughly comprehensive organized system of proceeding.
   [The things to be done are all laid down in the Report of the R. Commission over which both Lord Herbert & Lord Stanley presided]
   And the time has certainly now come when Indian administrators should take this great subject in hand, & define the methods in which these things are to be done.

unsigned note, f119v, pencil

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

Capt Eastbranch is to be on Sir B. Frere’s Committee
Sir B. F. says he is the best man there He says, he ‘s too old Sir B. F. says he is the only one who is not too old
   Well, while Sir B. F. chooses to go on coming here

ff120-1, October 18, 1867, re his delay in attending personally to the matter of organized work
incomplete letter draft, ff122-3, pencil

**ff122**
It must be somebody’s business to do the work in India.
The work must be done, the (illeg - too faint)
responsible agents must be appointed.
Means must be found to pay the costs.
The India Govt here must have the means of knowing
what is going on & seeing that the responsibilities
are properly fulfilled.

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

**ff123**
I have not answered his letter yet.
    It must {illeg too faint}
in India
the work must be done {illeg}
Responsible {illeg}
The India {illeg}
have the {illeg - the rest is too faint to read}

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

unsigned draft, ff125-7v, pencil (this may be in JS hand. ff128-31v are almost the same in FN hand. I have transcribed them)
1. The Commission
2. The Recapitulation
3. The Recommendations
4. When the Commissions in Bengal, Bombay, Madras were proposed - it was intended that they should be advisers of the local Govts.
   & that there should be an administrative machinery for carrying out reform
5. “Suggestions” proposed by desire of S. of S. contain leading points which have to be entertained in administrative machinery 1 2 3 4 5 p.1
6. Suggestions / 1 2 3 4
   All that part of the Suggestions relating to drainage water supply construction &c of Stations is supposed to be under Public Works Dept.
   But subject is special & requires special training - And there is no evidence that Indian Engineers know about it
   What is required is that Engineer Officers be trained (Algeria Report p.3)
Suggestions  
All those parts referring to native towns Bazaars &c require machinery to be provided to carry them out.

For all these purposes funds have to be provided & administered.

Then you ought to know what is being done in India, & this can only be accomplished by having some one at the I.O. to keep an executive hold over the authorities in India.

There should be an annual Report not as heretofore of defects, but of work actually done.

On all matters connected with plans of Barracks, Hospitals, drainage, water supply &c there is the best available opinion in the kingdom at the W. O. in the Army San. Comm. Questions can always be referred to them for solution.

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

No time should be lost in sending R. E.s intended for service in India to examine & make themselves acquainted with improvements in Barracks & Hospital construction in sewerage } drainage of towns water supply & in application of sewage for agriculture.
In India
Officers of Health are wanted for cities & country districts -
[They might either be specially appointed or they might be Civil Surgeons.]
There must be some authority to whom Officers of Health should report
This authority must have power to abate nuisances & to execute works i.e. he must be able to spend money
The questions, besides those of simple cleansing & prevention of epidemics are all Engineering questions: -
e.g. water supply
drainage
irrigation
Organizations for such works should comprehend cities - towns - villages - country districts
1. What would be the best authority in each case?
2. What would be the best Engineering organization?
3. What the best Medical Officers organization?
4. Should there be a central responsible authority in each Presidency or local Government?
5. To what extent could inspection districts be formed?
signed telegram, ff133-4, pen

f133
{archivist: To Sir Stafford Northcote Telegram sent to Indian
Nov: 1867 Govt 29/11/67

Telegram - it might
approve of proposed
appointment of Sanitary
Officers of rank of
Deputy Inspectors General
to do duty under Civil
Governments as proposed
in Despatch One hundred
and fifty two, sixteenth
August 1867, as part
of a Sanitary administration
for India. A Despatch
will be sent on the
whole subject -
I will not take up a moment
more of your time with
apologies for my lengthiness,

f134
as it is the subject which is
important and not I -
Pray believe me
dear Sir Stafford Northcote
ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

... surest element of victory

battle must be an uphill game - to be before one’s Govt greatest reward that my work should be so complete that the next generation should forget me & call my work an obsolete truism

which my own generation called a visionary fanaticism
unsigned letter draft, f147-7v, pen

f147

35 South St
Park Lane W
Feb 11/78

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

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

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

My reason now for troubling you with this short note is this:

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

It concerned
Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I dare say that you would be almost amused if you knew how your little note of Sept 25 stirred me. And I was only prevented from answering it by your saying that you had “no time to write”, & by my fearing that you would think I wished to claim your time.

It grieves me beyond measure that you think this great Madras calamity - so much greater than our Governmt at all allows - will be a pretext for the postponement to another generation of the real duties of England to India. But you are too good an Englishman ever to know you were beaten : - & that is the surest element of victory -

To be before or ahead of one’s Government is the most uphill game: but then it is the greatest reward that our work should be so complete that the next generation should forget us & call our work an obsolete truism which our own generation called a visionary fanaticism.

But it was
not to moralize that I venture now to write
to you.

It is about the Indian Ryot:
[to ask some questions I should say, but that
I have no hope you have time to answer them.]

the Indian Ryot: so incomprehensible to us:
the poorest in the world: & it is said getting
poorer & poorer every year: the most industrious
in the world: the most heroic, the most secretive
& false.

the Irrigation, so vitally, so mortally needed:
the indebtedness to money lenders, so that a full
crop, if he has one, merely means so much in
the money lender’s pocket:
the slavery (in Bengal) to Zemindars, worse than
any Bulgarian slavery to Turks

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

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

i.e. Irrigation by strengthening, repairing & keeping
up the old Tanks:
by storage & regulation of water: where possible,
for keeping the old Tanks always supplied
I see appeals from ‘influential’ numerous
natives, notably from Arcot & Trichinopoly,
for this & accounts of success from Scinde & Bombay
by wells
in other Irrigation means:
Irrigation by every attainable means: canals, tanks,
storage, wells
and
Cheap Water Transit, including
Steam Navigation Canals.
I see appeals from Mr. Leslie & other Railway
Engineers for Cheap Water Navigation by
the side of Railways: notably from Goalundo
Indeed it seems to me that all (Royal) Indian
Engineers are for it, wherever practicable.
Was not Lord G. Hamilton’s speech, (“Times” of
Oct 5,) appalling, saying that “Rails pay
& Water does not”?
But who is to expose it?
Also: Ld Salisbury’s speech at Bradford,
(“Times” of Oct 12) “water can’t run up hill”
& therefore we can’t have Irrigation
He does not know the facts when he says this:
perhaps he does not know what he means.
Above all, showing the English people that
Irrigation pays
Mr. Thornton, of the India
Office, has done this, & I understand is to do
it again in a Lecture. And the last official
“Progress Report” gives the financial result
of Godavery at 81 per cent
& Cauvery
The giving the Ryot in Bengal every legal help against the Zemindar, his landlord, pampered by us under the Permanent settlement, and Zemindress Maharanai in Burdwan so that all his, the Zemindar’s, dues have been more than paid him: none of his duties under that Settlement required of him to require of him as a landlord some at least of these duties under the form of Water Cesses, Road & Education Cesses, &c &c.

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

Some high authorities say:
“give the people of India, as you at last gave the people of Ireland, a poor law: make the Zemindars insure the lives of the people on the land against death by starvation - & they will take care that the ryots are duly instructed in the uses of irrigation: & in religious dogmas, affecting life & property also”

“Where the State is the Landlord, it must accept the duties as well as the rents, say in Madras However it may be about this question of a Poor Law at least one thing seems proved by the Madras Famine relief: that the people are the farthest from pauperization that can possibly be, often preferring death to relief - Indeed all over India there is less pauperism & less mendicancy, other than religious, than any country we know of.
The extraordinary self-control shown by the Madras farmer in almost every village in keeping the secret of his hoarded pits of grain, hoarded for seed-corn but also for another year of famine—a secret which must have been known to many in each village & not selling at the time of highest prices—reveals to us a thrift, a self denial, a Political Economy, but on the very reverse of our Political Economy, unknown to any Western nation.

3. The giving the Ryots especially in Southern India, every legal help against the Money lender, into whose hands the ancestral lands seem to be passing & the Ryot becomes not metaphorically but in some cases literally & legally the Money lender’s slave instead of as we do now giving the Money lender every legal help to possess himself of the lands of India & to make the Ryot his slave. Otherwise, give the Ryot water, & the profit will all go into the pocket of the Money lender—Is it not strange that under a nation probably the justest in the world & the Abolisher of the Slave Trade, a poverty, an impecuniosity, an improverty-ness, leading to virtual slavery, should be growing up, actually the consequence of our own laws, which outstrips in its miserable results, because it enslaves & renders destitute a land possessing peasantry, anything except the worse Slave Trades. And in some respect we are worse than the tax farming Turks.
One thing has been most urged by my Madras correspondents: a system of small loans from Government at moderate interest to the country ryot which is now carried out (to a very small extent) to be extended to meet the need & supplied by British capital. But the ryots, it is said, won't take them. Is it true that a rate of 36, 40, 50 or even 60 per cent is a not more uncommon rate of interest in the (country) interior of India as exacted from country ryots by money lenders than a rate of 3 ½, 4, 5 or 6 percent is in England? If so, the fear must be not of the conquest of India by the Russian but of the conquest of India by the money lender? Is it possible that England would reconquer India by enabling the indebted country ryot to redeem his lands & pay off his debts, lending him money at 7 or even 10 per cent? What a glorious conquest that would be! Was it the old rule that more than twice the principal could not be exacted? It was said that Sir Arthur Hobhouse was going to re-introduce this into Bengal -
it is said that "Thrift" is what must save the
Indian ryot This is what the S of S
for India says
We have heard of the horse being made to live
(or die) on a straw a day: but I don’t know
that we ever heard before that the horse
ought to exercise "thrift" & save his one
straw a day.
Yet this is what it appears the country ryot
has actually done - [He justified Lord
Salisbury & died]
There is so little danger of pauperization
that for one who threw himself without
need on the Relief measures, ten died in
silence, almost unknown to our Masters - (not like the wolf,
"biting hard")
There is such an element of endurance &
heroism that quite unknown to our Masters, during the
greatest starvation
& the highest prices the hoarded pots
of grain have remained buried in the earth
[none betrayed the secret.]
put by not to sell again at the highest Famine
prices but for seed corn against another
failure of crop. And not till the present
crops were safe have they appeared.
What thrift, what endurance, have we
Westerns compared with this?
And we in the West preach thrift to them.
The horse literally 'saved' his one straw a day
for his children's sowing.

And they call these people not thrifty -
It is the very heroism of thrift.
Compare the people of Liverpool with
their drunkenness, their vice & brutal crime, their reckless
waste, & unthrift,
with the people of India.
Which is highest, even in the scale of
civilization?
But there is no comparison.
The first question to be asked is:
in cases where ryots are said to be unwilling
  to accept the water for Irrigation purposes
Why are ryots unwilling to accept the water?
  Because it puts them in the power of the
minor officials, all natives, the Tehsildars &c?
Bribery, oppression, corruption, bullying, is said
to be the rule, the universal rule with these
they have unlimited power to make themselves
disagreeable, & must be bought off with a bribe.
  Does the official network of petty administration
require improving?

The second question refers to the point already
alluded to viz. that the indebted ryot, indebted
tho’, except at his children’s marriage, he is
the most frugal of mankind - & the usurious
money lender are pretty much the same
all over India.
  Government is the first mortgagor on the land:
It has all the machinery ready for lending: it
would lend at less than 7 per cent: But
this is taken advantage of by the ryot in an
almost infinitesimal degree, perhaps in
all India only a quarter of a million is out
at interest in this way -
  The question is:
Why does /are/ is the indebted ryot unwilling to accept
the Govt loan at less than 7 per cent
& prefers going to his own money lender
at 5 or 7 or even 8 times that amount/rate of interest?
  Is he afraid of putting himself in the power
of minor officials of Government?
  Is he afraid of offending his banker?
Is it quite true that the land is passing into
the hands of the money lenders?
that the ryot’s crops are not his own but
the money lender’s?
that all over India land is changing hands?
(as in India
that the money lender sells the ryot up &
gets his land for a tenth or less of its value?
that the ryot is absolutely in the money lender’s
power?
It is said on Government authority, in the last
India Office Progress Report, that “even
“when, after floods at Ahmedabad, Government
“sanctioned the advance of £1000 to poor
“cultivators without any interest at all, no
“one availed himself of the offer “
And it is added “There are few ryots in a
“position to offend their banker. The great
“object of the money -lender is to evade repayment
“if the season is good he lets the debt run on
“from year to year - at 36 per cent interest:
“& this system is preferred by the cultivators
“to the tedious formalities & rigid terms of
“repayment attached to Government advances”
It is Government which says this:
Is there not procedure to obviate it?
The same Progress Report speaks of “their (the
“moneylenders”) heartless & unscrupulous action
“towards their debtors.” & adds: it is the
Government who say this:
“it is to be hoped that some amelioration
“may be effected in the position of the ryots
“by a modification of the present system of
“civil procedure”

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

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

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

5. improved
agriculture

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

But should not rather better agriculture be taught?

Can nothing be done for these Deccan people?
To show them how to have better & more produce
& to give them a market for their goods?
the first by Irrigation & better methods of agriculture
fodder crops &c
could there not be a model farm under a Irrigation system
at Poona?
the second by cheap Water {illeg} to
The common people who find it hard to live when bread is cheap
feel themselves about to die when it becomes dear.  
[end 10:481]
signed letter, ff156-9, pen & pencil, see original Balliol Mallet
March 11/78

f156
Private  Land & Water Schedules
Mr. Prinsep

35 South St.
Park Lane

W.

March

9/78
Dear Sir Louis Mallet
I have waited to thank you, which I do
with all my heart, for your kind note of
March 1, saying that “every facility shall be
“given for our “enquiry”, - till I could submit
to you one tabulated blank Form, (enclosed) printed; to save you
trouble
which, if it could be filled up with figures & remarks according
to
the printed Instructions, would give nearly
all the information needed to proceed further.

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

The Form (to you) will probably carry on its
face what is wanted to use it so that the
figures can be used authoritatively. But I
would gladly write any amount of explanation,
fearful only “to make things darker which were dark enough
before” -
or Mr. Prinsep would wait upon you -
2. It gives me more hope than anything that has happened for many a long day that you approve Mr. Prinsep’s views & that his practical experience confirms your opinions in this matter —

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

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

I am not going to argue further as to what is commonly called the Madras system of Canal Irrigation & Navigation of /in favour of Sir Arthur Cotton whose genius
can be doubted by none who really know what he has done & what he could still do. but merely to crave your attention as a man of authority for one moment to a point in which there is no difference in two such opposite countries as the Punjab & Madras: viz the people crying for water, willing to give their hardest labour, often to make the utmost sacrifices to get the water: & the officials putting obstacles in the people’s way, & then we at home saying (in all honesty no doubt) “the people don’t want the water”: or “the people won’t use the water” Ill judging friends have managed to establish such a ‘raw’ about Madras

[Da chi non mi fido mi guarderò io:
Da chi me fido mi guardi Iddio.]

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

(a) I take only one District: “Montgomery”: the Punjab 1867 -

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

Two of the Canals, making 72 miles in length, & costing 1 ¾ lacs, the people were ready to construct subject to Govt. conditions
The offer met with no answer. The Depy Commr says that the District contains 33 Lacs of acres of excellent land ready for water: Land Revenue could be raised thereby to 33 Lacs pays now only 4 Lacs & this has to be reduced to {illeg meet?} distress for want of water.

(b) I take another District (Ihung, in the Punjab:) The people come forward, even subscribe, & nothing is done: The Dy Commr says: The people offer to make & pay for 7 of these (11) Canals &c &c &c even to contribute Rs 23000 to those to be made by the State in other places [These 4 would in less than 7 years’ annual income repay the out lay] In spite of all these offers, nothing was done.

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

But two things are wanted: one is, to let them pay by instalments - the other, fixed conditions known beforehand, including irrigation

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

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

There are men whose evidence would be invaluable: for each Province or Presidency, as C. Bernard Bengal Sir R. Temple Bombay & Pedder in England Col. James Fife Bombay & Sind in Europe Col. Rundall pretty nearly all India in England Dalyell Madras N.W.P Auckland Colvin Central Provin Auckland Colvin N.W.P. J. Morris Central Provinces Chief Comm

But of these only Cols. Fife & Rundall & Mr. Dalyell are I believe in England or in Europe Genl Strachey too but he is gone to India
II. To return to our one tabulated Blank Form which I hereby submit to you:

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

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

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

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

If you will be so very good as to correct or alter the Form submitted, supposing that you in any way approve it,
& will return it to me for a printed
    Revise I would then ask permission
for me to send the Form printed, say
a set of four separate Schedules A, B, C, D. for
each Province, x to the I.O., so that
the classification may be made there
according to the printed Instructions
Pray believe me
dear Sir Louis Mallet
ever your faithful & grateful servt
Florence Nightingale

Sir Louis Mallet CB

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I think I informed you of this: but I
f160v

dare say I did not state the directly who
that I had stated it to Lord Salisbury:
when you kind note came making an
appointment for Mr Prinsep almost
I considered for some half hour
“simultaneously” with a second answer from
whether
Ld S.
I should apprise /ought to inform you of this Lord Salisbury’s
second answer to me: but it appeared to
me & it still appears to me as if
that would have been almost an
impertinence to suppose that I had
information to give you. Indeed I honestly supposed
that at no this too had been thus settled
& I did not know except from Mr. Prinsep
himself writing to me. It was not for me
to give notice of it tell him nor
that he had been allowed
to show himself by a search where the information could
be found in the I.O. And I concluded that this too had been so
settled
I knew from yourself that you were
kind enough to offer an appointment to be made / a time / for Mr.
Prinsep to see you some little time/ few days before this
I did not of course mention anything to Mr. P.
about my having had a corresponde with/made my request to
the S. of S., which I should have deemed
an impropriety to speak of.
He understood you to say in that interview which took
place after Ld Salisbury’s
that Lord
Salisbury had desired that every information
should be given from the I.O.
And I therefore concluded that it in my own mind
that it had been thus /so settled.
The I have not mentioned to any one that I have been in rather close correspondence with the great ex-Indians in London lately upon these matters, that anything was going on with regard to an enquiry filling up blank Forms or Mr. Prinsep in the I.O. researches so that, (no precedent thereby will be established, by/if any irregularity has been committed)

But others, even ladies, are notoriously allowed to search for themselves in the I.O. Records.

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

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

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

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

Pray believe me with great regret
To Sir Louis Mallet 1/4/78

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

2 Letters on Agriculture & Irrigation
  1. improved cultivation up on Mysore may mean diminished
     fertility on Tangore
     see Sir A. Cotton’s letter March 27
  2. Toombuddra Canal
     no value as a distributor of essential manure
     But why can’t he have an Analysis made?
     see Sir A. C. Mar 27

Now here are 2 assertions diametrically opposite
“expectations”
  [I thank thee Jew for teaching me that word]
  {Shakespeare: The Merchant of Venice iv i- GW}  
  Tho’ matter for analysis, neither gives one
  [Nurses manage things differently - we should not leave a
the
  question of that kind a day unsolved which concerned
  the medicine of a single Patient
  Yet here is a question which concerns the Good of
  millions of Patients - not to say revenue & financial results
  And two vast Govt (India & I.O.) content themselves with
  vague & contradictory assertions
  [Mr. Thomson (?) Chairman of Madras Irrigation Co. in England
  Make him be examined by Ho of C co & supply an analysis]
  It may be at Kurnoot as the Madras writer says
  The poor Deccan Ryot’s miseries are so intense
  that a revolution in the system of Bombay settlement on
  awakening to the distinction between income & rent & to
  the real basis of assessment seems necessary to
  free them
  But here is the very simple question of what great Rivers are made of
And every body asserts
& nobody knows.

In Sanitary Analysis we are making real progress in
India

We boast that we have analysed all the “potable”
waters from Calcutta to Peshawur
The Jumna water for Irrigation has also been analysed
Why can’t they analyse the Toombuddra Canal Waters
at Kurnoot & elsewhere & other

waters & set the
question at rest: an essential question for agriculture

3. He objects to tanks “on ground of “ silt being caught & deposited”
   see Sir A. C.’s letter Mar 27

4. he says “Wells” a most useful form of Irrigation
   Now it is curious/strange that while “expecting” that the
   Toombuddra Canal is without silt “at Kurnoot”, & asserting that the Tanks are “objectionable”, because
   they do not distribute silt, he entirely omits the characteristic of wells, which
   makes them “objectionable” for irrigation -
   Well water has no food for plants
   see Sir A. Cotton’s letter Mar 27

If he had said “Wells are indispensable”, “people should be assisted to make Wells”, “while the great Irrigation
   works must be made by Govt or Companies, wells can be made by the people themselves &c” this is
   incontrovertible for if he had attended to the tilling system possible in the Punjab -
   [His remarks apply exclusively to Madras & Mysore mine therefore limited to these two]

Not to contradict the “two Letters” but a prayer that you will have settled by the Ho of C. Comm - by taking competent evidence on both sides Civilian & Engineering Irrigation & the Irrigation advocates, all sides these questions practically for once & for all, & many more
   e.g. how much can a Railway carry
   & how much have you to carry
   & go up the valley of the Ganges?
   what a Railway can do
   & what it cannot
what a Canal can do
& what it cannot
what a certain country requires in the way of Transit
& what it does not

[In the Crimean War our Army was nearly lost
because no one had thought of asking the question:
how much &
what is there to be carried?
how is it to be carried?
That was only a temporary question
concerning perhaps 50000 men
but this is a permanent question affecting the lives
of 200 millions of people
& our own Revenue & hold of the country
Why do we play these pranks?
We are usually supposed a practical people:
Yet I say - as you so greatly say of the Bombay Settlement
system so of all this question of Public Works
that “the real issues are systematically shirked &
concealed”, “under every conceivable form of technical
jargon”, by those who are connected with the Government”
“by the financial hocus pocus”.

II.

As for that Minute & for that Report of the Comm. on the Deccan riots, the revelations on the chronic state of the poor Deccan cultivator are absolutely astounding over assessment
his land cultivated sometimes almost at a loss or “only just repaying cultivation”
But you may put one touch more to your hideous picture of the money lender
he is also the valuer & not only this – the advances made by him (in kind)
are made at his own valuation, as the repayments made to him (in kind) are also made at his own valuation
If in an European Army it is found that, if /where the Commissariat are also the Paymasters, the men men are almost at its mercy, what must it be with the poor isolated, defenceless, ignorant Hindoo Ryot?
And the English Govt is always be praising itself in India
I seem to think of your Minute night & day

May God avert this frightful War, of which not the least frightful consequence will be that it will withdraw our attention form the most urgent doing justice to India
Forgive this reminder of your own kindness

{illeg save?} horse & you’ll get grass “famine”
My dear Sir Louis Mallet

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

I am quite sure your labour will not be wasted.

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

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

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

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

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

I predict that, just as you think yourself altogether disappointed, you will find that you have roused all England to do the right for India & India to do the right for herself.

Though I have not the least of a prophet in me I could fancy that India’s day is coming For one thing, it was the firm belief of an old
friend of mine, who knew more about the East & its religion than any man: M. Mohl (he is dead) that Mahometanism was dying out / decaying: notwithstanding its 200 million: he said, it is merely alive at its extremities, v. the Wahabees - at its heart it is almost extinct. That is the way religions decay /die out, he said. Please God we only have peace, India’s day may be rising.

{the rest of the page is written the other way around}

with incomprehensible only because we do not take the trouble to comprehend with virtues of thought & endurance of heart & industry far beyond any we Westerns can boast of & yet the poorest of people with powers of progress I will back some agricultural population of India against the agricultural population of England any day for capacity of learning improved methods. And yet India is more hopeful in its poverty than some great towns of England with their high wages & religion a true sketch}
Dear Sir Louis Mallet

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

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

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

And this, above all, strikes one

1. can there be any private enterprise in factories in trade or commerce, manufactures or in new industries &c

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

- do not spend their gains on any industries

I remember your saying that till private capital embarks in India in public works
&c as it does in England you look upon the state of things as almost hopeless.

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

This seems to me the most dreadful part of the business: that it is “hopeless” if nothing can be done to modify by law a state of things so greatly encouraged if not produced by law - Law & our ‘Settlement’ - a state of thing where the largest/most successful money lenders & also are the most prosperous land accumulators are the worst landlords, and the biggest villains - forgers, successful thieves, on as large a scale as money-lenders, open defiers of our law, our law which crushes only the poor borrowers (as shown by official Report while these borrowers who (not like our/English people manufacturing or farming who flourish properly on borrowed money) are ousted from house & home, beggars/ made paupers
& even slaves, as also shown by official Report: by borrowing
I am looking with an intensity of hope to your bringing light out of darkness in these great subjects - & making our Government see. They have eyes & see not.
What is to be done?
Your kindness has put me on this tack: will not your kindness & your the practical wisdom of one of the greatest Economic authorities, living or dead, suggest some remedies, whether public such as Registration of debt or bonds Pawnbroker’s Acts Acts limiting rate of interest

(legal) or private such as Municipal Loan Funds or private Associations, for Monts de Piété, or combinations of native gentlemen in a kind of co-operative Bank?
In England, any interest that has been “agreed on” by the borrower can now be recovered or private. But the unhappy Deccan borrower can scarcely be said in any reasonable sense to make an “agreement” with his creditors.
The wants of India are so very different from those of England, as we all know:

Government has to do so much which in England is done by Education, & the public opinion resulting from Education: by private enterprise & private benevolence
In India the people suffer immeasurably more than an English press or Parliament can conceive, ever dreams of, not only by what Government does but by what it does not do, & what they cannot do for themselves. And native gentlemen even talk so much better than they do:

In India has not the Government to take upon itself many functions which in Europe fall to
private enterprise, to private organizations institutions & private benevolence, & to the public opinion & moral courage resulting from the freedom of Institutions & of Education those qualities or organizations or institutions which India has not & will not have for generations. But I feel so helpless - And you are so powerful.

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

b. Or Could the Municipalities of India start Monts de Piété; as in France: where I believe they not only do immense good, but to the people, but actually remunerate the Municipalities well? The French & the Indian peasantry are both a hoarding people.

3. Could there be an Act limiting the rate of Usury recoverable by law? Practically such a law is, I believe, in force at this moment in Oude - When we take a Talookdar Estate (in a case of accumulated debt) under Govt management, we do not allow more than 6 per cent to the creditors, altho’ the original loan has always been contracted at 24 per cent - & often at 60 per cent. And indeed in cases where the money-lender has already realized more
than double the principal in interest we sometimes allow no interest at all.
It seems hard that we are very helpless to find it possible to do/ make such a law for our own selves, we don’t find & impossible to do/make for these wretched Deccan debtors.

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

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

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

Sir Salar Jung has made a law now in force in Hyderabad that any Arab Jamadar (I understand) lending money should do so at his own risk, & that the money should not necessarily be recoverable in a Court of justice. This law has put an end to the Arab usury in Hyderabad. [The Jamadars used to lend money at enormous interest, used to double & treble the interest & enforce its payment by taking possession of person & property of their debtors just...
I am not even supposing that so arbitrary a measure would be possible - or desirable, were it possible, - in the English dominions. And the Arab Jamadars are servants of the Hyderabad State & can be dealt with arbitrarily. But is it impossible that some Law or Act could not be found as a remedy? The great evil seems to be the enforcement of claims in an English Court. Native gentlemen have written to me asking that “in the present state of our Society, where little or nothing can be expected from private beneficence”, there should be some “Act of the Legislature”. either “an Enactment to the effect that, unless the interest was within a certain limit - fixed by law, no action should lie” or, more practically, “that no Court of Justice should be allowed to decree, as it does now, the whole of the interest but only an reasonable portion of it - the portion being either fixed by law: say at 6 per cent, or determined according to the peculiar requirements of each case” as is actually the case/ law, for our own benefit in Oude.
4. You have, of course, seen the Bill for the relief of the Deccan debtor, before the Legislative Council at Simla.

   Is it at all satisfactory?
If one is to judge by the Abstract in the “Times”, it might almost be called a Bill for the relief of the creditor.

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

   & that the spending side actually needs enforcing more than the hoarding side.
that it is not the ‘running into debt’ which makes people poor. for to what is England’s prosperity due but to borrowed money?

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

   And our masters who say that the only way for nations to get rich is: to save their money - do not nations also get rich by spending & by borrowing?
Famine Reports to be read by the public in England. Can you forgive her? F.N. you really care for the people of India not as the Ho. of C. cares

the public has an appetite for anecdote & in a sense it is right The reason why the Deccan Riots Report tells so much more than reports in general with an ignorant or indifferent public is that it gives individual facts about individual ryots with name & place -

Could you point me to Reports that do the same as to if possible Land assessment & Land Tenure as to the Ryots’ condition under the Zemindaritenum Ryotwari under different Methods of Agriculture: working of Takavi

Forests planting or no Forests under Municipalities: Methods/Systems of Representation such as they are in (giving the people a voice to tax such as they are under Land or Rent Unions
daily food & habits of people under Irrign Water commn markets real facts - not only the Reporter’s own opinion or
generalities as to the dwellers
The I.O. must have untold treasures in this respect

from p. 4

2c. Or could not Govt loans be made exceedingly easier & more extensively acceptable? People in Madras say that if it were once thoroughly understood why the ryot refuses Govt loans at low interest & prefers paying exorbitant rates to his money lender, the difficulty would soon be overcome — but that those officials who would rather know & serve the ryots under them than please the authorities over them do not as a rule rise high in office.

2d. And could not forgery of documents be widely prevented by an Act that all debts & bonds should be registered before they can be enforced by law?

initialled letter draft, ff170-4, pen & pencil
Dear Sir Louis Mallet

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

But the first thing is to try to answer your question so that at least all should be honestly trying to get at some kind of truth in the recent Famine.

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

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

My paper gives "our loss in one year's famine - (not "Deaths" from famine" - still less Registered Deaths from famine) as but the probable decrease of population - disappearance of population "in southern India, that is, in Mysore, Bombay, & Madras"
And in the sentence above “We have lost in one year” “out of the 20 millions more especially under the famine scourge in Madras Presy meaning not the “Deaths from Famine” but the disappearance of population. but what the “Famine Commissioner means when he “reports that “the results of the partial census” “show a decrease in population of”

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

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

“At one period there were 200,000 famine refugees in Madras. This would raise the population to say 600,000. Taken over the year 1876-7 - the total Deaths on this number were 25000. In 1875-6, the Deaths on the normal population were 14,415 so that the famine added 10585 deaths out of 200,000 refugees.” “These 200,000 people
“all came from deserted villages, & would be counted as Deaths there, while only 10,585 of them died.”

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

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

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

In the deserted villages, in the ditches, by the road sides, among wanderers in search of food, especially deserted children, into wild places, were the dead bodies, or the missing, found? Count “registered”, counted or even found? Officially, or unofficially, no one, I believe, has any one ever doubted that they/those who were not may be numbered by thousands & tens of thousands. Could not the only way would be to take a complete Census & compare it with the estimated population from the last Census? would it not?
4. The “disappearance/decrease of population”, as resulting from a Census general or partial would include deaths from famine, from cholera, small pox & fever & all causes greatly more increased during the famine & all causes migration decrease of births

5. The Bombay Government has always declined & as far as I/we know declines still giving ANY estimate of the Famine Mortality. But you will know far better whether this is the case.

6. The Viceroy in Council says “that the papers now before the Government of India do not “furnish means for forming a correct estimate “of the famine mortality in Southern India “during 1876-8” And he is quite right.

*NB the “Papers” give the “registered Deaths” how can all deaths from Famine in a country like India be registered? over a population of 13 765, 165 in Madras Presidency My paper give the loss over a population of 20 millions.
7. My “figures” were “taken “ from those I saw from the “Trial Census operations” of Madras Presy on March 14
   There were not many/ few or none among those I saw besides those I gave.
   Salem was counted as to its entire population in order to correct errors from migration.

   The estimate of “loss” not “Deaths”, “ in one year’s famine”, or “in out of the 20 millions
   more especially under the famine scourge in “Madras Presy” and “in Mysore, Bombay
   & Madras” was appended to this letter. x
   Your estimate of “1300000” which may God grant is the correct one is it of
   “Registered Deaths”? and is it of Bombay
   Madras & Mysore?

   I should regret more than I can say that I have not been more explicit as to what my figures mean: population unaccounted for: population disappeared: missing -
   And in the first part of the Paragraph I have left in words which I cannot justify to myself -
If I had known what I do now, I should not have left them in - The alteration of five words would have done it: & made them/it absolutely correct.
But I waited 2 months for some contradiction - they appeared in the "Times" of May 15:
in a letter from their Madras Correspondent of April 20 -
Otherwise I should have published the figures in two little papers of mine of June & July in good Words & the ‘Indian Asscgon Journal’.

I mean I should regret more than I can say and may God grant that the estimate in my paper may prove incorrect by millions, tho’ I doubt it being so/still fear that it is not much over the mark - but that & I am sure you will not think this ‘cant’: I should esteem the loss of any writing reputation of mine as nothing if official attention at home could but be directed to the things I have mentioned about things which are appreciated by many of the officials out there.

And who can appreciate their labours as I do? One feels a sort of agonizing respect for them.
8. Would you advise me to put in the next No. of 'XIX Century' a sort of fly note—explaining what the figures in my paper mean—the impossibility of Registering Deaths in a famine in India &c &c &c

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

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

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

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

If a Town Crier were as old, as worn out & as cracked as I am, his cry would be “a shriek” I do not at all quarrel with them for saying that
I am amazed at my own moderation in my paper tho' if I had had time, I should have written the article in a

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

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

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

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

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

F.N.
But what always strikes me as a hypocrisy worse than that of the “Scribes & Pharisees” is that while we prate & gabble as if we were the Apostles of the Gospel of Administration & about our Go mission, to govern the ‘benighted nations’ of “our vast Eastern Empire” for the people’s own sakes &c &c scarcely 6 men can be got together in the Ho. of Commons when “for the people’s own sakes,” when the finances of our vast Eastern Empire or questions involving the very existence of the vast people are the subject of debate [Teignmouth Shore said in a sermon on the Famine: you talk of the inscrutable dealings of Providence: you had much better talk of the inscrutable dealings of Englishmen] 

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

I forget whether I bored you with this before.
You are so good as to say that you will ask Lord Cranbrook whether he objects to my seeing the papers & Reports mentioned in the Mema. - I had a kind little note from Lord Cranbrook about my poor little paper in the ‘XIX Century’: but he evidently thinks that the “indebtedness” applies merely to the “Poona & Ahmednuggur” Districts: & that I have exaggerated, if not the intensity of the evil there, yet the extent of it: Mr. Stanhope, in answering a question & releasing/presenting the Deccan Riots Report in the Ho. of C. said the same thing. Surely this can arise only from Lord Cranbrook not yet having had time to examine the case - Now, not only does the “Deccan Riots” Report (“Poona & Ahmednuggur”) deal with nearly every part of the Bombay Presy, except/including Sind but it also deals with the N.W.P., with the Central P., & in some measure with the Punjab & Oude

But I have also been amazed & as it were agonized with letters I have received directly or indirectly from Indian officials & ex-officials belonging to many other parts of India: saying: All this I have known in my District: Or I have had to condemn ryots (according to law) to be bond-slaves: & have not been allowed (by law) to represent the case to higher authority.
f177  {in FN hand} Questions about Zemindar My paper of Dec 1878
{in another hand}
with letter 1878
Miss Nightingale
35 South Street
Park Lane W.
Louis Mallet

unsigned letter, ff178-83v, pen

f178
Famine Figures
{printed address;}
archivist: [c. 10 Feb 1879]
10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.

Pray present my thanks to
Mr. Stanhope (if he would
care for them) for his courteous
& studiously fair reply to my
Madras famine Mortality.
Some of it/ his paper I could answer
already – but I have preferred
waiting till I could obtain
further information.
In the mean time, nothing
can be judged of from Bombay
deductions as to Madras
e.g. with regard to what Deaths
from Epidemics should be
deducted from Famine Deaths
&c &c &c
To shew what I mean:
Famine in Madras

- Population affected: 20 millions
- Severely affected: 17 millions

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

Registered Deaths not 50 per cent of actual Deaths. According to Mr. Elliot, 22 per cent of actual Deaths.

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

Cholera = anything result of Famine.
Small pox + result of Relief Camps.
Fevers = famine Fever.
Bowel = generally almost always no children.
Complaints = the internal state due to starvation.
Other Causes = anaemia: innutrition: direct result of Famine.
Famine in Bombay
Population affected: 8 millions
   severely " 5 "
European supervision
made effective by
enlisting the higher native
officials - the native gentlemen
Not an anna but reached the
hand it was meant for:
if a bribe was required to be put
on relief works detected &
native official instantly dismissed
or punished
So also with sanitary supervision
of relief camps
Registration of Deaths better
   than in ordinary years
more accurate than in preceding
years due to increased supervision.
The village head men, registrars were afraid
of not having Deaths enough:
Headmen thought their English masters
wanted Deaths:
Cholera = real Cholera
Small pox worse where Famine was least
Fevers = malarial Fevers
Bowel
Complaints   anaemia - innutrition other direct results
   of Famine classified under these two heads
Other Causes
Madras

peculation immense
almost unchecked

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

Mysore

Famine from Nov 1876 in Jan/78
to March 1878 Death rate
still high

Increase of Population
at 1 percent included

Villages deserted by the thousand

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

Sir R. Temple as Delegate in Madras different
from Sir R. Temple as Govnor of Bombay
no peculation possible
European or high native officials
saw the money (daily pay) paid
into the people’s hands

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

Famine from Jan 1877
over in November 1877

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

No deserted villages

Sanitary Commn never saw but 5 corpses
by the way side. Inquests on every
corpse. corpses had
  money in their
  pockets
  they would try &
  {illeg wander ?} home
  as wild
  animals do
to die

Sir R. Temple’s policy very different
as Govr of Bombay from Sir R.T.’s policy as

Delegate in Madras
In both Presidencies, {illeg} of Govt are the 6 Headings allowed by order of Govt for Mortality Returns are {printed address:} 10, South Street, Park Lane.

W. Cholera Small pox Bowel Injuries Fevers Other Complaints Cause

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

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

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

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

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

The grandness of the success with
which the Bombay Famine was combated deserves its place in history -
No words are great enough for it.
Sanitary {illeg precedent?} on Relief Works Madras & Bombay children {illeg} special treatment

The Registration of Deaths appears to have been more accurate than in ordinary years.
Epidemic Deaths, at least as far as Cholera & Small Pox went, appear to have been Epidemic Deaths & not Famine Deaths - In Madras the reverse

Still as I look over the Mortality Returns I find my pencil notes on the margin:
“But there is no evidence of famine Deaths”  “in any part of this”
“Famine Deaths might not have been.”
"What are real Famine Deaths registered under?"
"where are the Famine Deaths?"

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

At the same time, it is quite
obvious that there was success in overcoming the Famine, in registration, in everything, in Bombay that there was not in Madras. And it has done no little good in removing the intense bitterness, felt by those who knew that the Registered Deaths in Madras were not 50 per cent: in Mysore 22 per cent of the actual (at what appeared like an attempt of the Govt to state to an ignorant Ho: of Commons registered Deaths as actual Deaths) to know that in Bombay they were more nearly so: But it remains that it is quite impossible to eliminate Cholera, Small pox, Fever &c in Madras from Famine Deaths.
unsigned letter draft, ff184-4v, pen & pencil

f184
Private
& Confidential      Bombay     {printed address:} 10, South Street,

Park Lane. W.

I may tell you as a fact
(stated to me by the illeg/authorities themselves) that the
Monthly or occasional Famine Reports were not published
& never will be published, because they reflect discredit
& give statements which the Govt do not wish to have known.
But I was told this in the strictest confidence.
And it is a matter of too frequent occurrence to excite much surprise.
{some pencilled notes appear in the space between paragraphs, but they are too faint to read}

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

It is a curious piece of naïveté

f184v
on Mr. Ashburnot’s part

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

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

f185
(postmarked:) OFFICIAL PAID W.C.S.M.P. 4 AP 19 79

whether he shd {illeg illeg illeg}
them before the Comme
or whether S. of {illeg}
should {illeg} {the rest is too faint to read}

f185v {too faint to read}
Might I ask what further you have done about Bengal Arrears of Rent Realizin Bill?
Have you seen Ryots' petition against provisions of Part 2 of Bill under head “Procedure for summary realzn of arrears of rent?
circulation of petition for signatures is stopped because Lt Govnor in accordance with suggestion of Select Commee postponed further discussion of Rent Bill till next Session - very glad
very glad He has appointed Commion as you know for revising & amending entire Rent Law - how important 5 members (follow names) but no unofficial member:
Are these Govt men & do you augur well of it?
Petition dwells much upon fact that whereas Zemindar’s rent same now as in 1793 ryot’s rent from 3 to 20 fold what it was in 1793 true?
“So that even if Zemindar had to wait a year for his rent, he could not complain of inability to pay Govt assessment from previous year’s rent.”
[If true says that, tho’ “Zemindar may have parted to Middleman with much of difference between rent paid by ryot in 1793 & much larger rent paid “now”, yet “fact that many are now fattening on ryot, whereas Com Settt designed only one Zemindar to (not fatten upon but) protect & cherish ryot is no reason for collecting from ryot with extreme severity high rent he now pays reasonable?
In a long note petition goes into fact that in 1853 Regns of 1799 & 1812 were “mere instruments of oppression in landlord’s hands” & gives many reasons to prove that these “observations equally apply to provisions of Sections 3 & 4.”

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

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

Petition prays that, “Zemr shall no longer be allowed to be judge in his own case, subject merely to unreal & ineffective restriction.” states that even Courts of justice say, “The witnesses say so & so I have no reason to disbelieve them: whereas it is well known that witnesses can be purchased for a few annas a piece was & is too true states that “almost all claims entered by these means false.
“Indian Tribune publishes articles on Bengal Rent Bill - &
Tables (important) - says that Mr. Mackenzie’s Bill
is based upon assumption that in vast majority of suits
for recovery of arrears of rent defence set up is {illeg
forsaloris ?}”

follows Tables for last 3 years in 24 Pergunnahs - showing
that “ out of 1915 cases in wh. defence was entered, it
failed only in 478, while it was successful in 1437 cases,
goes on to argue that “if any restrictions to be placed
on any party in rent suits it is on landlord plaintiff & not
on tenant defendant
& that “if this is the Table for 24 Pergunnas, where relations
between landlord & tenant good & Zemnr enlightened &
“actually commended by {illeg Rombough?} for conduct towards
their
ryots, what must state of things be in other parts of
Bengal? If Govt of Bengal were to ascertain
proportion of suits for arrears of rent, in wh. defence
proved successful - assumption upon wh. Sir A. Eden formed
first portion of Rent Bill falls to {illeg provided} true?
-said that
“landlords’ accounts not worth paper they are written on
“falsification of Zemrs’ accts every day occurrence in Lower
Provinces
tradition in Bengal to fraudulently magnify rent claim &
support them by perjured witnesses & forged accts.
(This we know but too well)
writer “challenges” any one to contradict this.
challenge not yet taken up

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

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

Side by side with all this quotations form powerful English at home in favour of employing natives in all Govt offices (wh we all so wish for) How does evidence of corruption furnished by natives themselves confirm plan of putting natives in to Govt situations real fount of difficulty what do you propose to reform corruption? As regards “transferability of tenure “ Mr. Sen’s ‘remarks’

Would it not be most desirable to appoint two unofficial members in Commissn to revise whole Bengal Rent Law? such an important thing - one to represent Ryots one Zemindars/ Urge?

II from letter to Mr. Gladstone (Poona first)

III Famine Mortality offered Cornish’s Mema

Bombay 700 000

Hyderabad will never be known

As for figures to Ho of C. if questd merely one of arithmetic like a sum on a child’s slate in the lowest class - a child just beginning to count have not sent you these figures - if what is certain, what is known already, what is beyond dispute & challenge does not move Govt to action nothing will.

IV Mr. Caird satisfactory

V Deccan Villages offered from as to lands passing into hands of money lenders in villages transferred from Nizam to us

VI Don’t betray any information coming to me not coming to Govt.
f188

{archivist:} 1884
Jan 5/83–84

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

Dear Sir Louis Mallet
   I do not know whether
you were so good as to say
that you would care to
hear from me: but I cannot
help sending you my very
best wishes for the highest
blessings of the New Year
upon your self, your work
& your big child India.
   There is not the least
doubt that you have much
more news than I have
from that big place.
For I cling to the belief

f188v

that it is still your child.
   And therefore all that
I may be bold enough to say
must have a query at the
end.
   Had it not been for the
Ilbert Bill compromise,
query what do you think
of that? – & for the dozenth
remodelling of the Bengal
Tenancy Bill – query, are
you satisfied with that?
incurring delay & greater
opposition I might have
f189

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

f190

This is not a camel
‘elaborated out of my own
consciousness’. It is what
I hear experienced Anglo
Indians say: certainly not
belonging to the India Council
- certainly not to the High
Court not to the ’Times’
but perhaps men whose
opinions may be after all
more ‘founded in fact’
than those of the Times
or the India Council &
’Departments’. men of
20 or 30 years’ experience
in high posts in India
They think that the day
spring from on high has now visited India – & that now for the first time there has arisen a Star in the East. It is most extraordinary that the Liberal party has not seen that. Ld Ripon’s hour has come? Mr. Gladstone does support Lord Ripon. But surely they should declare loudly & with iteration their adhesion. They are losing their opportunity. They ought to stump it about the country.

we have nothing to compromise we consider this the greatest triumph of Liberal principles of our day – perhaps of all time. You say these have failed in Ireland, in Egypt, in Zululand. But here in India is the triumph of Mr. Gladstone’s Liberal principles on the largest stage, the biggest/ most stupendous scale.
in the world. *Ireland* secedes from us, the more we try to conciliate/ reform & {illeg help?} her/ in Ireland the more her poor little 5 millions secede & go farther from our arms.

But *Ireland* is but 5 millions. But in India the 220 million meets us half way, /they welcome our principles with open arms. She has not yet grasped what she wanted/ redress before she cries out her gratitude

*And India has* 220 millions.
But here you hear Lord Ripon classed with the Mahdi & the Cape.
(the Mahdi & Lord Ripon as two not harmless fanatics)
setting vast regions in a blaze.
And no one says a word to enlighten public opinion.
Indeed no he is the grandest success of our time
[By the way, Lord Kimberley made the most ferocious mistake in sending for Mr. Atkins: Mr. Atkins was completely defeated, crushed, till the Sec of State! sends for him !!] Apologize for, excuse Ld Ripon’s policy No indeed.
5. Mr. Gladstone ‘stumped’ Mid Lothian 4 years ago
Surely that great country India who now knows her right hand from her left would be worth Mr. Gladstone’s Govt ought to have spoken & got men to speak for Ld Ripon’s measures
some one/ a little ‘stumping’ it now.

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

Now why don’t /But Ministers ought to
send such people about.
Lord Hartington & Mr. Chamberlain
speechify about. why is
India alone unworthy of their
attention ? 3 at stake, one’s blood boils
at such unopposed misunder

{printed address, upside down:} standing, such uncorrected
10, South Street, mistakes
Park Lane. W.

2

For electioneering alone it ought to have been
done. But when one thinks that the lives of
200 millions for this world & the next {illeg above?}
{written in the left side margin}
Did I not say that India’s interests were too big to interest us?
Say to the few Anglo Indian agitators: we are very sorry for your, tho' we know it to be altogether a mistake we will do what we can to please & make it easy to you but apologize for the grandest policy that has ever yet been tried successfully.

succeeded by honesty alone that we cannot do.

the Agricultural Advances Act & Land Banks - the Suspensions & Remissions in of collecting Land Revenue involving as it must no long time hence all the Land Settlement question of all the Local Self-Government the biggest of all schemes & Acts. - there is the encouragement of native arts & industries by Government, the greatest consumer, getting/which now has everything made by native artisans made that can be made. This is in itself an immeasurable boon.

there is the employment of natives the not allowing European interlopers
to intercept the more
lucrative posts for promotion to which natives
have fairly worked their way
up to. there is the Education
there are other things
which you ought to be
telling us end

Why, it is the greatest almost an Epic poem
a 'Ramayana' in the world
a Paradise Regained
Only there is no body to sing
it! go to there is the Land

If Mr. Bright would
really get up the subject,
he might make a regal
progress: & interest everybody
Rarely or never has a Cabinet, a Parliament such an subject opportunity. But they let the Times, the High Court pour forth those ghastly fictions. I should have thought some things Sir J. Stephen had written were treasonable - & no one lifts a voice or scarcely a finger strongly enough, or often enough to be heard. Or if they do, it is only in apologetic terms. This is the Anglo Indian mutiny. Should not Ministers say: we wish to make any concessions to soothe, to conciliate you

But Lord Ripon is carrying out our principles the Liberal principles which are our very raison d’être. And we are not going to give up these. & say it so as to be heard.

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

And here they stuck fast at this wretched Ilbert Bill. Extraordinary the Second - people do not see the immense changes wrought in India {printed address, upside down} 10, South Street, by our own measure during the last 10 years education railroads opening up the country &c &c wh make Ld R’s measures not only safe but imperative
Dear Sir Louis Mallet

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

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

But my real reason for troubling you now is not Lord Reay but Mr. Gladstone I have had a most unexpected opportunity given me of writing “notes” to him upon the Indian administrative measures to be desired as connected with Lord Ripon’s past & Lord Dufferin’s future policy in these administrative matters including the Bengal Rent Bill, Local Govt &c. I have already sent in a sort of very brief “Contents” [Naturally the next “notes” must be very brief too.] Might I ask of your very great kindness what you should consider the main points to be urged as right in Lord Ripon’s measures &
to be urged on Lord Dufferin for the future?  
[You have been so very kind to me that I may also perhaps mention (in confidence) that Lord Dufferin came to see me; & at his desire I wrote “notes” for him.  One can only wait & see what, if anything, comes of it.)  

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

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

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

ff198, February 19, re a proposed visit to FN.

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

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

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

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

ff215-18v, June 24, 1868, from Lord Napier, re Female hospital in Madras
ff219-20v, July 8, re proposed Sanitary Institutions in the city of Madras
Lord Napier

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ff244-8, 1 Queen Square West, {archivist: April 28, 1874} from Lord Napier, re errors in a book on Irrigation in India {note in the margin in FN hand please return to FN}
notes on envelope, ff249-v, pen & pencil

**f249**

Panchayats
People in Madras
remedies Pawnbroker’s Act

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

Deaths

1. opinion of Panchayat on money lending
{in another hand: Miss Nightingale}
Reports on Subject
2. People in Madras any truth?
3. Panchayats for P. W. natives overseers taking bribes
&c
4. Can there be private enterprise?

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

**f249v**

capital creates pauperism
Remedies Registration Pawnbrs Act

O if we could but get the natives to teach us & cooperate with us in measures for their improvement

[10:] [end 10:]
Mr. Robertson  
7/3/79  
{printed address: } 10, South Street, 
Park Lane. W.

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

The prospect of model
Farms, Agricultural Colleges
& native teachers & managers taught
cheers & warms one’s heart.
Do you know if any of the
money lenders, particularly
those in Bombay (I see a
large proportion of Bombay
{written in the right hand margin:} Lord Napier’s
letter
in the College) who have acquired large properties in land, have sent sons or relatives to your Farm & Agricultural College in Madras. (for it is yours) to learn how to improve these lands: These men have capital the universal excuse for the non improvement of agriculture is that the small cultivator has no capital.

All the Reports on indebtedness I have ever seen vie in stating that the lands which have fallen into the money lenders’ hands, so far from being improved by the monied men are in the worst state of all more rack {illeg} &/or cultivated by labourers, commonly by the old proprietors, who are now only slaves.

One would feel encouraged in heart that the sons of these new proprietors were learning to manage the acquired lands.

It is an encouragement to see the Parsees, whose energy has been I
suppose so conspicuous in commerce
carrying that energy into ‘land’
& sending their young men to the
Agric. College
   as well as the Brahmins
If the process of agricultural education
extends, if there could be as you
say model farms & native teachers
in every province, & these be
widely imitated, much of the
desperate condition of India might
disappear.

{written across the page:} to D. of Buckingham
18/4/79

It moves me to see how the
accommodation in the Agricultural
Kno Coll is neglected. Class Rooms
& Lecture Rooms so bad. Mr.
Robertson said that improved
accomodn has been estimated
& he hopes that “before another
year it may have been provided
I am sure if pressure could be
bring this about you will have
“provided” pressure.
{written across the page:} to D. of Buckingham

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Englishmen generally will not
read Reports: least of all Indian Reports

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

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

I had just been reading a private official Report

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

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

I feel were I to go on I should write a letter as long as the Report. So I stop

But please consider me worthy at least from deepest interest of more of your {illeg}

And there comes {illeg} (misery twice told) from Bombay saying that no new works are to be undertaken

all p. wks to be suspended - no applications sent in. All expenditure retrenched &c &c
f254

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

see Mr. Jowett’s notes (Lea Hurst)

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

f255

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

f255v

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

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

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

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

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

These Reports are not yet published

The Famine is forgotten.
People’s minds are so taken up (& rightly too) with this Afghan War on one side or the other, that they forget the far deeper tragedy than any that can be acted there which took place but one short year ago here in Southern India: an interest of immeasurably greater magnitude, weight, & height & depth.

I have made no use, public or private, of these facts I have not even written to Lord Cranbrook or Mr. Stanley who presented the papers/ famine figures in the Ho. of C. The I.O. must be aware of these facts if they choose probably were aware of them at the time they were denying them in letters to me about my “shriek” & asking where I could “have got my figures?”

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

People’s minds are so taken up with the vulgarest & most claptrap sides of our Indian Empire that they seem indifferent to the great sides of this stupendous Empire The good govt of the people You must arouse them to it.

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

I earnestly trust that you still prognosticate that, “after our first advance – “a pacific adjustment is still possible”

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

[end 15:847]
III A friend has sent me the new Bill for ‘relief of indebted agriculturists in parts of Bombay Presy.’ It is almost too good to pass – for it includes the old ‘Hindu rule’ by providing ‘no agriculturist shall in any case pay interest exceeding in the aggregate the amount of his principal debt.’

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

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

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

IV And your kindness inspires me to ask a yet more troublesome question: Do you know what is become of the Bengal ‘Enhancement of Rent’ papers? They were sent home I believe about a year ago – they were before the S. of S. for India in the summer – they were asked for & were to have been presented in Parlt before the close of last Session – but it was understood that the S. of S. begged for grace – till event decided whether there was to be war with Russia (on the ground of not making enemies of the Bengal Zemindars)
And then - you know how things go -
The papers were not produced
Can you tell me what became of the question?

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

V. Some of the answers which have preceded at home the future Report of the Famine Commission are intensely curious or pathetic or interesting E.g. the way the Zemindars (this in the N.W.P.) actually deter the cultivators from taking Govt ‘takavi’ advances to dig wells - because, short sighted creatures! they wd have to give compensation if cultivators left.
I don’t see however that this tell for o much as the Commn
supposes. If a man/is borrowed 20,
half at low interest, half at high & is applied half to his
necessities, & half to well-digging, as if well-
digging were not a necessity it
does not much signify which is which -7-

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

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

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

[All these reasons how Govt Takavi with its low
rate of interest comes not to be taken is very
important & significant] Surely the greater contains the less
Perhaps
they would not so often be obliged
to waive
their dues, if they ‘accommodated’ the
poor ryots with
advances more easily to put them beforehand
with the world
& to pay their dues. Homestead Law. Would
this such as there is
in America be
possible? the ‘Homestead’ cannot be
sold for any debts. (the ‘Homestead’ is as much as the man can
cultivate himself & as will grow

I believe
(illeg subsistantion?) - For himself & his family.
All this is most strange & instructs us as to why
Govt advances are not taken Could there not be some
small modification or relaxation of rule &/or method in granting Takavi. Govt is constantly obliged to grant remissions of assessment or rent.

But this letter is an irrigation, I mean an inundation of talk. Pray forgive it.
Pray accept my old (too true) excuse for long delay in thanking you - pressure of overwork & illness the excuse cause. In London I am overworked but in the country autumn I am ground to powder for there is no one else since my father’s death to do anything for the place of people.
You will justly think however this long letter (illeg) a yet more humble excuse
unsigned letter draft, ff262-3v, pencil

f262
Lord Napier & Ettrick 31/3/79
thanks for copy of Annual Agricultural Report Madras 1879 - came in nick of time
very sorry to see they have not built an Agricultural Sch: Lecture Rooms & Class Rooms so much wanted: [written in top margin]
write to Duke of Buckingham & that they had (I suppose in consequence) instead of 3 classes going on with their training, only one - tho’ the building of a Chemical Laboratory is sanctioned. But that is almost putting the cart before the horse - is it not?
not ungrateful for not having thanked you before for Vol. of Minutes during your Governorship
Minute on Experimental Farms particularly interesting
Have your proposed Model Farms in {illeg Combalam or Salem in Bettary, in Tinnevily, ?} & perhaps in {illeg Gajara?} been carried out as they ought?
But above all, has your wisdom been followed in educating natives of India & ryot natives at the Govt Sydapet Farm for superintending the Provincial Farms? That seems the pith of the whole system.
And do the Provincial Farms show to poor men of small means how they can make the best of what they have - show them “models of good cultivation” as you say, in “bread stuffs” - instead of only the more valuable cultures, which the poor men cannot attain?
So glad to see your approval of the “intelligent” people of “flourishing” Godavery.
There is not that I can find in Mr. Robertson’s Report (1879) any account of the caste or class of his pupils, as
there has been before. One wants to know whether
- as you advise young men of the ryot class do come
for instruction, or are sent by the Collectors. That is
all important - is it not?
   And does the use of LIME p.p.87to as a manure make progress
about the Madras Presy?
   I cannot find in Mr. Robertson’s look in Mr. Robertson
   p.87
   p.36 Repor

you so wisely dwell upon - that as he has supplied
improved ploughs, sickles, pick axes &c - could he
not effect economy by simple cleaning cotton machines,
silk combing, grain grinding machines &c &c?
   Probably I am quite out of date & all these may p.p.

36-37)

have been supplied or improved.
   But I learnt lately that sugar machines where
sugar can be cultivated (my information however was
from {illeg Khandera?}) do not express 50 p.c. of the Sugar
And even in this profitable sugar cultivation, the
farmers cannot afford, or do not know how to get
a better machine!
   I had a most interesting woman here lately - wife
of one of the Secies to Govt at Madras who, after a
4 yrs’ Medl course at Madras, has come to London for
a further 3 yrs course, Examn of London Univy & degree
= in order to return to Madras & practise in the Zenanas -
[I don’t like ‘Medl women’ in general - don’t betray me -
they are such prigs - & their knowledge only surface know
ledge - I have seen Lady Doctors who certainly did not
know so much as a first rate Nurse Yet Medicine &
Nursing shd never be mixed up -
   But this lady was the most thorough going devoted woman
I think I ever saw]
She has had great practise already among native women, poorer & richer. She described to me the amounting of disease among the mothers & deterioration among the children arising from these {illeg unhealthy?} mothers (before the children are born) taking the violent exercise, - standing up in an unnatural position, with a long heavy pestle - necessary to, as I understood her, bruise or grind their grains - these women being in a half starved condition

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

Some one at Madras sent me 2 Lectures of Mr. Robertson.

He says in his Report Fodder has not failed this last year.

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

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

benefits innumerable thank for write to Sir A. Cotton

Dr. Cornish’s letter of tribute {illeg}

Irrigation

Annual Progress Irrigation Report Madras 1877-8

with kind remarks - & Revenue Mema, April 1878

with statement of areas irrigated & proportion of Revenue “fairly attributable” to Irrign

next letter on this & Godavery, Kistna &c contributions of grain to famine & EDUCATION (BEGUN) & Robertson Report p.50: Introductory 5
continued oppression? Then the people listened.

"The Press, the Parlt & the Bishops were all against us" as Sir G. Stephen said but when the note was sounded
"Can innocent men be justly made the chattels of other men? If life sentenced felon’s children &
children’s children cannot be made such, how can the children of captured slaves be justly made slaves?
When this note was sounded, the interest of the country rose en masse. 20 millions were voted & the
victory was won.

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

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

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

Your Black & White most interesting
Mr. Caird home on April 5 - does your P.W.Committee
sit again this year? 31/3
unsigned letter draft, f264, pencil & pen

**f264**

Lord Napier April/79

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

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

large expenditure useless p. 53 p. v

asked about "Manual of Agriculture" for Village Schools

p. 40 Normal School students p. 50 Para 26

p. 50 Para 27
did not go into this with D. of B.

p. 52 Para 29 general agri pop

p.49 Para 24 {illeg Kamma?} youth

p.v 2nd para
did ask D. of B. this,
p. 91 Para 15 As manures p.93 Para

lime almost unknown 26 bones " " 25

agri reform 24

green manuring para 27

" 18

p.93 " 28 urine sewage " par. 23

91 " 18 - dung used as fuel

p. 36 111

ploughs, hoes, harrows &c improved & cheap

supplied

but no cleaning cotton machines grain grinding machines

silk winding do. Mrs. Scharlieb
unsigned letter draft, ff264v-5, pencil

£264v

Ld Napier  
Ap 30/79
thanked for Annual Progress Report P.W.D. Madras,  
1877-8  
blue paper
& No 561  
Reve Dep. Madras Ap 9/78  
white paper
for his comments
thro’ Ld Salisbury in 1875 instituted investigations for
p. 37  
Para 3  
blue paper
2
last
p.11 Col 6  
white paper
7
acknowledged his remarks on {illeg Strivarkantha?} Ancient
his hopes that Toombuddra might yet succeed
gave Dr. Cornish’s difference in Famine Morty
between irrigated & non irrigated Taluqs
{illeg Tr?} Kistna {illeg T??d?} Tangore -
Gave out of ‘note’ list Para
You say Carry out Better works to perfection
Diffe of Note & Progress Report after “careful cultivation”
& “special
investigation”
Note Clear interest on capital outlay
Godavery  
14  
9 p.c.
Kistna  
10  
23
{illeg}
Reve “on cap out
Godavery  
21  
35
Kistna  
15  
48
Add in Illustrated News what Sir A. C. says
(21, 28 or 40)
Gave Notes “prop value of once 495 lakhs

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

gave Notice “{illeg?}

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

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

{but wh I am desired to make no use of till the
Govt orders are ‘out upon them’}

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

So it appears it is in India]

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

But there are not yet the Statcs distinguishing
between ‘dry’ & wet Taluqs

Govt {illeg} however is all wet is it not?
Mr B. Frere [June 1867]
I had a note the other day from Miss Carpenter in which she conveyed to me your wish to see me on Indian matters. My health is at present very precarious, but I take so deep an intent in the whole subject of Indian development that I cannot deny myself the opportunity of conversing with you about it.

Sir B. Frere
A short time ago my opinion was asked by Capt. Galton on certain points involving the ventilation of hospitals in India and a paper was sent to me on this subject. On reading over the paper I found in it much more than the simple question of ventilation. I found that the government in India has arrived at a most unfortunate decision of the question by an administrative proceeding which certainly was never contemplated. I wrote to the Royal Commission of 1857 presided over by Lord Herbert & Lord Stanley I illeg R.C. on the Indian Army of 1867 presided over by Ld Herbert & Lord Stanley & illeg to which I am very desirous of calling to attention of Sir St. N. I have written a letter on this subject hereunto enclosed. Might I ask you to be so very kind as to present it for me to Sir St. N.

ff3-4v, June 11, 1867, re Dr. Hewlett’s report, letter on embossed India Office paper

ff5-7v, July 16, 1867, re a recommendation that FN receive Messrs Dadabhoy Nowrojee and Nowrojee Furdonjee on embossed IO [Frudoonji?] 

ff8-9, July 19, 1867, re a proposed visit, embossed IO

ff10-11, July 23, 1867, re a missing Minute of Lord de Grey, embossed IO
ff12-12v, July 24, 1867, re a proposed visit, embossed IO

ff13-14, July 27, 1867, re the help solicited of Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Henry Anderson, embossed IO

ff15-17v, 44 Princes Gardens, August 10, 1867 re difficulties in setting up a Public Health Department in India

ff18-19, August 13, 1867, re a proposed visit, on embossed IO

f20 pencil note very faint, rough JS hand

[20 Aug 1867]

Sir B. Frere
I have seen Sir S.N. and he [too faint]
into the which subject as [faint] He is
going to have a committee [faint]
subject you previously [faint]
&c You will I suppose have the [faint]
contesting &c [faint]
work & it would be will now to
draw up some scheme of proceeding

ff21-3, August 22, 1867, re Sir Stafford Northcote’s help, from
44 Prince’s

f24 FN note, faint, pencil rough JS hand

[c. Aug 22-26 1867]

Sir B. Frere
I send you these very interesting papers which
have been printed as you will see against me
on account of an impertinent letter of mine
asking them what they are about.
I am most glad they have come just
now, because so far as Bengal is
concerned they give a vivid idea of
the present state of the public health question.
--what has been done--what has been
left undone--where the organization is
defective & in what points it can be
improved. It is most likely that the
papers have come just now because
among other things they point out exactly
where your India House [?] Committee could
be of use
Will you be so good as return
them to me after you have read them.
ff25-5v, August 27, 1867, re a proposed visit on 44 Prince’s. I am grieved to return the papers with my notes incomplete, but I was unexpectedly called away last week into the country....will call

has FN note on f25v
Then comes the great question of obtaining Census annual reports--mortality works proposed “ executed
what next to be done?

ff26-28 September 7, 1867, re an apology for delay in responding to FN’s papers & a promise to complete notes on them

ff29-66v, September 8, 1867, re his comments on Dr. Farquhar’s and Major Malleson’s Memorandum as well as Mr. Ellis’ memoranda

ff67-7v, Sept 11, 1867, re a proposed visit, 44 Prince’s

ff68-70v, India Office, September 17, 1867, re FN’s replies to Sir J. Lawrence’s letters and Mr. Ellis’ papers

ff71-72 faint pencil note, rough JS

1867]

Sir B. Frere
I have sent the letter to Sir J. L. And the next question is what has next to be done. Must we wait until Sir J. L. Submits a plan, if he ever does do to the India Office. Or must we wait until the committee is appointed at the India Office & then help to draw up a plan of procedure for the Committee work to be submitted to Sir S.N. or must I write to Sir S.N. & is so on what subject & in what direction.
V
Under these circumstances I feel myself functioning officio [9:971] in this matter, at the very time when we are sending to New South Wales a Superintendent & staff of nurses prepared trained here at the request of the Colonial Government, & which staff might have been landed at Calcutta. And at the very time when applications are coming to me from natives in India for help in improving the hospital nursing there.

[End 9:971]

ff73-4v, 44 Princes Gardens, September 21, 1867 re the appointment of a Committee on Public Health at the India Office

ff75-5v, September 25, 1867, re a proposed visit & FN’s draft, Prince’s

ff76-8, October 19, 1867, re a proposed visit of Sir Stafford Northcote to FN, and the establishment of a Public Health Department in India, Prince’s

ff79-80, India Office, October 22, 1867, re a proposed visit, India Office embossed
f81 faint note, pencil, JS rough hand

[23 Oct 1867]

Sir B.F.
I herewith enclose Mr Ellis’ papers to which reference was made yesterday.
In my printed memo contains Mr Ellis’ proposed organization for Madras which was never sanctioned.
The shorter printed memo was drawn up at the time when the commissions came to a dead lock.
My other MS papers are replies to the Governor General on certain points raised in official communications by the Governor General. They are useful at present as showing the extent to which the questions have been discussed and as indicating the directions in which the administrative element should move. Will you be so good as read them over & return them with any remarks which occur to you.

ff82-89, 44 Princes Gardens, October 26, 1867, re FN’s notes on a Despatch to be sent to India, Prince’s

ff90-93, October 30, 1867, re drainage problems in Bombay, from Prince’s

ff94-95, November 9, 1867, re the formal appointment of the Public Health Committee, from Prince’s

ff96-97, November 22, 1867, re lack of progress made and proposed visit tomorrow, from Prince’s

ff98-101, December 17, 1867, re the doors and windows question and a proposed visit, from Prince’s

ff102-03v, March 11, 1868, re the prospect of another famine in India, embossed IO
Sir B.F.
I know you will excuse my writing to ask how
your committee is going on and whether
the dispatch to Sir J.L has yet been
sent out. I am very desirous of doing
what I can & I will write to India as soon
as I know how matters stand here.

ff105-6v, Bilton near Bath, March 23, 1868, re difficulties in
preparing a Dispatch for India, pub in Martineau, The Life of Sir
Bartle Frere 40

ff107-12v, 22 Princes Gardens, April 28, 1868, re some small
locks of wool of disappointing size and comments re the
Abyssinian situation

ff113-16, June 25, 1868, re proofs for a Blue Book, embossed IO

ff117-21v, Marienbad, August 28, 1868, re delay in sending
Sanitary Memorandum to India

ff123-26, India Office, September 10, 1868, re further delays
with the Blue Book embossed IO

f127, 22 Princes Gardens, October 9, 1868, re a proposed visit
unsigned note, f128-28v, pencil, on back of Frere’s letter above

f128
I thought the “Investigation” had been
done already
When Ld Ranelagh appeals to my
“better nature” I’ve no “better
nature” to give him
It’s just as well for justice that Ld
Ranelagh should have put his
statement into the papers
How many towns have Municipalities
& Municipalities rich enough to have
an European Municipal Commission?
I believe he has been there
Is there anything else I should say to Sir
B. Frere?
f128v
What am I to say to Sir B.F. about Hewlett?
What am I to say about a successor to Sir P. Cautley?
But it must be—a member of Council
He’s so overwhelmed with business
If we could put him, I should consider our fortune as made.
What am I to say about all Malleson’s & Lord Napier’s letters/

ff129-30v, October 14, 1868, re the establishment of a permanent basis for the work in India before the departure of Sir J. Lawrence, embossed IO, excerpt Martineau 41

unsigned letter draft, ff131-32v, pencil, FN’s copy of draft noted, FN hand

The Hon Sir Richd Temple KCSI
Calcutta

[9:613-14]

Private
My dear Temple

By this Mail you will receive a copy of a Blue Book on Indian Sanitary matters up to the end of 1867. It is as you will see no quite complete as a precis, but it gives all that is officially on record here & some important papers, which you perhaps have not seen. Let me especially beg your attention to p.p. 14 to 17.

I know that your financial labours will not diminish your interest in these matters; & your aid is now especially needed because all men do not feel as strongly as, I am sure, you do, that the best way to save the public revenue is to spend a good deal of it in saving the lives & the health of industrious & money making morals- & you will not I am sure, be deterred from helping to save life & health, merely because it costs money.

But what I want you immediately to do is to get Sir J. Lawrence to take the decisive steps necessary to put the work on a proper footing before he leaves. The Blue Book will show you how much has been done & how
much proposed since he went out, but you will see that everything is in a transition state & that unless something be done to give fixed & definite form to the sanitary Dept. & make it a regular recognized part of the administrative machinery things may revert pretty much to the state they were in before the Crimean War.

There is now a Sanitary Dept. In this office, but I cannot learn that the Govt. Of India has noticed this fact, which was conveyed to them in a Dispatch dated in Nov. Last--for nothing comes direct to the Dept. here & they still glean their papers haphazard from the Military P.W. & other Depts. nor has any reply come to a subsequent Dispatch sent in Ap. last which you will find at p. 12 of the Blue Book.

You can understand why I do not write to Sir John direct- but this is a subject which much concerns the credit of his administration, as well as health & life, & on which, I am sure, he feels very deeply--& if you could discover where the hitch is, & remove it, you would prevent the labour & thought he has bestowed on the subject [text corrected at Br Lib]

being wasted, as well as promote objects which are I am sure not indifferent to you
for which you have laboured efficiently in all parts of your career—

A parting Resolution by the Viceroy in Council reviewing what has been done & being done a course of proceeding for the future might be drawn up—
The expence of the Executive which is required to give effect to what all wish to do is the only difficulty I can think of & if you could wind up the Resolution by a promise that a special assignment should be made for this purpose in the forthcoming Budget, there ought to be no more excuse for inaction. The local govts ought to be able to tell you by tel: what they will want— or Strachey of Bengal— Ellis for Madras— & Bell (Col.) for Bombay could at once name to you a lump sum which would suffice to start with, in each Presy, & you could fix something less for each of the other administrations—

But much of the expence will of course be borne by the Municipalities— I need not tell you how much will depend on leaving much latitude in details to local judgment till you see what the Local authorities propose to do with the discretion you grant them.

I have much to say about Finance but must now only add that I am my dear Temple ever sincerely yours

H.B.W. Frere

ff133-34v, 22 Princes Gardens, October 17, 1868, re a letter from FN to Sir J. Lawrence before his departure from India and some information about Lord Mayo, 22 Prince’s

ff135-38, October 23, 1868, re a proposed visit of Lord Mayo to FN, with a suggestion that she outline in a memorandum what should be done in India, and that she meet Lady Mayo, embossed IO

ff139-40, October 31, 1868, re a proposed visit to discuss a letter from FN to Lord Mayo before his departure for India, embossed IO
Are there any other questions to ask Sir B. Frere?
About Ld Mayo
Durand is dead against us
Mansfield is crotchety & ill tempered
Strachey is always after some new plan.

ff141-44v, November 1, 1868, re FN’s memorandum for Lord Mayo, 22 Prince’s

ff145-46v, December 2, 1868, re the establishment of a special service for sanitary matters in India

unsigned, incomplete letter draft, ff147-47v, pencil faint, rough JS hand

[end of Feb 1869]

Look, poor Tulloch is all in a mess
Aitken has attacked him
This is my answer- F.N.
Mr Arthur has no chance with Tulloch
who is an engineer & a sanitary engineer
He then appears to be an élève of the costly metropolitan system which would never do for Indian cities for it could not be paid for.

Sir B. Frere
So far as an outsider who never laid down & never can judge, Mr Arthur has no chance with Tulloch. I judge from the extract simply, which Tulloch gives from Aitkens pamphlet. Have you the original itself? As the case stands in Tullochs reply, you could not sanction all his plan which would be enormously costly & could pollute your harbours & freshness [?]
[upside down]
This man has come to inspect our Cisterns & water=apparatus
I suppose he must?

ff148-49v, March 23, 1869, re death and disease rates in London and other large municipalities, 22 Prince’s
I. PROPAGATION of {archivist: illeg 1869} CHOLERA OF 1867

The abstract of Indian reports up to “General Conclusions” page 30 gives a correct picture of the facts as they presented themselves to the Indian Medical officers.

But it is well known that of late years the Medical profession has been declining in its powers of accurate observation, and has either supplemented this deficiency by theory or has observed from a theory as a centre.

The older & abler race of Indian medical officers now extinct, avoided this error & hence the earlier Indian reports on cholera are still standard works of reference.

The present decline in India dates from the time when a mere theory of a Bristol contagionist was printed in an Indian govern't report & was accepted as a truth. This was done as an appendix in Mr. Strachey’s report on the previous cholera epidemic. And the cholera of 18567
f151
has been observed not as it took place, but as it was seen from the light, or rather from the darkness of this theory, & the shadow is on all the reports - of the cholera of 1867 of which you have given abstracts.

There are but two ways of dealing with the 1867 reports, either to criticize them, or merely to give the facts without comment.

Long ago you sent me (F.N.) the first papers on the subject received from India, and I (F.N.) advised

-2-

f151v
you to send them to the Army San. Com. You did this & the Committee made a careful abstract of them. They very soon traced the error to its source, but did not wish to say a single word against any Medical officer in India. They drew up a minute for the General Committee (herewith sent) the practical result of which was that the reports should not be returned to you with a criticism, but that an attempt should be made
to settle the disputed questions by a careful & unprejudiced enquiry.

The General Committee directed instructions for this to be prepared, and after the next meeting they will be sent to you with a request that the enquiry be undertaken. Great care has been bestowed on them & they represent all the points requiring investigation as these are considered necessary by epidemiologists both here & abroad. Now it will be stated to you that

that the result of the examination of the reports has been to shew that it would be most desirable to undertake a special enquiry into the whole subject of epidemic cholera in the East.

If you compare this conclusion with your own criticisms at page 30, which conclusions are based on the opinions contained in the Indian reports, you will see that you differ altogether as to the result of the Indian reports.

Again at page 31 is
given a table of “facts” about cholera & its propagation.
A moments examination of the table shows that there are not facts in it.
   For instance the date of the arrival of pilgrims is not given.
   The state of health before arrival is not given.
   The date of attack among residents is not given.
   The only thing that is given is that a pilgrim was attacked on such a date.
   The evidence is exactly the same as that on which witchcraft trials

used to be founded & has no value in the eyes of any one who knows the question.
   The evil of it is that it infallibly conveys the idea of importation to weak minds.
   I (F.N.) actually wrote to India to get a printed table of the attacks in relation to pilgrims. This table is far more complete than yours & here are the results of a careful analysis. (The table was prepared by Dr. Murray & sent to me by Dr. Cunninghame
(insert analysis of table)

This is really the best evidence you have about the transport of cholera by pilgrims & you will see that it by no means justifies the opinion that beyond a doubt the pilgrims carried cholera in their clothes (which is the real averment)

I think the best way to do would be to give no decided opinion in the subject. Before your report is out you will have had the "Instructions" & you might insert them if you agreed to carry out the enquiry. It is looked forward to with great interest & one part of it is already going on.

With regard to the cholera rules.

Nothing of importance has been added to those of the General Board of health of 1848-49. The additions such as they are have been on the side of the efficiency of contagion as a cause of cholera. (the questions to be proved) This is unfortunate because it turns mens
minds from the real efficient removable causes. Diseases may or may not be contagious but the question to be settled by the Indian enquiry is whether contagion is so important an element as to form the basis of Sanitary procedure & official doctrine.

The latest paper on the subject which I have seen quite recently was one sent to the Academy of Sciences for the Mounthryn [?] prize, from Calcutta in which the author claims the discovery that cholera is positively non-contagious & that it is to be managed through a different pathology altogether.

The practical result is that I would temper down so as to leave undecided in the mean time all the disputed questions.

Opinion in Medicine is neither here nor there, but when it is applied in Sanitary questions it is simply destructive. Sanitarians like [illegible] Chemists deal only with ascertained facts.
Deficiency in information regarding the Cholera of 1867

As the abstract stands it places the whole, or almost the whole causation of Cholera in Contagion. There is nothing said on the Sanitary state of attacked towns & villages. There is nothing said about the water supply, while the analyses now about to be reported on by the Army Sanitary Comms to the India office shew that there is scarcely a town or station over the whole region attacked by cholera in which the water is not dangerous, during epidemic seasons.

Peshawur is specially distinguished in this respect. There is no account of the Sanitary state of any attacked Barrack, station, or hospital or of any prison.

This defect in the reports sent to you from India should be noticed. None of them are properly speaking
Sanitary reports. They are Medico-Statistical reports, based on contagion.

You ought to require a Sanitary report year by year from every Indian Station.

You will see the points laid down in the Instructions for the cholera enquiry to which I have referred.

[fn hand in pencil] March 30/69

Sir B. Frere
The enclosed M.S. was left with me by Dr Farquhar who was Sir J. Lawrences Physician. I have read it & been interested in it, but on the other hand statements regarding the native medical student, have been made to me of a very different character.
Would you be so good as read this over & tell me your opinion on the subject.

[fn hand]
As I tell Sir B.F. that about that it’s no use moving the Regt. after the two cases of Cholera?
Is Logan’s plan the exact opposite of Cunningham?
But Cunningm says the Indian MO’s ought all to have Indian experience
You see it was all wasted time then- I have no strength to waste unless there is really some prospect of doing something.
Shew me Carpenter.
Fitzjames Stephen is gone—
I had his sister here yesterday—
I should now propose to print this (it will not cost me much) & then I would send a copy or two her or there to weighty persons.

He said it ought to be printed, that Ministers would never read M.S.

And I do not like to put him to the expense
These are not men out of the Govt Schools.

ff165-69v, November 18, 1869, re a report by Dr. Farquhar, interesting remarks re early medicine, Mohammedans etc. embossed IO

ff170-71, November 17, 1869, re letters from Dr. Livingstone & Dr. Cunningham, embossed IO

unsigned letter draft, ff172-3, pencil faint [rough JS hand]

Dec 6/79
Sir B Frere
Dec 7/69
Since I saw you I have had further private information about these disastrous Indian proceedings. It appears that they have proposed to do away with insisting in the Med Service & instead of using skilled professional aid in keeping expenditure for necessaries for the sick within the bounds of efficiency, they wish to make expenditure simply a matter of control

I have further heard that these “reforms” have been undertaken without consulting with any competent authorities, & that Mansfield is believed to be at the bottom of the whole matter. One fact is that John Bull has had a dishonesty fit [?] lately & his trade & revenue have fallen off as they ought to do. Instead of bringing common sense to bear on the subject, he has resorted to the only remedy he ever has under similar circumstances. He takes a “saving fit” as he calls it which is only another expression for decreasing his expenditure for the moment at an immense amount of suffering to many people & of immense risk to the
country. The disaster at last comes & he can find nobody to hang & after a good deal of swearing he opens his house again. Now the fare for this fit of illness exists in England as well as in India.

I should say treat it on rational principles. Save where it can be done without inflicting injury. But beware of saving under fright, for of all remedies this is the most costly! As for as India is concerned I should feel inclined not to yield a single step without the fullest & most convincing reasons—& having two things first that the proposed saving is absolutely necessary, 2d that it will do no harm whatever. If the question then becomes one of misery get the money at a less sacrifice that would result form saving & be more careful n future. A firm & enlightened opposition is what all permanent offices to make at the present time

f173
Keep up your trained medical service. You have few enough medical officers in India. One of the Mansfields proposals is to reduce the 2d assistant surgeons & anyone with a nose to his face will tell you what this reduction will do in times of epidemics, especially of cholera. It will if carried out expose both officers, medical officers & men to greatly increased risks during epidemics.

ff174-77, 22 Princes Gardens, December 11, 1869. re young doctors to be appointed Assistant Surgeons and a proposed visit to FN by Lord Napier

ff178-79v, December 23, 1869, re the Livingstone family, Prince’s
unsigned letter draft, f180, pencil faint [1868-1869]

Sir B.F.

I have often had it on my mind to talk to you about the awful mortality in Indian prisons. It crops out in all your papers: fever & cholera, cholera & fever and the doctors with one or two brilliant exceptions knowing nothing about how to analyze to treat ordinary disease manifestations & because they are so laying the blame on the old devil contagion just as firmly in this country. Old women were burned because cattle died of bad treatment. Can nothing be done in this matter. Could you at the India Office not take it up & deal with it? A century ago we in England were so well up in jail fever that we could kill not only prisoners, but witnesses & judges at trials, I believe we once killed a Lord Mayor. Thanks however to Howard & next to Sir Josiah Jebb & other prison reformers our prisoners go out better in health than they came in. Here is a noble filed for reform in India. Who will lead?

[end 9:701]
I have been particularly impressed with the facts mentioned about the village arrangements in your essay on missions. It appears as if the absorption of all village administration into departmental administration were inevitable. If this be so and if there be no prospect of reorganizing the village system could we suggest to Lord Mayo any steps by which the villagers themselves might do the ordinary work of cleansing & keeping the ground about in proper order. Finding & [illeg] under [illeg] & the like. A periodical visit from an inspector would be useful & perhaps necessary but there might be some means of doing the local work daily. Could printed handbills telling the people what to do & its importance to health to do it answer a good purpose, or how could we forward these village reforms.
Sir B. Free

I have received the enclosed letter from Calcutta. I shall have to reply & acknowledge the honour they have done me, but I ought to do a good deal more than this if you will be so kind as tell me what you think about the association at Calcutta & whether form your knowledge any good would be likely to come of my proposed letter to them. It occurred [?] to me that if they were people who were moving in the right direction, that I might use the opportunity for writing such a letter on the social aspects of the health question in India especially with reference to what the people might do for themselves, as if translated & printed would make a sanitary tract that might do good. This could not interfere with the letter you asked me to write for you, because it must occupy different ground & the two letters might finally do good together. But as I know nothing more of the parties than this letter contains I should not like to move without your advice.

Proofs of
the answers to Dr Cunningham

What
Sir B.F. & you proposed for the letter he asked me for was extracts from the red book & adaptations of my letter to Ld Mayo of which the M.S. is there.
ff186-90, March 25, 1870, re a reply of FN to Lord Napier and problems of decentralization, 22 Prince’s

ff191-91v, March 29, 1870, re a proposed visit, 22 Prince’s

ff192-98, Wressil Lodge, Wimbledon, June 1, 1870, re a miscellany of Indian affairs

ff199-202, June 16, 1870, re FN’s paper for the Calcutta Social Science Association & translation of it, embossed IO

ff203-06v, June 23, 1870, re FN’s Calcutta paper, embossed Athenaeum

ff207-08v, July 6, 1870, re a paper of FN’s to be put in type by Mr Plowden, Wimbledon

ff209-12, September 22, 1870, re help from India for the Franco-Prussian war effort in hospitals, etc.,

ff213-5v, August 31, 1870, re the enlisting of Indian officers under the Red Cross banner

ff216-9v, November 18, 1870, re Sir B.F.’s return to India and the work to be done, embossed IO

unsigned letter draft, f220, pencil faint [ca 27 Nov 1870] FN

To Question
Sir B.F. on his views on present position of matters with special reference to
1. Delta improvements
2. Village “
3. Stations “
4. Progress Reports
5. Selecting some place for complete improvement.

ff221-22v, December 2, 1870, re the lack of information about the actions of the Government of India, embossed IO

ff223-23v, December 8, 1870, re a proposed visit, 22 Prince’s

ff224-27v, May 27, 1871, re problems in India, embossed IO

ff228-28v, May 30, 1871, re a proposed visit with thanks for Mr. Chadwick’s memorandum, embossed IO
ff229-34v, Feb 14, 1874, re the death of W.E. Nightingale and Dr. Livingstone 22 Prince’s

ff235-36, Feb 19, 1874, re a planned publication of FN’s and her letter to Miss Livingstone, 22 Prince’s

ff237-42, India Office, March 16, 1874, re FN’s paper and the preference for Canals over Railways in India, India Office

ff243-45v, 22 Princes Gardens, Hyde Park, W., March 29, 1874, re FN’s book, and asking for a contribution to the Livingstone Fund, indulging self on birthday reading her admirable little book, has interleaved a few remarks, thanks for letting see it, sends papers of a Quaker Mr Long re Alsatian illeg, asks her to send copy of her book to Ld Salisbury

ff246-47, April 9 [1874], re thanks for her contribution to the Livingstone Fund, printed 22 Princes

ff248-50, 24 Chapel Street, Belgrave Square, May 5, 1874, re FN’s book on Irrigation in India

ff251-52v, May 15, 1874, re FN’s reply to a letter from a governor of Madras, embossed IO

ff253-54v, June 24, 1874, re FN’s forwarding to Sir B. F. of Mr Randall’s paper and the excellence of Lord Salisbury as Secretary of State, embossed IO

ff255-58v, July 1, 1874, re the difficulties of providing facts for the English public embossed IO

ff259-68, Sept 25, 1874, re Lord Napier’s Minute and improvements to Barracks in India, embossed IO, with coloured underlining

ff269-76, Wressil Lodge, Wimbledon, October 19, 1874, re FN’s letter to Lord Salisbury and rearrangements at the India Office and lack of progress in India, with coloured underlining

ff277-79v, January 14, 1875, re a plan for financing FN’s “schemes”, embossed IO
ff280-88, January 15, 1875, re Lord Northcote’s reply to a letter of Lord Salisbury & FN from Wimbledon. I return Lord Salisbury’s and Lord Northbrook’s letter with many thanks. The latter is satisfactory in some respects. That Caesar shd at once sit down, and write 6 sheets of 4to letter paper, to show he is taking proper care of his Legions, is satisfactory, as proving that your letter moved him, and that the subject greatly interested him. But I had rather he had sent a note from his Minister (Col Dickens) or some “Department” to show he had stirred them up, and I wish he had written less as he wd have spoken from the Treasury Bench, in one of those expls to prove that everything is as right as poss. Entirely satisfactory to the Treas majority, but not quite conclusive to the one questioner, who knows better than anyone else, what is wanted.

For instance, taking merely what he says himself.

*Fort William* Hospital water supply “pure water in carts from the Calcutta Mains.” Is not a first re for a perfect hosp pure water in pipes, and cisterns ad lib? Not in carts like champagne and bottled tart fruits?

*Aligove.* Do Do. To native troops the water supply is even more important than to Europeans, for they cannot qualify bad water with rum and porter.

*Barrackpoor* Do Do.

*Hazareebagh.* All honour to Lord Northbrook for withdrawing the troops from the fever hot bed barracks. But ought not someone to be hanged for leaving troops so long in such barracks, so often, and so long since condemned? & is nothing doing to build better barracks at Hazareebagh? It is just one of the places where there ought to be the best of barracks, for your moveable reserves. A naturally healthy place, in a good & strategical position, in a cheap well supplied province, whence you may anyday withdraw all our fighting men, and leave only women, invalids and children to keep the barracks aired, without risk of their being attacked by mobs, or insurgents. It is in such positions that your reserves shd be massed. Not in front of great native capitals like Hyderabad & Gyalior, whence in troubulous times you did not withdraw a man, without strong remonstrances from your pol agents, and frightening all the on fighting folk out of their wits.
Umballa. The raja of Puthala will give as much water as the queen and all her Eur troops and subjects in India can drink, and will never ask or accept if he can help it, a sixpence for the water, for his is a loyal Indian Prince & a gentleman. But our Engineers are charged to send in estimates for none but "remunerative" works, wh means water works for irrigation, and Puttiala does not see why his fields and ryots shd be deprived of their water to supply ours. Let Ld Northbrook say to his engineer, “For the present never mind irrigation or navigation. Send n a project for drinking water for the Umballa Barracks.” and the thing will be done. If he says to the raja of Puttiala “our Umballa soldiers want water, what will you take for your water springs?” He will say, as the Hittite did to Abraham, “the land is thine, it is worth so much, but what is that between me and thee?” & then Ld N. may buy the springs and do what he likes with them, but we are trying to get a good irrigation project out of Eur soldiers’ drinking water nothing about, for it is the most flagrant case in India, and it is not easy to write of it with any patience./. /He will see the spirit in which the raja of Puttiala will act, if rightly handled, if he will refer back to the records of how the rajas grandfa dealt with Sir G Clark when Lord Ellenborough bought Ressouke? Hill to house his troops returned from Cabul?/

But it mt be well if Lord N wd burn everything ever written about Peshawar & read nothing wh does not date subsequent to 1879.

There can be no doubt that the best thing to be done now as 20 years ago is
1. To have your main Punjab frontier garrison reserve, part of the Indus, at Rawal Pindee, with a good bridge over and tunnel under the Indus, defended by small but strong works at each end, a railway to Peshawar and no more troops at Peshawar than can hold securely a small strong isolated fort, so strong and small that the garrison can be relieved weekly if nec by railway from Chevat, the Indus passage forth or Rawal Pindee.
2. A strong moveable force at Chevat, or anywhere else where the water is good, and site healthy, west of the Indus.
3. Better mgt .... [and more]

Lord Salisbury is at Osborne. I hope he is not going to quarrel with Mr Disraeli and resign, nor to leave us to go to any other Cabinet post, even as chief. He is by far the best man the India Office has ever had, and even when wrong more right than others when most right.

ff289-90, April 22, 1875, re a paper of FN’s on “Land Revenue”, printed Wimbledon. Here are a few more words on the subject deal with in the papers I left with ou on Madras settlements. There are a few good letters on the subject in Sir Thomas Munro’s Life. They were written by him to his sister, a sensible practical Scotch woman, and explaining as to such a person who knew nothing
of any land tax but the Scotch, what he was doing in his early
days in India.

I hope soon to return your proofs. I trust they will give
people in England what no one has given them yet, an intelligible
and readable sketch of what “Land Revenue” means, in the East.

But as often as I get to work on that which I really care
for, some very trifling but very imperative obstacle throws me
off the rails.

I hope you will not let Sir G Campbell go. He is a very
great loss to us in the India Office
unsigned note, f291, pen

f291
Where are to be found the “proper
“Revenue accounts” of each of
“the Irrigation works; from
“which the exact results of
“Each work can be seen.”?
vide M. & M Progress
Rept for 1872/3 p.74

unsigned memo, f292, pen not in FN’s hand, JS on embossed WO

f292
Memo for Sir B. Frere
Returns for of the revenue
derived from irrigation
works are published an
nually in the N. W.
Provinces Punjab and
Bengal. In Bombay and
Madras they are not
framed on a system which
will enable the/such results
to be accurately determined.
The returns may be
seen in the Record Dept
India Office

ff293-301, May 5, 1875, re land revenue controversy in the India
Office and Notes for a letter to Lord Salisbury, printed
Wimbledon

ff302-06, India Office, June 25, 1875, re Irrigation statistics, embossed Athenaean

ff307-09, Wressil Lodge, Wimbledon, July 9, 1875, re Mr. Clark’s
drainage plans and the visit of the Prince of Wales to India,
printed Wimbledon, coloured underlining

ff310-27, September 27, 1875, re difficulties between the India
Office and the Government of India and irrigation matters,
printed Wimbledon, with coloured underlining

ff328-29, October 6, 1875, re a proposed visit, from Wimbledon

ff330-31, October 8, 1875, from C.F. Frere re FN’s offer of rooms
for the Frere family, printed Wimbledon. I return, by my father’s
desire, the enclosed, wh I fear ought to have been sent back long
since. My mother who wd write herself if time permitted begs I
thank your kind love for your thoughtful & kind offer of rooms for tomorrow night wh my father told her of, but of wh we are unable to avail ourselves as my mother wishes us all to return home straight from the station.

T is pleasant to think the expedition begun tomorrow is followed by the good wishes of so many real and valued friends.
f332, envelope, postmarked LONDON SW OC11 75

ff333-38v, October 10, 1875, incomplete from C.F. Frere re Sir B.F.’s trip to India, printed Wimbledon paper
Add Mss 45781, Indian correspondence, microfilm, many drafts by JS; 337 folios, 109 pages, Adam Matthew reel 22
ff1- f204 Lord Stanley;
ff205-337 Pattison Walker, many typed copies of FN to him, originals in LMA1 H1/ST/NC1

f1 Stanley letter to FN 14 May [1857]. I fulfil my pledge of sending the Draft Report of the Purchase Commission which will be considered in a few days, and probably made public, with the evidence in a few weeks. Routine declares it to be printed for members only and I am therefore bound to beg it may be considered, as it is marked, confidential.

You will see that the D of Somerset (the writer) wants to leave the rank of major purchasable. Herbert proposes to do away with purchase as regards that rank also. Sir De Lacy Evans talks of a place for entire and immediate abolition of purchase: but his plan has not appeared and we doubt its existence. The other military members have proposed nothing: Mr Ellice strongly objects to any proposition to alter things as they are, and I fear Lord Grey, whom we examine tomorrow, inclines to the same view. The Duke is well disposed to extend his plan so as to include Herbert’s amendment and this, I hope, will be done. May I beg for the return of the paper n a few days as we have yet to go through it paragraph by paragraph. Believe me, most faithfully yours, Stanley

f5 Stanley note to FN 23 July [1857] re papers will be asked after tomorrow. As you appeared much interest I the subject of Military Education, I cannot refrain from sending a copy of that most interesting Report upon it which has been delivered to members this morng. It will probably reach you from other quarters, but as there is a chance of its not doing so, I venture to forward it. I enclose also Ld Grey’s evidence on which your comments are painfully true. He knows better, if he would give his intellect fair play> Yet he has done us service by exhausting the arguments in favour of purchase, he shows to how little they come. With the evidence is a second copy of the Draft Report, altered at the Commission on Sat. None of these papers are yet published, though the first is largely circulated and its contents will soon be in the newspapers. Pray do not trouble ourself to return any of them, if you think them worth keeping, nor to acknowledge this note, occupied as you must be.

I live in hope of being allowed to receive some future instructions on the great subject of which we talked last week. The publication of the Report sent renders discussion inevitable. But everything rests with Ld Palmerston, who in this Parlt can do what he will.

Most faithfully yours

f6 Stanley letter to FN 30 July 1857 forwards papers lately
issued re barracks and Netley. I take the liberty of forwarding two papers lately issued: one on barracks, the other on Netley hospital, which may possibly not have reached you, though I think it likely that you will have rec'd them from others.

I gave notice of the question suggested by you: as witness the enclosed; the answer I rec'd was finally given, to the effect that the Commission had not yet reported nor was it thought that it would do so in time to have the subject discussed this session.

I infer from language told to me that there is a wish to be able to say, when the illeg contained in the evidence become public, "We have already applied a remedy."

I suggested the illeg executive commission to Sir J. Ramsden, and am now drawing up for him a short statement of the strongest facts embodied in the evidence. He, at least, is not yet apathetic.

Do not trouble yourself to acknowledge this.

f4v NOTES ON CHOLERA AND MORTALITY PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; or JS?

Since August/56
1 women’s
2 children’s mortality

f8 undated. printed notices of motion 2. Lord Stanley, to ask the Under Secretary for War when the Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the state of military barracks and hospitals will be laid on the table.

f9 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley, Oct 7 1858 to thank her or War Dept for volumes on hospitals, her name on title page. I do not know whether I have to thank you or the War Dept for he very interesting volumes on Hospitals &c bearing your name on the title page. I think however they must come from you, as they arrived safe, sent to the right address, and without loss of time, which could not reasonably be expected to happen if they had been despatched from the other quarter!

Let me thank you for them, and if not sent by you, let me at least thank you for the pleasure I expect in reading them, that pleasure is lessened only by one circumstance, the fear that such unceasing labour on behalf of the health of others may have injured your own.

f11 Stanley letter to FN 23 Oct 1858 re Dumdum affair, will be fully enquired into. I can only say at this moment that the Dumdum affair shall be fully enquired into. I had seen it but I thank you nonetheless for reminding me.
f12-60 printed India Public Works Department letter 28 July 1859 re provision of barrack, accommodation for troops since Mutiny printed letter to Lord Stanley No. 17 of 1859 from Public Works Dept with plans

f62 Stanley letter to FN 3 June 1861 thanks for report of barrack commission. I lose not time in thanking you for he report of the barrack commission: I had not seen it, and what I have this morning found time to read of its contents appears to me fill of hints that will be useful for our India Enquiry.

One frequent source of disease in English barracks --their situation in overcrowded localities--does not exist in India. I think also our barracks built within the last 15 or 20 years are constructed with some attention to ventilation and to the avoidance of overcrowding. Where we seem to have been most in fault is in the choice of sites with reference to the healthiness of the surrounding districts. This consideration has been completely disregarded in some cases, and its importance underestimated in nearly all. I am satisfied that we shall do much good by our report: the taking of verbal evidence I hope to close within the next six weeks: much of the documentary evidence however has still to come from India. The recess will give ample leisure for digesting illeg when the only difficulty will be to condense the results within sufficiently narrow limits to give them a chance of being read.

f64 Stanley letter to FN 8 Sept 1862 re remarks on sanitary evidence have arrived and he will read. Your remarks on the sanitary evidence could not have arrived at a more convenient time, for here I shall have ample leisure to read and consider them.

I had hoped that we should get the report out before the close of he late session,...not yet accomplished, farther delay matters little. Reports are not criticised even if they cd be published and circulated at this time of year.

Comparatively unoccupied myself, I feel a delicacy about pressing Dr Farr to finish his work, which is for him a voluntary addition to many other labours. Nevertheless, if he makes no sign, a fuller reminder may be expedient.

It is vain to expect that the mass of evidence which we must publish, and which economy compels us to publish in small type, will be read. But I will take care that your remarks, which people will read, shall occupy a prominent place.

In a few days I will send my remarks on your paper, if any occur to me, but in truth there is no one fit to criticise your opinions on a subject so peculiarly your own.

f66 Stanley letter to FN 12 Sept 1862 has read through her evidence, thinks “Lord Dundreary” had better disappear from p 10 and p 16. I have read through your evidence from first to last. I
think "Lord Dundreary" had better disappear from p 10 and 0 16, but that is mere matter of taste. No other comment occurs to me. Indeed the points touched upon are of such a nature that any judgment upon them would be worth far less than yours. It is right to mention that I have not the evidence with me and have therefore not been able to compare your description of the stational reports with the reports themselves. But as your paper is yours, and not that of the Commissioners, I do not feel bound to verify every reference. The more so as I did Illeg the accuracy of the whole.

The promise of payment to Dr Farr is new to me. It would be well if some official record of the promise having been given existed for form's sake. I had supposed the commission to be unpaid. We have been expensive already in the way of printing. Was the rate of remuneration mentioned? Whatever pledge has been given must be scrupulously observed, but I fear the Treasury who have given us a hint once already that we are spending a good deal of money. There can be no question as to the value of Dr Farr's services. The paper marked confidential is returned with many thanks. I here say thought of the subject and to me its difficulty increases with every consideration. The common answer given to one who states the difficulty to be solved is "Let the soldier marry." But this is easier to say than to do. If wives and families are left at home, little good is done; if they are taken abroad, the life is miserable, the cash enormous, the mobility of the force diminished. We pay the inevitable penalty of having a standing army which is, of condemning 100,000 young and middle-aged men to a life which is hardly compatible with family ties. I do not pretend to see my way, but I know that English opinion will never allow the regulation and recognition of abused which they justly consider as contrary to morality and I shall be glad accordingly to believe that no physical good result would follow from doing that which in England or udder English authority, cannot be done.

In all you say about employing the soldiers I agree fully. Unless officers' reports mislead, it seems admitted that soldier will not as a general rule employ themselves except with the prospect of being paid for which they do. The experiment must be tried by many people, in various ways: it is enough if we can impress on the minds of officers that more to do and less to drink is the first requisite of the army.

The part of our case which comes out best is that which relates to drainage and ventilation. There we have a tangible definite evil, and the means of getting rid of it are simple. In that I look forward to a great saving of life, if we can keep our blue book from going the road of most blue books and getting shelved. All will depend I fear apathetic. But I have faith in the good sense of Sir G. Lewis and he is not likely to be appalled by the length of a report, or by the supposed dryness of statistical details.
£70 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 18 Sept 1862 re missing fragment of his last note, re Dr Farr.
Stanley letter to FN 21 Nov 1862 from 23 St James’s Sq
I have looked through your remarks and like them better the oftener I read them. The style alone (apart from the authority which your name carries with it) will ensure their being studied by many who know nothing of the subject. They will admirably relieve the dryness of an official report. I hope every India and English newspaper will reprint them, in extracts at least. They must be circulated with our report, separately from the voluminous mass of evidence which we can’t help appending. You have added one more to your many and invaluable services in the cause.

NOTES ON SANITARY REFORM IN INDIA, AND DEATH RATES
LIGHT PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY JS; DATED DECEMBER 1862

I send you the abstract of the Sanitary state of Indian Stations. You will be at no loss to discover that the condition of the Country & people -- & as a necessary consequence of our Army are very much the same as the historians of the Middle ages describe as once the state of Europe.

The high death rate occasionally augmented by pestilence is the result in India as it used to be in Europe. This is the great problem of the future civilization in India. Europe had to toil its way up to safety by its own efforts. India may now have the advantage of European experience & science if it is properly gone about. Unfortunately those returning will tell us nothing of what might be done. And anything they do tell us in this
on this head is rather what should be avoided. In these things we should be guided by evidence & the evidence is certainly against the conclusion that Sanitary improvement will be self developing in India. What is wanted is to bring vigorous effort to bear on it from the country while the administration is left in local hands. I see now other way out of the difficulty. We have a very good illustration of “the way to do it” in Lord Herberts subcommissions of practical working men who were appointed Army into the to give practical effect to the principles laid down in the Report of his Royal Commission & this experience clearly points out the necessity of organizing a working Commission in England to order draw up some general practical scheme for India, and to guide it for a little time until fr correct principles of improvement are in operation in each presidency [end 9:126]
To Lord Stanley, J.S.

I have just had a letter from Sir J.L. in which he says he will be very glad when the India Commission report comes out, so that what changes are necessary may be at once adopted.

He says there are now barracks in India for full 25000 men under [illeg] & many are urgently required. Would it be possible to expedite the work by calling in all the copies of the report sent to the Comm members of the Commission so that we might have a revise in which either all their views are represented [illeg] [illeg]

If you will send all the papers we will put every thing right & return a copy to you with the corrections in M.S. & also all the copies which have been returned from the Comm Members & then you will be able to
judge the whole.
I hope the report can get out as soon as possible but we have never yet received the copies sent out, so as to put everything in a consistent shape. As it was sent out the report was only an arrangement of the matter requiring very careful conduct to see that it was after all logically accurate. No reference here also all to be put revised, and fresh references to facts put in.

There are two or three days work on merely editing to do.

Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 30 April 1863, has spoken to CW re hospital question, he is quite prepared to acquiesce in their suggestion. I have spoken to Sir Charles Wood about the hospital question and I find him quite prepared to acquiesce in our suggestion that nothing should be done until the plans have been referred home. With regard to the employment of a particular architect, he demurs, knowing nothing personally of Mr Wyatt, and I cd not say much, being in the same case. Why nor refer to the War Office, who have done a great deal of building of late?
I am afraid from what I have heard of the Saturdays discussion on the report that there is great danger of the Indian enquiry arriving at no practical result. I suggested the Commission at propriety of using home experience in dealing with Indian Sanitary questions, because I knew exactly from the evidence & from the rebuts from Indian Stations that there was no hope of any practical reform & bringing up in that quarter. It is absolutely necessary that there should be local Commissions in India to carry out the works there, but it is as certain as experience can make it that those commissions constituted as they must be out of the best available material will not of themselves arrive at a good practical solution of the multifarious questions they will have to deal with. Were it practicable to pick out a sufficient number of able men in England & send them out to form these Commissions
there would be a fair hope of success, but I think I know well what the probabilities are of this being practicable, & I feel assured your would hardly be able to get men for money to undertake the work. that is men thoroughly up to the Sanitary question in all its bearings.

If then you stop with the Recommendation of Indian Commissions in India, your report will amount to this "See how bad things are in India. They have grown up into their present state under the guidance of the such account of practical ability & intelligence as was obtainable in that country. Four Commissions out of the same material & go on as before. It is true that great practical advances have been made in Sanitary works at home & the result has been a reduction of the Army Mortality to one half
but it is not necessary to make use of this practical experience in India."

On what principle could you be justified for example the introduction of home experience at Ceylon & keeping it out of India. They are Their diseases are the same. The causes are the same, the troops are the same & the measures required would be similar.

The formation of a home Commission was proposed because Your Ld thought that the Indian Government would not like to have to do with the W.O. But there is no reason why the W.O should not help with its own Commission if the India Government does not object.

Unless some arrangement can be come to, it really matters very little practically, whether the report is issued or not. It will merely be a nine days wonder or the
f81v
first army report [illeg]. That
report did nothing of itself.
All the real practical work which has led to the
great reduction of army mortality has been done by none persons determined
to carry out the principles which were laid down in it:
who would not be turned aside by any obstacles: and who from long previous experience were competent for the work. [end 9:432]

Nothing can shew more clearly the magnitude of the work you that has to be done in India than was a passage in the Indian intelligence of todays times. They have had Plague gradually surrounding Calcutta, coming up from the Sonderbunds where Cholera took its origin epidemically & spread over the world. Plague did the same in the Nile delta & thence spread over Europe in the Middle ages.

It requires no great lengths of vision to see what is likely to follow from this Sonderbund Plague in the present state of Indian Cities.

f82 Stanley letter to FN on Ho of Co embossed 18 May 1863, can’t say more at this moment in answer to her letter, shall be very carefully weighed, re local people of India. I can say nothing more at this moment in answer to your letter. I can that it shall be very carefully weighed. It does not, I think enter into the idées of any of us to leave the whole initiative in sanitary matters to the people in India. But the local commissions are necessary and we rather shirk from increasing their number by advising the creation of another at home. The whole question will however be reconsidered illeg

f83 JS notes I think re Stanley’s ...

f85 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 9 July 1863 re Mr Baker acting as Secy since he took chair of commission
f86 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 10 July 1863, has written to ask Dr S to call tomorrow to discuss his and her letter re Baker’s title

f90 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 12 July 1863 re Mr Coningham’s [Cunningham] ...

f92 Stanley letter to FN from Ho of C embossed 14 July 1863, only got last note after answering its predecessor re Sir C.W. consulting him about report

f93 Stanley letter to FN on H of C embossed 17 July 1863 re printing

f95 Stanley letter to FN on H of C embossed 24 July 1863 has had several conversations with Sir C W, considers it settled that report will be acted upon

f97 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 21 Aug 1863 recd her letter of yesterday and one from JS which he has answered directly

f98 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 28 Oct 1863 her letter requires consideration and so only ack it, shall probably see Sir CS and hear his opinion on the matters in dispute

f99 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 31 Oct 1863 returns Sir C Trevelyan’s letter, papers shall follow, can call upon her towards end of week of 9 Nov

f100 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq on t=Travellers embossed, his coming to town delayed, can call tomorrow at 3:00 if suits
ff101-04 NOTES ON CORROBORATING SANITARY IMPROVEMENT PLANS WITH INDIANS PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN (yes); DATED NOVEMBER 1863

f101

Course of proceeding recommended by your R. Commission for carrying out the Sanitary improvement of Indian Stations & towns.

1. to vest the executive in a local authority, or commission of Health, for each Presidency
2. to give to these Indian authorities the advantage of home experience in the details of Sanitary improvement: -- leaving to the Indian authorities the sole responsibility of accepting or rejecting any information or advice sent to them
3. as a Commission already existed at the W.O., advising not only at home but at all foreign stations, e.g. Ceylon, close to India itself the R. Commission proposed, if the S. of S. for India did not appoint a special Commission, that Indian members should be added to the W.O. Comm'n, & that the joint Commission should advise, & transmit information to, the India authorities
This was done. England is now constantly consulted by foreign Governments who send Commissions to obtain information as to nearly all exciting practical experience of Sanitary works. both as regards civil & military improvements.

Why should not her own Indian Empire do the same? Neither interference nor control is proposed in any case, but simply to offer to the India Commissions our own accumulated experience.

The constitution of the Presidency Commissions comes, first, in importance. Next would follow the question of local authorities already discussed in India.

Each Presidency Commission should present a report to the Gov't once a year.
According to present understanding, the connection between the Pres'y Commissions & the home Commission would be: --

1. The W.O. has been already asked to prepare model plans of Barracks & Hospitals, these are now considerably advanced. [These plans, when completed 2. will be sent to the I.O. and, if sanctioned, transmitted to India.]

2. The Pres'y Commissions are to send home to the S. of S. for India any plans or proposals of their own which, before being sanctioned, will be sent to the home Commission for advice & information.

Besides this, however, which is good so far as it goes, the home Commission should help the Pres'y Comm'n by a direct statement & description of the kind of sanitary works, improvements etc. applicable to Indian Stations, as described in the stational Reports.

If the home Commission were authorized to draw up such a statement, it would clear away at once most of the presumed difficulty in applying improved sanitary methods to India. The printed documents (from Calcutta) upon the R.C.'s recommendations, raise difficulties which could never have occurred to the writers, did they know what is being done at home.

A repetition of similar objections should be prevented: --

by doing from India what the S. of S. may not like to do from home -- viz. obtaining from the home Commission all the information & suggestions that they can send as to the best means of initiating & carrying out sanitary improvements at the Stations, together with the most improved appliances for Barracks & Hospitals.
If this were done, almost everything that can be done in the way of laying a good foundation, on which the Pres'y Commissions could afterwards build, would have been done. If they get into a wrong groove at first, & commit themselves to wrong forms of proceeding, great cost may be uselessly incurred and to recede may not be possible.

It would seem a very natural thing for India to say: tell us what you have been doing, that we may be better able to know how to go about our work.

The Calcutta Municipality have sent their Engineer to England to obtain advice with regard to water-supply & drainage. The home Commission commands the advice of men engaged for years (& the highest authorities) on these very questions.

Here is the very case arisen. But the Commission have no power to meet it.

The position is: --
1. the Pres'y Commissions are not yet constituted, & no forms of proceeding has been agreed to.
2. the home Commission (W.O.) is preparing plans of Barracks & Hospitals at the request of the I.O.
3. the I.O. will refer to the home Commission plans prepared & sent from India (that is, according to Sir C. Wood's Dispatch, Aug 15, 1863)

The points in which the position is still defective are: --
1. The home Commission has no power to draw up any information on suggestions, on the general subject of the sanitary improvement of Indian Stations. 
2. It has no power to entertain applications for advice, as in the present case of the Calcutta Municipality alluded to.

**NOTES ON CONDITIONS REQUIRED FOR SANITARY DRAINAGE**

Present proposal of "Instructions"

1. to prepare plans of Barracks & Hospitals
2. to consider & report on any plans of Barracks or of Sanitary improvements sent from the I.O.
3. to assist in the provision of Officers of Health for India & in the question of educating Cadets of Engineers in Sanitary principles

**N.B.** With reference to 3, the proceeding would be as follows: all Medical Officers for the Indian Service are educated in Military Hygiene at Netley for Regimental purposes. But an Officer of Health, such as is contemplated by the R. Commission, requires more special manning -- & with reference to Indian climates. It is proposed that the W.O. Commission,
with its Indian representation, should prepare a scheme of instruction for the guidance of the Professor of Hygiene. And, in communication with him, should keep the India Gov't informed of all students who, from their special aptitude & diligence, had shewn themselves peculiarly adapted for this line of service. It is a common mistake to suppose that Medical men generally have either the knowledge or aptitude for Officers of Health.

As regards the training of Engineering Cadets, they have at present the right by warrant to receive instruction in the principles & practice of Sanitary works. And the W.O. Commission would simply prepare a scheme adapted to Indian conditions, as in the other case.

As to the "impossibility of water=drainage in a country with dry seasons." {illeg vide?} Lord Stanley 24/11/63 This question as to the barrack drainage of Indian Stations, under the local conditions presented by Indian climate, has been really answered in Lord Stanley's Report itself. It is there recommended that Barrack & Hospital latrines shall be drained when practicable only. -- not that there are cases where it would be "impracticable", but because it would have been unwise to have advised the improvement in every case without personal examination, and because what might appear impracticable to one Engineer, would be, or rather might be, practicable to another. Of this latter fact we
have daily experience.

The conditions required for Barrack & Hospital drainage everywhere are the same

1. water
2. drains
3. outlets
4. favourable levels

Barrack latrines can be effectually drained with a gallon of water per day per man. This would be enough for India. But even doubling it, you will see how very small an amount is necessary -- say 2000 gallons a day for a full Regiment. From this quantity must be deducted the present amount used for washing latrines, probably not less than half a gallon to a gallon per man per day. As every station has, or will have, baths, it would be perfectly possible to use bath water
for supplying the latrines, so that a little ingenuity would enable any special supply for such to be dispensed with altogether. The water for such, any way, would be but a fraction of the amount required for the Station, & would make little perceptible difference in the amount for troops. The Meteorological tables show that every Station in India has rainfall sufficient for its purposes. But at most stations, there are rivers, large jheels & tanks. Even where there are none, a well, sufficiently deep, worked by an engine, would afford the supply necessary, even at the end of the dry season. At most of the Indian Stations, the dry season is shorter than it is in other warm-climate Stations where water could be obtained from wells. Malta & Gibraltar are drier than any Indian Station. Yet we have done all this at Malta & Gibraltar.

Water is the least difficulty 2. drains. Earthenware or iron pipes are now so universally introduced for such purposes that it is only necessary to name them. The new earthen-ware latrines we are now introducing in warm climates answer perfectly. 3. outlets. This is the main difficulty in India. But the worst, i.e. the most unhealthy & the largest, Stations, are all near rivers or the sea. It is chiefly the smaller Stations where outlets would be difficult to find. But even this cannot be positively stated. And, besides, by the system of sewage irrigation in partial use for Barracks at home, the entire sewage of the largest Stations could be disposed of without any risk whatever. There is not a Station in India which would not require more water & manure for its Soldiers' gardens/ alone.
2. than the whole sewage would yield, except perhaps the low wet Stations. And these are close to outlets into the sea or rivers.

A few thousand gallons of water per day are nothing in India. If the latrines were discharged after sunset, there would hardly be a vestige of the water next morning. In the day, perhaps a single hour would dispose of the whole of it.

4. Levels. In all the low flat districts there would be a difficulty about levels, as they are usually understood. But we have the same difficulty in low flat districts at home. In such cases, we get over it by laying the drain pipes well, & raising the latrine 6 or 8 ft above the ground in this way the contents can be discharged at a sufficient distance to prevent nuisance.

We have even gone beyond this in cases where the surface is flat, & where there is no outlet of any kind. In these cases, the latrines are discharged through drain-pipes of greater or less length into carts backed down an excavation in the ground under the end of the pipe. The care is covered & water-tight and there is not the slightest nuisance. In other cases, where it would be unnecessary, to remove the whole every day (as in the case of Detachment Barracks) we should discharge the latrine into a covered iron tank, which in its turn would be discharged every three or four days into a manure cart. [This is to be done for certain barracks at Malta.]

So much as to the difficulties (or non-difficulties) in drainage of Stations. *Had the India Office given the home Commission proper instructions, that Commission would have been able to state all the cases, & to give all the
information necessary. but as it has no Instructions, it must do the best it can.

As to native towns: -- how best to drain these: no doubt there would be great difficulties at first on account of native habits. But you are ware that town drainage, as we use it, first sprung up in the East. With us it is merely an importation, and at the present day drainage is carried out, more or less, in most Mohammedan cities, where the personal habits of the people are similar to those in the East at the present day. Given any native habit, and we will undertake to get from our designers a perfectly practical apparatus for meeting it. I might know the rude domestic convenience of Turkish establishments. They are dangerous, no doubt. But this arises not from the principle but from the manners of carrying it out. The habits, described in the Indian Station reports, are exactly the same; but the appliances are far ruder than those of Western Mohammedans. All these habits require a larger water supply at present -- and no more would be required to enable the same habits to be continued in a healthy way, & in a more civilized way.

Proper conveniences with water could be provided for every house in India, or for any group of houses, so as to leave the habits as they are, except divesting them of danger. Of course, so great a reform would require common sense in carrying it out. Railways & their example have done more for spreading a desire for improvements of this kind among the working classes at home than all preceding efforts. In India
examples are wanted, such as we have advised for Malta. It would not be difficult to take a few houses & try. The advantage would be seen at once, others would desire to follow, and it might happen in the end that European usages would be preferred.

[In a few days, our Mediterranean Stations Report will be out; and I shall send you a copy, with your permission!]

As regards water-supply & drainage of Indian towns generally: -- the principles should be the same as those for home use. Whenever there is a fall, you can of course drain. Even a tidal fall is sufficient, as may be seen in some parts of Southampton. If the level is below the level of the outlet, then steam-power must be used, as at West Ham & other places.

As regards water, there is scarcely a city in India where a good water Engineer would fail in supplying enough.

There is no fear of the practicability of the recommendations in your Report. The Evidence is enough to shew this.
So far as the main causes of disease are concerned, viz.
bad Barrack & bad Hospital construction
want of drainage
defective water-supply
surface overcrowding from want of
Barrack accommodation
want of means of occupation
intemperance
want of suitable Hospital conveniences
filthy Bazars & towns
it is difficult to see how India could have been freed from these causes of disease in three short years, which is about the average time since the Statatical Reports were signed.

That they may have done something in the way of cleansing, ventilation, ablution arrangements is probable. Seeing that they could hardly escape the consequences of the printed queries put to them & of the replies which they made.

Besides which, they have had, by their own shewing, the General Report of the Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission before them. But the measures recommended in this report are applicable to cool climates, like England, more than to theirs.

But even on the subject of cleansing, we have, as you know, the Report of a Government Commission on the last Cholera, dated July 21, 1862, and its Appendix dated some months later, an Extract of which I sent you. conclusively proving that, up to these dates nothing whatever had been done in the country to which the report refers.

You have also two printed
documents of the Public Works Dep't at Calcutta, dated June 26 and Sept 9, of this year of grace (or disgrace) 1863, giving at these dates a worse account of the city than the report sent to your R. Commission in June 1860.

There is also another document from the Principal Inspector Gen'l of Bengal (still in your possession) dated October 16, 1863 -- in which the recommendations of the Commission are virtually accepted as necessary.

The danger is, that partial improvements will be put forwards in proof that little requires to be done. The recommendations of your R. Commission must be carried out entirely. The Indian Sanitary problem consists of many factors. And it will not do,

in dealing with it, to leave out any of the factors.

India can be cured neither by Engineers nor by Doctors nor by Sanitary Officers nor by Military authorities, but by a concurrence of all of these.

And the end aimed at is: -- healthy Barrack & Hospital accommodation enough of good water, properly laid on good drainage a proper Sanitary police over Bazars & towns abolishing means of occupation & other things indicated in your Report.

A moment's consideration will shew that no {illeg Adjutant?=General & no Engineer & no Inspector=General can bring about this reform.

Your report asserts this, in asking for the appointment of Presidency Commissions to deal with the questions. There is indeed no other way of reaching them.
And the Army Death-rate will never be permanently lowered by any other course of proceeding.

The Death-rate of the new soldiers, poured into the country since the Muting is, of course, considerably lower than past averages. You will hardly believe it: but I have actually seen this fact adduced by Indian Engineering Officers in proof of the assertion that the small improvements they have carried out at a few Stations have made the Army healthy!

NOTE ON THE RECEIPT OF A LETTER FROM LD STANLEY PEN; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED FEBRUARY 13, 1864

Received on Feb 13 -- and purport forwarded to Dr. Acland (by post to Oxford) on Feb 13.

FN

Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 1 Dec 1863, saw Sir CW yesterday, went over sanitary question, though not so fully as wd have wished, re Sir J L appointment, great step gained, he knows what is wanted and has no prejudices in favour of existing military admin, shall see him tonight; “But why should not he see you? The plans are in the and in yours....” re Col Norman’s memo, the answer I recd is as follows. It is not an official document; it was not meant to be made public and Sir Ch Wood thinks it ought not to be so. He has written to Lord Elgin to request him to call on the military authorities to make their defence in such a form as may admit of its being laid before Parliament. The substance of this case is “what the Commissioners have stated was in the main line true, while the data on which they ground their report were not true, but these returns are from three to four years old. Much has been done since then, much is doing and the report only describes a state of things which we have seen the evil of and are busy in getting done away.”

I see that the authorities here believe this to be the truth. As to the instructions to be given to the Home Commission, the answer was "any plans illeg may be prepared in India shall be sent home and laid before it and no plan shall be acted upon till this is done; but in the meantime there is nothing for it to do."

Let me repeat-- you must manage to see Sir J.L. He does not go till the 10th. I am positive in respect of this while subject
is so peculiar that advice from you will come with greater weight than from anyone else.

**f117** Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 17 Jan 1864 has written of Westminster but address changed and may not get, glad she has succeeded with Edinburgh. I have written to the editor of the Westminster, but he has lately changed his address and may not get my note. I am very glad you have succeeded with the Edinburgh. It is just as well we shd see the case of the illeg in print so as not to fight in the dark if attacked in H.C. This comfort me for the Quarterly -- I always told yo that Lawrence’s appointment would remove 50 percent of the difficulties Many thanks for your note.

**f118** Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 10 Feb 1864 expects answer from ed of Westminster in a day or two, will ask Sir C W for papers, thanks for her letter.
Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 12 Feb 1864 asks her to send Dr Acland’s article to ed of Westminster, Dr Chapman, 25 Somerset St, W. I have settled for its insertion although I suppose Dr C will claim the usual editorial right of revision. ..., has settled for its insertion?; FN note on f119v

Received on Feb 13 and purport forwarded to Dr. Acland (by post to Oxford) on Feb 13
F.N.

NOTES ON SENDING SANITARY APPLIANCES TO INDIA LIGHT PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN by JS; DATED FEBRUARY 1864?

a Nursing
1. Normans report to be sent to us.
2. To set right Sir C.W. about journals Coming to us direct from India.
3. To urge formal practical steps in regard to implement of Stations. Surveys under & a as recommended in the remarks
4. Or take a few Stations on trial
5. We intend asking Sir C. Wood to let us make a collection of Sanitary appliances to send to each Presidency. If this India offer will bring to small cost.
6. There are papers e.g. Col C Crommelin’s barrack & hospital plans. The minutes of the Commissions &c in which {illeg} or much that is good that we would like. to support all that is good by a very strong opinion just as we give our opinion against what is bad
7. McPherson or an Engineer
8. we would like to see their prepared Sanitary Codes not to discuss methods, but to see that everything was provided for

[FN: written vertically across the right side of the page]
I take the Sacrament to day

Lord Stanley comes to morrow.
It exhausts me much less to {illeg} you the day before than the very day he comes.
When then Sir C.W. said to Strachey he could not put the screw on you, what did he mean?
Yes but that won't encourage Sir C.W.
But we want him to send things to you.
But Sir C.W. will tell this story to Ld Stanley About his having received a paper from [illeg]
What are your subjects at the W.O.? [written vertically, along the bottom right side of the page]
{in pen, partially off the page}
tagale
Norfolk [illeg H?] Park Lane

ff121-22 Stanley to FN Feb 22 1864. St J Sq. Col Norman’s report will certainly be made public as soon as it arrives. It is written with that view. I don’t believe it has come as yet. Surely the only discipline illeg... We were desired to report. We have reported. In so doing we have said things of which the Indian authorities complain. They say they have an answer. If so, it is for them to produce it. We here had the last word as matters now stand. It is no part of our duty to goad them into continuing. In fact our official duty is discharged; all that remains is to vindicate our good faith and accuracy shd both or either be attacked. But to opine beforehand that they will be attacked looks like an uneasy conscience on our part. At present our assertions are uncontradicted. What have we then to complain of?

I am sorry hear of your troubles with the W.O. Lord de grey I think wishes well to the object, but he has no leisure and not absolute power.

f123 Stanley to FN March 1864. A copy of the Med Stations report has been sent me - whence I don’t know - therefore I return yours at once, with many thanks. I shall read it in the Easter recess. The more I see and hear, the more I am satisfied that we have been substantially right in which we have said. I hear nothing yet of the answer. If it does not come soon, I shall enquire illeg about it -- but it is not expedient to seem to challenge opposition of which I don’t doubt we shall have enough.

f124 Stanley to FN March 12 1864. Dr Chapman was with me two days ago, complaining that he had not yet recd Dr Acland’s article. Id don’t know the dr’s address, can you tell him to send it? The West Rev ought to be out soon and the printing will be delayed if it does not arrive shortly. Dr C is editor -- his address ...
Just got your letter, many thanks. I never drafted Sir J.L.’s will or power; the question now is, what can HE do? I could push on Lord de Grey easily -- Sir C.W. is less amenable, and I am afraid in his heart thinks he illeg. Still I cant say that he is actively hostile. He will not stand in the way if urged from Calcutta to proceed, and safe from Parl attack. I could call some morning if you prefer to discuss all this verbally.

F126- Stanley to FN March 25 1864. Thanks for the letters those of the 15th and 16th. |It is satisfactory to see that a move is being made at last. |I did hope a great deal from Sir Hugh Rose, although perhaps I have not valid reason for saying excepting general opinion of the character of his mind.

I go out of town on Monday for a week, after my return I shall have ten days clear of any very heavy work, from the 18th onwards many hands will be full with the London railroad. This is in case we have anything to settle.

Much will depend on Sir Hugh Rose’s successor. It is not impossible Sir Hugh may wish to come home next cold weather, and then will be the trial. You would hardly suppose that the H.G. at one time were bent on sending out Sir R. Airey." The fact was so. Ld de Grey, however, has a veto and in him I have a good deal of confidence. The above is secret.

F128 Stanley to FN April 15 1864. I return the paper which is excellent and shows that at last Calcutta is awake. These abuses have existed always but custom made them invisible.

Pray send me any papers that come. I shall have time to read them, however busy.

F129 Stanley to FN April 16 1864. Thanks for the papers. They are returned herewith. The pamphlet signed Hygiene is very good and probably very true. I agree with you that the way the Hugly question was taken up in haste after long neglect is not a sign of good judgment. But better that there ... inactive. They have illeg I have great faith in Lawrence!

f130 Stanley letter to FN 14 May 1864 returns her papers, thinks “the sanitary question seems now safe not to be neglected. You must feel that your labour has not been thrown away.

FN: pencil note:
How little he knows

f130v FN pencil note on verso of above

I must write to Trevelyan upon all this
It is a long while since I have written him. He
sends me something by almost every mail. Now I want to write to him about the whole I can shew you your Notes for that letter.

f131 Stanley letter to FN from Ho of Co embossed stationery 23 May 1864 return her papers with thanks, “The only news you send me which is not good is that of Sir John’s intended return in two years. I hope however he may think better of it when the time comes. all else most satisfactory

f131v note in pencil
If you can’t do just what you like upon that authority you don’t deserve to be a Commission

f132 Stanley letter to FN May 23 embossed H of C, 23 St J Sq St James’s Sq but on Ho of Co embossed stationery asks her tell him whether she has authority for saying that Sir J Lawrence stays in India only two years? I had not heard of it before, and not find that Sir C. Wood is unaware of any such intention on his part.
Can you answer a plain question?

7 : 10 :: 25 : 35
W.O W.O W.15. W?
7 : 25 :: 10 : 35

The Hospl Estimate of 25 includes brewing.

Stanley letter to FN on embossed H of C 23 May 1864 not to be alarmed, his fault to write in haste re Sir C.W. Pray don’t be alarmed! I fear it is my fault that when I wrote in haste left an unpleasant impression. You were not named or alluded to in the conversation with Sir C.W. I only told him that "some of Sir J.L.’s friends believed he had only gone out for two years’" and asked if that was true. Nothing was said that could lead to the suspicion of your being my informant, not that I see any harm in it if you had been so known. But your letters are quite safe in my hands -- safe, I never fear being quoted or referred to. You are kind enough to write to me freely and frankly on subjects which interest us both and it is a privilege I value too highly be the risk of losing it.

Stanley letter to FN 29 May 1864 sends back Calcutta letter. It is satisfactory like all we have had from that quarter since Sir J.L.’s appointment.

Stanley letter to FN on blue Ho of Co embossed 14 July 1864. Again thanks for your two notes, which I ought to have ack earlier. You will have guessed that last week my hands were rather full. The session is now virtually over, and before I go finally out of town which will be about the end of the week I shall have ample leisure to help in any matter on which I can be of use to yo. So pray send for me without scruple.

Stanley letter to FN on embossed blue H of C 18 June 1864. I send back your papers above as you probably want them. They all tend to strengthen the case. I have been waiting for the answer which is to demolish our report. There seems no anxiety to produce it. And I can grasp the reason. But caution rather than controversy should be our object. My hands are pretty full at this moment, but I shall always be able to read documents that you are kind enough to send me.

Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 25 July 1864 re delays. I
don’t wonder that the delays of the illeg should try your patience and I admire the more the care and success with which you keep all illeg show of annoyance to yourself. I had rather be criticised by anyone rather than you!

I am only passing through town today. There being nothing left to do; but shall be again in this place on Thursday and ready to wait upon you if any matter wants settling. If not I can only wish you health -- success is sure to come -- and beg that you will remember the value of your own public service and not by overwork endanger its continuance. Pray ensure a caution which I am sure I am not the first to give. Every day convinces me more of two things -- first, the vast influence on the public mind of the sanitary commissions of the last few years -- I illeg in the way of spreading ideas which otherwise would have been confined to a few persons -- and next that all this has been due to you and to you almost alone.

**f141** Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley Prescott 7 August 1864
May I ask if you know anything of a Dr Duncan Macpherson, who writes from Madras, having a grievance? He refers to you as having known him in the Crimea. A single line will be enough in answer. It is a shame to disturb your badly earned holiday

**f142** Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 19 Aug 1864
Let me congratulate you on Sir Hugh Rose’s letter. It is one sign among many that the cause is passing. Sir Hugh (I think) is not a man who wd go strongly against or even much precede, the general cause of opinion, and his support is on that account all the more valuable as a sign of the times.

I foresaw this effect and was therefore anxious if it cd be avoided. Not to get into a Parl fight with the authorities, which would have created hostility and opposition. As it is, they have had nobody to fight with, and the report has made its way by the force of plain fact. Next year, every paper that the office will consent to produce may be illeg for. I will do this with pleasure. I return the paper.

**f143** Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 5 Oct 1864
ack and thanks for printed minutes and re Calcutta letters say Lawrence in good health and likely to continue so; “everyone speaks well of Sir J.L.—that is, every European; among the natives he seems less popular. He will leave his mark on India.”

**F144** Stanley letter to FN on embossed Travellers stationery 23 ST J Sq 25 Oct 1864. I think Dr Leith ought to be answered. His position gives him consequence; he will be thought to speak with authority. But it is essential not to make an enemy of him; impossible to be too courteous or too cautious. Have you considered the best form of answer? A letter to Sir C. Wood, apropos of Dr Leith’s remarks? I think we can hardly correspond
with him (Dr L) directly. One difficulty occurs to me. The commission is non-existent. It has ceased to be. Illeg its corporate capacity. No one therefor can be authorised to write in its name. The letter writer must be that of an individual, whose shall it be?

I am quite willing to be responsible for the defence, but I don’t much like putting my name to a letter which is not my own. You will I think understand this feeling. Would Dr Sutherland undertake the championship? I wd write to express agreement or in any other way commit myself to his opinions. I think the duty would naturally seem to fall on him. But this is only a suggestion. Pray tell me what you think.

My address after Thursday will be Knowsley.

**f146** Stanley letter to FN 2 Nov 1864 re delays because of session and Dr Leith’s report. You will think me as bad as the War Office, but I am in the thick of quarter sessions which in this crowded county are a long business; and my writing time is limited. The papers are returned with many thanks.

Sir C Wood has sent me finally a copy of Dr Leith’s report, which gives an excellent opening for following the course which you recommend, and I will write to him today or tomorrow in that sense.

**f147** letter to Ld Stanley 4 Nov 1864 with undated note by Stanley to FN re Dr Leith’s sanitary report, already despatched to barrack and hosp improve commission

**f148** Stanley letter to FN from Hatfield on embossed Honi mal etc 18 Dec 1864. Your note of 13th reached me last night, having been forwarded from place to place. I will look over the draft and return it in the course of the next few days. Dr Leith’s report is at Knowsley where I shall be on Tuesday and it will be well to compare the two.

I fear Trevelyan is knocked up financially. Per contra Lawrence keeps his health better than anyone expected. Mansfield I think is well as in feeling and he will be next C in C beyond question. So on the whole we are doing well.

**f149** Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 26 Dec 1864 I will ask Sir C Wood to send you or rather to send to the W.O. commission such papers as those of Col Crommelin officially. But the matter is so entirely deptal that I can only suggest to him the course you propose, and leave it to his judgment to act as he may think best.

I will return the draft reply to Dr Leith either today or tomorrow.

**F150** Stanley to FN Knowsely Dec 26 1864. I have pleasure in sending back the draft reply to Dr Leith with only one or two
amendments suggested. It seems to me well done, moderate in tone and conclusive in argument.

**f151** Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 22 Jan 1868 not to be discouraged, 2/3 of her work is done, the rest will soon follow, enemy gives annoyance because conscious of defeat, re Leith report, cannot lose by discussion. Don’t be discouraged, dear Miss Nightingale, two thirds of your work is done, the rest will soon follow. The enemy would not be so much disposed to give annoyance if he were not conscious of defeat. You have not seen this his answer -- probably it has been replied to in great part in the comments on Dr Leith. Besides, we cannot lose by discussion. Any way, the practical work may go on while the controversy is pending? My idea of the matter is that the Indian authorities only want time to set things a little in order -- that they are willing to mend, but not inclined to give us the credit of having put them in the right way. That is nature.

Rcollect Sir J.L. is entirely with you.

Don’t think me as bad as the W.O. if I beg to unengage myself for Wednesday. Some little affairs will keep me here a day longer than I expected. May I say Friday instead of Wednesday -- or Saturday, whichever suits you best--and any hour you please? 3 p.m. wd do very well for me. Very truly yours

**f153** Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 12 Jan 1865 Don’t be afraid of trusting me with "confidential" letters. They are quite safe; I can give you no satisfactory hero. Sir C answered briefly (at the end of a note on other matters) the purport of his answer I do not fully understand, but he seems to object to direct communications between the san commissions in India and that est here. He appears to wish that all shd pass through him -- that is, through his office. I may misinterpret his meaning, for he writes concisely and not very clearly, but this is what I think he intends to convey. Cd not you not act on Sir J.L. who is certainly with you and get him to suggest the thing that you want done?

I am here for ten days more -- then in town, where if convenient to you we can discuss these matters verbally.

I believe it is time that a good deal of the apparent diminution in mortality is due to invaliding. People tell me that the same rule holds as to the |English part of the force, nor are discharged illeg may not die in the army. You will know he thinks more certainly illeg

**f155** Stanley letter to FN on Ho of Co embossed. I have just seen Sir C.W. He argues as to the expediency of sending home a yearly report of the san state of stations in each presidency -- will see about sending the Bengal and Madras san officially to the commission, was not illeg they are in England. As to pledging
himself to send all reports to the commission. Is afraid of a controversial corr. But has no wish in general to withhold papers -- regards the commissioners his advisors -- only fears disputes arising between sanitarians here and in India.

The remarks on Dr Leith are to be sent out. He will look at our suggestions (p 22) and consider the pressing of them. Does not quite understand the proposal to have a san engineer or medical officer to report on each station and send home plans. Argue that the plans shd come to England for revision but is not illeg pressing of illeg. So he asked and I had no answer ready. This I think is the substance I am not very busy and could call some afternoon if you wish a fuller consultation. Excuse a hasty note.

F157 Stanley letter to FN from Ho of Co embossed 20 Feb 1865 Sir C Wood’s answer tonight was exactly in the sense of your note. Therefore there was nothing to be said to him on the subject. I thought disinfectants were really of use -- that they made a bad smell and obliged you to open the windows!

F158 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 13 March 1865. Many thanks for your note. Lawrence’s opinion of himself is characteristic. I sometimes fear in him excess of energy, never neglect.

As to Gen Peel, I don’t know what answer to make. I know him long and well, but on military matters he has right to his own opinion and is not likely to illeg it in deference to mine. Shd we need and I have an opportunity before he speaks, we will try but possibly he speaks tonight and in that case I can be of no use, being myself in hospital with a bad cold.

F159 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 24 March 1865. If you have not recd the Parl paper containing the Indian govt’s reply, I will send it.

A reply may be expedient: I think it will be so. But it shd be short and clear, not going into detail, and putting only the pleasing points -- the sending home of sickly men is very important. It makes all statistics illusory!

F160 Stanley letter to FN 25 March 1865 from St J Sq. I will send the paper today. It has come out under the authority of Sir J.L. therefore it ought not to illeg kick his feelings. I will ask Sir C.W. if he will publish the reply to Dr Leith. "By whom shall the reply be signed?" The Commission is dead: we cannot revive it. But members of it have a right to defend their official opinion, thoroughly, and do so officially.

I would sign a letter to Sir C. Wood if Dr Farr and Dr Sutherland signed it with me. We might fairly assume to represent the sense of the Commissioners generally. But this is offered only as a suggestion.
f162 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq on Ho of Co embossed. I have got from Dr Farr a statement of the returns he wants, and shall move for them today or tomorrow. A fair statement of the case is required for our vindication and comment now, by provoking opposition, injure the cause; which was the reason why I did not wish to fight last year or the year before. I am sorry to hear of a new obstacle in the shape of deficit; the Indian income tax cannot be taken off and even with it revenue will fall short by £800,000 A short illeg is one cause; war in Bhaster another.

f163 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley, Prescot 22 Apr 1865. "Quarter sessions prevented an earlier reply to your note of the 19th [Der 15/71]. I will speak to Sir C.W. on the gaol question and also on that of the state of Calcutta. I shall be in town again on Monday and the matter is better discussed verbally.

f164 Stanley letter to FN on Ho of C embossed, from St J Sq 15 May 1865, has reports, will return to her, re unhealthiness of Calcutta, will write again to CW re that matter and about gaols, has gone over Farr’s draft, likes, will sign with Sutherland. I have read the two reports which shall be returned to you in a day or two: the state of things relating to Calcutta describes is quite enough to account for the unhealthiness of the place. I will write again to Sir C.W. about that matter and also about the gaols.

There can be no objection to the War Office Commission advising, by consent of all parties, not in illeg, are questions not relating to military affairs within your area of reference?

I have gone over Dr Farr’s draft and with a few verbal alterations like it very well. He and I ought to sign it and I think Dr Sutherland also, unless he objects, as we three had much to do with the original document of which this is a defence. Pray never speak of being troublesome; it is a real pleasure to me to help you a little in the great work; I know no other way in which my time can be made equally useful. I fear there are grave difficulties ahead in the way of finance; that of India is less prosperous than it looked two or three years ago and our suggested reforms are very costly.

f166 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq on Ho of Co embossed 18 May 1865. I send back the papers. What you say of Sir John is quite intelligible to me. I send back the papers which you say of Sir J. L’s despondency is quite intelligible to me. The talk is, India could find money for half of what ought to be done. She can just go on on interest loans, and with the present outlay. But that is all. Loans in time of peace are very objectionable. Civil expenses cannot be set down to army. The only question is, can we do with fewer troops there? It is a risk, yet possibly it may be better to incur it, keeping the troops which we do maintain in
better health. Then the moral obstacles are great, Europeans, as Sir J. says, are birds of passage. They have no interest in the country. Natives are not accustomed to deal with affairs on a large scale nor is the power in their hands. The only comfort I can suggest is to recollect how very short a time has passed since sanitary matters began to be looked into, and how much has been accomplished. We must trust to time, throw away no chances, be active and be patient. What is Bombay doing? They are rolling in wealth of solid silver -- as a ryot lately was seen with the tires of his cartwheels made of that material.

Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 9 June 1865. Want of money, as well as of energy, is at the bottom of the difficulty. Delays are not likely to be illegal when illegal would entail an expense which the authorities hardly know how to illegal. I will see Sir C. Wood and do what I can. Moving in the House is of little use, unless it were in order to get papers. Parliament does not really care about the subject and least of all this much, when the elections are filling all practical heads.

Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq on H of C embossed, Many thanks for the paper. We seem to be going on in a very satisfactory way. I have not been able to see Sir C.W. lately. He has been ill with the gout. But I have a note what you wish me to tell him.

Stanley letter to FN on H of C embossed from St J Sq 19 June 1865 cannot see Mr Willis, winding up session, will speak to CW today or tomorrow. I fear I cannot see Mr Ellis. We are writing up the report and my hands are rather full. But I will speak to Sir C. Wood today or tomorrow. [reply to Der 15/82?]

Stanley note with returned paper 20 June [1865]

Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq June 23 1865. Writing to you, I may write frankly. It is very hot weather -- we are at the end of the session -- I am going out of town -- and having nothing particular to do till the illegal I feel is lazy to undertake the meeting. This is the talk -- if they come to me officially I must make some better excuse. But I shall never (I hope) be too lazy to help on the Indian sanitary work. I am waiting till after the budget to have a good discussion on that matter with Sir C.W. He has been ill -- is so still apparently -- and won't have his head full of figures. But before the end of next week I hope to have it out with him.

Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 27 July 1865 has been reading her report. CW gone to Hamburg; not aware of any real work being accomplished at Madras while Sir W.D. remains there and re assistance of Mr Mills. I have been reading your reports
with some disappointment. Sir C. Wood is (I believe) gone to Homburg to get his gout cured, if not gone, he is on the point of going. Therefore nothing can be done for a mail or so. I am not sanguine of any real work being accomplished at Madras while Sir W.D. remains there. He has nearly served out his time, much will depend on his successor.

Mr Mill’s assistance is well worth securing; it remains to be seen what he will do in Parl, but his name alone will be of importance, if you can in any way publicly identify him with the sanitary cause.

What your informants say of Sir W.D. is no news to me; he has been the same in everything. He had once a considerable reputation and I believe earned it. But his energy is exhausted and his self-will (always strong) continues. PS I am ere for a illeg

f175 Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 17 Aug 1865. Thanks for the papers; you shall have then back in a day or two. I never thought Sir C.W. hostile, only a little more indifferent than one could wish. He seems mending in that respect.

Col Durco?? has succeeded as military member of Council (at Calcutta) -- I have some influence with him and have written strongly, though in general terms to press him to act. Sir J.L. is zealous, but sorely perplexed between zeal and economy. We are advancing steadily if not very fast. Publicity will in the long run do much we want. People withstand being illeg when once they know it.

f177 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 21 Oct 1865. You will have grasped by my silence that I was not in England. Your note of the 4th has just reached me. I hasten to send ack Dr Leith’s paper. There is nothing in it to complain of. If Sir C. Wood means to publish it we cannot complain. We have had our say.\ I shall be here or at Knowlsely for some time to come and quite ready for any communication.

f178 Stanley letter to FN from Hatfield. 25 Oct 1865 thanks for letters [920 Der 15/88 and /89], will return papers tomorrow, Mr Ellis can call on Saturday but he doesn’t have his address. Thanks for two letters. I will return the printed papers tomorrow. If Mr Ellis likes to call in St James’s Square at 11 (eleven) on Saturday morning I will see him with pleasure. Not having his address, I am compelled to tousle you with this message. I have no other day available. I have on one or two occasions scolded Sir C.W. as to giving more power to the san commissions; he seems hostile. I do not know why. Wd it not be well for Mr E. To see him? I cd manage that. On second thoughts, I will keep Mr E’s memo till after I have seen him. It may be of use.
Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq/ I return Dr angus Smith’s pamphlet. He understand his subject. Thanks for sending it. Pray pardon me for putting you to the trouble of altering an engagement. If ear I may not be in town on Sat as early as 11 (eleven), which time I named for seeing Mr Ellis. If he could make it at 1 (one) or 2 (two) there wd be no risk of my missing him. If he cannot come on that day I shall be in London again prob within a fortnight.

Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 29 Oct 1865 re figures she sent on gaol mortality in India, “really startling” didn’t know how bad, saw Ellis yesterday. The figures you send me in reference to India gaol morality are really startling. I know generally that the state of things was bad, but I did not know how bad it was. I will move for any papers which may be wanted. I have taken no note of the figures in this case, as you may have fresh and more certain information before Parl wants (we shall not be called together until January) and when the time comes I will ask you for a brief résumé of the allegations. We ought by all means to have an enquiry. Rely on any help I can give.

I saw Mr Ellis yesterday. He is sensible and energetic. I gave him a recommendatory letter to Sir C. Wood. But to me it appears that Sir J/L. who has to work the sanitary scheme ought to take the initiative in recommending any change which he desires. I can see no reason against his doing so. At any rate it might be done in a private or semiöfficial letter if for personal reasons he does not wish to send a dispatch on the subject. I fear the impending renewal of political agitation will not be favourable to depts work. Still we must do our best... Papers are returned herewith.

Stanley letter to FN from St Jas Sq on House of Lords struck out stationery 15 Nov 1865. Thanks for your letter [Der 15/91]. I am not the least surprised at your friends being indignant. Sir W.D. has been in every respect inefficient. He has never shown energy at Madras except in opposing everyone who was disposed to be energetic. But pray tell them to be patient. His time is up and we have the comfort of knowing that we can’t change for the worse.

A more permanent evil is that Sir C.W. --for what reason I know not--is evidently jealous of the san commissions having power. That I cannot wholly remedy. I shall be in illeg and always at your orders if wanted.

Stanley letter to FN from Knowsley 3 Jan 1866. I scarcely know want to say in answer to your letter of the 28th [Der 15/92]. My confidence in Lawrence is so great (except on one or two question in no way connected with sanitary matters) and my belief in his sincere desire to advance the sanitary cause so strong, that I shd be disposed to accept without criticism his
judgment on a change with the practical effect of which he must
be more conversant than we can be at this distance. And there is
this to consider -- that a plan of his will probably be adopted,
while if we pick hole sin it the end may be that nothing will be
done.

I really do not think there is any use in my writing again
to Sir C.W. on the subject. He has evidently his advisors and
some prejudices of his ow. It is easier to act directly on the
G.G. If so wish e to do anything say so, and I will gladly help
in working out your views. I shall not be in London (probably)
till the end of the month, but remain here, with plenty of
leisure to read any papers you may send.

**f186** Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 29 Jan 1866. If there is
any sanitary question to be settled -- or unsettled-- I am in
town now permanently and can call upon you any day. So pray tell
me if I am wanted.

**f187** Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 1 Feb 1866. Your note of
this morning is the only one I have ever recd of yours which I
read without pleasure -- since it announces your illness. May the
next bring better news!

I don’t wonder at the I.G. being idle. Sir C.W.’s broken
head has been (I am told) a serious shock to his constitution and
he came up to town prepared and ready to resign. But some of his
colleagues scenting the vacancy began to fight for his place and
Ld R was obliged to ask him to stay on. In this provisional state
of things no wonder there shd be some confusion.

We shall not, I think be very busy until after Easter. The
reform scheme is delayed till then and the secret is admirably
kept for the best of reasons hat ministers don’t themselves know
which they never to do. I hear we are to have a splendid budge
and the financial success is expected to cover possible failure
elsewhere. Now for Lord Napier. Your instructions are a law to me
and if I can get hold of him I shall be glad to stick our
doctrines into his head. But I don’t know Ld N personally and can
hardly ask him to come here to receive a sanitary lecture. All I
can say therefor is that I will bear it in mind and take any
opportunity that may offer. There is a work to spare which I hear
of Ld N is that he is a man of talent, quick and judicious, but
not likely to err on the side of over-zeal, possibly too much
disposed to take things easy. Such is the usual tendency of a
diplomatic being. I think his bargain for the illeg of the G.G.
ship likely enough. It is an incredible will which difficulty nor
of illeg to banish themselves for a term of years when Bombay has
... Sir C had to my knowledge 4 or 5 refusals --yet it is a post
of great power and £12,000 a year. We are too fond of our clubs
and too indifferent to fame! I live in hope of being told you are
recovered.
f190 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq on Travellers. I have done all in my power as to Lord Napier. I met him last week at dinner, but had no good opportunity of talking over sanitary matters. I have offered to see him if he wishes it before his departure, as he has only three or four days in England and my acquaintance with him is limited to a single interview. I cannot press him farther. Be quite sure, always, that what you write to me is safe. I never show, lend, or quote any letter of yours.

f191 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 11 April 1866. One line only to acknowledge your letter of the 8th [Der 15/95]. I found it yesterday on returning to London. My hands are rather full and I will put off answering it till next week.

f192 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 15 April 1866. I return your papers with apologies for having kept them so long (the press will have told you that this has been a busy week among politicians). I have so few opportunities of seeing Lord de Grey as we did sit in the same House that any influence I might have had over India in the time of his predecessor is greatly diminished. There is no reason why he should consult me and he does not do so. If I can help you and Sir J.L. you know that I will gladly do it, but at present I do not see any step to take. Nor could the attention of the H of C be called to India matters just now. We shall have no change of ministry, so make up your mind to go on dealing with the same officials. You speak of Sir J.L.’s despondency: from his letters to me in 1858, I think that with all his energy he is inclined to see the black side of things. All that teaches me is favourable to his reputation and popularity in India. He has nothing in that way to complain of.

If you ever wish to see me, I am always at your orders -- given only a day or two’s notice.

f194 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 24 May 1866. I return the papers recd and considered. My hands are rather full just now and I can only say I agree in thinking that prison inspectors are not illeg wanted for the plans in which Sir J.L. proposes to put them. Your require a higher class of administrator. In the main I go with your letter. Only are you into extending the positions of sanitary administrators rather widely when you make it include country drainage and irrigation? Town drainage is a smaller matter. I will try and be at your disposal whenever you wish to see me. I am not now likely to leave town for some time.

f195 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 4 July 1866, will assist sanitary cause to best of his power, real difficulty is delicacy about intruding into a colleague’s dept; Ld ?not obstructive, will stir him up on sanitary issue, asks to put him in direct communication with her. Want of time will never prevent me from assisting the sanitary cause to the best of my power. The more
real difficulty is the delicacy which one feels about intruding into a colleague’s department. I do not think you will find Ld Cranborne obstructive and he is a good man of business. When I see him next, which will be very soon, I will stir him up on the sanitary question. It could be necessary that he shd begin from the beginning; he may fairly accept conclusions which we of various parties and in different positions have all agreed in.

May I put you in direct communication with him? I assume that you are not at present acquainted. Pray write to me if I can be of any use.

f197 Stanley letter to FN from St J Sq 6 July 1866. I shall see Ld Cranborne today (we go down to be sworn in) and will tell him the whole sanitary story and also say that I have advised you to write to him as you always have to me. To my great advantage. You will find him shrewd, industrious, and a good man of business.
Lord Stanley

{in hand other than FN's} [Doors & Windows]
{in FN's hand} The enclosed papers India P.W.D 1st Ap No 61 1867
{not in FN's hand:} [Doors & Windows]
{in FN's hand} was sent to me by Capt. G. from the W.O. for my opinion on the questions regarding Ventilation raised in it.

But, on going over it it was easy to see that questions were raised by this paper not only of the greatest importance regarding the future health of soldiers in Barracks & of sick in Hospitals but involving the whole question of Sanitary administrations in India to such a degree that I have felt compelled to send it to you as the Pres. of the India S.C. in order that we many consider what had best be done to save the cause in India from administrative ruin.

The origin of the paper you will find in the accompanying printed observations of the Army San Com at the W.O. dated May 11 1866.

You will see that notwithstanding the opinion of the R.C. & of the Army San. Com
expressed in their suggestions
the P.W.D. had tacitly given the go by to
both & had adopted doors alike for
B. rooms & Hospl irrespective of local
position & climate. thereby exposing
both healthy & sick men to a large class
of diseases well known to have been
the result of this Door ventilation previously
carried out by this same Dep't.

The Army San Com thereupon prepared
these observations re=stating & re=
enforcing the case. And they were
sent out to the Ind Gov't?

In the first place, you will see that the
facts speak for themselves & leave
absolutely no escape from the conclusions
of the R.C. about doors & windows.
Nevertheless the Gov't of Ind. with the
case open before them, instead of
proceeding at once to administration
send the decision of the R.C. together
with the remarks of the Army San Comm
all over India to the following authorities
for their opinion.
Local Gov'ts and administrations
Local San Comm.
   Med auth
   Military "
   Public Wks officers
   Committees
& having obtained the replies of these various authorities & no authorities they put the whole into the somebody hands of whom
   a Colonel of R.A.
   a Captain of R.E.
And if you will compare even their imperfect analysis for the purpose of being analysed. Apparently the Secretary & India assistant Sect. one a Colonel of R.A., the other a Capt. of R.E.
And the result is that an analysis of the various opinions is given in the Ind. letter which if you will compare with the decision of the Ind Gov't itself, not only bears out the opinions expressed by the R.C. & by the Army San Comm. but directly condemns the
conclusion at which the Gov't of India arrives which is, as you will see, to trust, the doors as the means of ventilation at all Stations & seasons irrespective of climate.
I need scarcely point out that with such a method of doing business which amounts simply to administration by universal suffrage, anything like progress in Sanitary reform is impossible. We have come to a dead lock thro' a vicious system of administration.
In dealing with all Health questions, we require an active - zealous Executive, having sufficient knowledge, enlightenment & funds. Up to the present time, we have made no progress. The San. Comm'ns have been so ill arranged & so altered that you will see, by these documents, instead of being the Sanitary advisors of the Gov't, they are merely another element of discord & disunion thrown into the system.
And the question now for us is: -- what should be done?
All the best men are either out of the Sanitary Comm'ns or they are dead. And now appears to be the time for re organizing, the whole Sanitary administration.
Would you be so good as to take the whole matter into your consideration & let me know whether anything & what can be done?
The Sanitary past of the question comes before the Army San Comm. at its next meeting -- which will be on an early day.
In the mean time I am informed that the Sub=Comm, to which the matter had been referred had decided unanimously
against the Gov't of India, and in accordance (continued on f201)

As I must return the papers as soon as possible for the meeting, would you be so good as to return send them to me when you have read them?

I wish I could give you more information as to what has been done in India during the last 18 months. But all we know is that there has been nothing.

So far as we know, the work appears to have been limited to reporting without results & the changes in the Constitution of the San Commission to save cost. That really is all.

There are no Gov't Officers of Health
There is no Sanitary organization properly so called

[There are one or two officers of Health Connected with the Municipalities of Calcutta & Bombay. But that is a different thing]

with the views of the Royal Commission, as well as the Medical officers in India to whom among others the question was referred
Namely to ventilate irrespective of either Doors or windows and to use doors & or windows & or both according to local requirements of climate. [end 9:477]

On exec

Stanley letter to FN from FO 12 July 1867 I return the papers sent with your letter of yesterday (missing). It shall be as you wish,, absolutely confidential. I cannot do much. My present work, complicated with illeg and social ceremonies which involve endless and useless waste of time -- and added to the obligation of sitting night and day in the House -- is as much as I can manage. To master the details of any question out of my own line is impossible. I will speak to Sir S. Northcote in a general way; but I do not think my interference will produce much result. I am truly sorry that you can give no better report of the sanitary question.

Stanley letter to FN from Balmoral 5 Sept 1867. To convince a Spaniard Italian or Portuguese of the uselessness of quarantine --if it be useless, which I suppose is how the recd opinion is-- about as hopeless an undertaking as to convert the Pope to
Protestantism. To persuade them that dirt is unhealthy may be possible in the long run, but it will take half a century to do much.

£205 letter to J. Pattison Walker, Surg to Army, to FN from 50 Torrington Sq 30 Dec 1863, has had 18 years in Indian Army, returning from furlough with info to enable to reduce sickness and mortality of Army
NOTES ON SANITARY LITERATURE VERY LIGHT PENCIL; UNDATED, I think by JS

unfortunately there is not much Sanitary literature applicable to warm climates
The best digest of principles for Indian Commission is that contained in the Indian Commission report. The W.O. is having a reprint of its {illeg} with such {illeg admitted?} information or {illeg} {illeg} obtained and a {illeg passage} every thing {illeg} will {illeg} {illeg Me?}
New Medical Regulations will inform your {illeg} Sanitary {illeg} {illeg line}
{illeg officer?} & {illeg} you could no doubt {illeg expand?} from Your own knowledge

letter of Pattison Walker to FN from Calcutta 28 April 1864, thanks for her letter of 10th ultimo, congratulating him on appt as Secy to Sany Comm for Bengal

NOTES ON THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS PEN; not by FN and date wrong

My dear Walker,
    I have read your manual with much satisfaction. I have long thought that the treatment of accused but unconvicted prisoners is apparent equally unwise & unjust. They are thrust in upon the other prisoners in too many cases -- so as to endanger their health as well as their own by {illeg}
They should be well cared for & kept entirely separate from convicted prisoners.
f215v
until the time of trial -- often a period
of months, or all {illeg know?} -- {illeg arrive?}

I think variety of diet very important
but a thoroughly good garden would
supply almost all the variety {illeg needed?}
And till they is {illeg} -- you will not
have proper gardens -- for many {illeg magistrates?}
do not acknowledge their necessity & the
{illeg food?}, will not pay for -- or forego payment
pr -- the {illeg fruit?} that is requested.

Probably as many {illeg kinds?} of Citron trees as {illeg
is?} proper
would not be always necessary -- but
unless you plant a leaf you will work
actually at night for the wants for
the prisoners.

one of the {illeg prevalent?} concerns

f216
the {illeg} for is that "racing
economy" to which you allude.
for in at that. That is part one {illeg man?}
Why I would insist upon our {illeg}
Inspector General. Who are not interested
in the amount of net profits {illeg},
continuing to instruct & report. Officer
an {illeg interest?} in showing small expenditures
& large profits -- Inspector Gen'l of {illeg}
that month -- & the {illeg Gov't?} clutches every
price it can & drains or finds fault
a good deal according to the financial
{illeg units?}. -- Give lots of air & room in barrack.
make the men sleep off the {illeg floor?} & have
your {illeg} for {illeg invalids?} to work in. & the
blankets should be {illeg} lay {illeg} the
{illeg raisins?} end. your views will cause a slight {illeg domination?} in the net proceed to put & a large {illeg} in the {illeg water?} of {illeg}
I agree most heartily with almost every line in your {illeg means?} & don't see that I have added or have to add anything to what you have written. [illeg]
21 March 1864

NOTES ON DISPOSING OF DEAD BODIES IN INDIA PEN; HANDWRITTEN I think by JS; UNDATED

The Commission appears to be proceeding urgently with its work. The establishment of a chair of Hygiene is of the greatest importance for the future progress of the cause & the same should be done for Ca Bombay and Madras. While introducing European or the laws of health you should not forget the natives. Could not the question of Public health be brought before any institutes or native localities for discussion? A well written little book or tract in the native language addressed to natives and explaining the laws the of health & how it is that their present habits lead to cholera & fever would do much good. & once such course of
proceeding appears the most likely to inform the Sanitary Con-
dition of these destitutes around Calcutta where the remittent plague at present prevails.

For the government to shew a kindly intent in this way would be of most service to the cause & would remove prejudice.

The plans & suggestions asked for by Mr. Strachey are nearly completed & the cable will be sent out with general suggestions founded on his experience as soon as possible.

{in pencil:}
In regard to the very important question of dispensing of the dead. It would be worth while to confer with the different castes and ascertain

what really constitutes religious burial. Then the whole question would resolve itself into the best practicable & most wholesome method of doing the work. If cremation were adapted You could get excellent plans of application from this country where the proven has been applied to every purpose almost except burning dead bodies.
My dear Sir,

I thank you much for your kind letter of April 23 & its most interesting account of the proceedings of the Commission. It is doing its work vigorously & will be a blessing to India.

The establishment of a Chair or Hygiene is of the greatest importance for the future progress of the cause and the same should be done for Bombay & Madras. While teaching Europeans the laws of health, do not forget the natives. Could not the question of public health be brought before any Institutes or Native Societies for discussion? A well-written little book or paper addressed to natives in their own language, explaining the very simplest laws of health -- how it is that their present habits lead to fever & cholera (if the causes of these two diseases are made head against, all the rest will follow) could not this be complied & circulated among the natives? I have already felt that, if you could take the heads of castes into your counsels, disarm their prejudices -- how much might be done? -- I do not pretend to say how. But you have now, at the head of the Government, the man of all others, who can do this & who will. Never had a Governor General before such knowledge & such power. I mean particularly with regard to the native races.

It is urgent that some enlightenment should be brought to
those districts round Calcutta where the remittent plague prevails -- in order to lead them to improve their own sanitary state & to allow it to be improved.

Could not hints, shewing a kindly interest in them by the Government, be put forth by the Government? With regard to the very important question of disposing of the dead, would not the best plan be to confer with the different castes and ascertain what really constitutes religious burial. [This is what even the old Indians at the India Office here seem not exactly to know] Then the whole question would resolve itself into the best practicable & most wholesome method of doing the work.

If cremation were adopted, suppose your Commission were to send a Minute home, desiring that the War & India Office Commission here (Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission) should send them out the best plans of apparatus from this country, where the process has been applied to almost every purpose, except burning dead bodies. [And even that has been considered.]

I was delighted to see Mr. Strachey's Minute (April 5) which was sent by the India Office to the "Barrack & Hospital Commission" in a letter of May 20, desiring them to send out plans etc. of sanitary construction to you -- because we are so slow (they talk of Hindoos being slow -- but War Offices & India Offices in England are slower) These plans are however nearly ready. And they will be sent out almost immediately with general suggestions.

I wish you God speed with all my heart. You will have
much opposition to encounter. But great works do not prosper without opposition. [Do you remember what, (by a curious coincidence Pope Paul III said to a predecessor of yours in the Missionary work in India St. Francis Xavier, viz. that God would always find means to carry out a work which was really God's -- that indeed he, Xavier, would find much to suffer -- but that the "affairs of God" succeed only by the way of crosses & difficulties.

I did not think Pope Paul could have said so good a thing. And I suppose Xavier was half a madman. But, for all that, I think it is true, is it not? for every work engaged in for the good of men.]

Believe me
Your faithful servant
Florence Nightingale

J. Pattison Walker, Esq. M.D.
I need hardly say that any papers or letters from you will always be most welcome to me.
F.N.

NOTES ON THE PREVALENCE OF "BOILS" AMONG THE TROOPS IN DELHI

I have just had a communication from Delhi (& my brother-in-law, Sir Harry Verney, has seen an officer in London, just arrived from Delhi from his son's Regiment there, who speaks to the same effect) viz. that a disease called "Boils" is very prevalent among the troops there, & causes much inefficiency. One officer had no less than 80 Boils on his body. The people there attribute the disease to bad water & a bad site -- and say that there is good water tho' at a considerable distance, & a good site for a small Barrack in Delhi. This is just one of the cases with which your Commission could effectually deal. The cause of "Boils" is very little understood. If you could contrive a careful enquiry to be made to find our the cause at Delhi, & remedy the evils, much good might arise to the Service.

(Of course we do not take implicitly every word we hear from Military Officers, unacquainted with sanitary things.)
F.N.
The filter in the barracks Mediterranean report will answer your purpose. It will be specially recommended for India in his furthering suggestions of the home Commission so that you may proceed with it. It is intended specifically for filtering water before being touched for use. If for instance you had good tanks for fort William & if you collected all the rain water from the roofs for drinking & culinary purposes you would have the whole of it through such a filter before allowing it to enter your tanks.

In regard to the proceedings what occurred to me is that it would be advisable to make them very short unless for special reasons. If you make a habit of putting in everything at length you may have to record errors in principle, backed by high names. You have an example of this in your present minutes where large rooms without great numbers of men for barracks are recommended by a general officer & medical officer, contrary to all sound principle. This is a very great mistake & even the record of it might lead other persons to think similarly.

{inserted in along the side of the page}
Mr. {illeg Maitland's?} theory of Barrack building is wrong throughout & shews great lack of sanitary knowledge on such subjects all forget that large rooms are very obvious causes of disease in India. It would be better to limit the record of matter of instruction either to the enunciation of sound principles & sound practice by the Commission itself or to such principles as it adopted, although stated in the words of other persons. It may help you to prepare your barrack notes if I tell you that the plans & apparatus in plans IV, VIII, IX, X, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX of the Mediterranean report will be recommended for your consideration by the {illeg Home?} Commission. Their suggestions contain a great deal

restating general principles of drainage, water supply, Barrack & Hospital plans, Sanitary Rules & Registration of deaths not included in the Mediterranean report, which may form the bases of great changes in India. Everything including the plans is now in place & will be hurried through as fast as possible.
Your account of the report of the report of the Military Dept. on the mentality of the Indian army exactly talking with what we have thought they would say. The whole question at issue is simply that this "what is a fair formula of mortality"? The Register General's department & the R.C. say that the longer the term of years you take within limits the safer you are. simply because the law by which men die everywhere is not ruled by days, months, or years but but by "epochs". If any one says that the epoch should coincide with one, two, three, five years, he simply shews that he has not sufficiently studied the subject to give an opinion.

The Reg. Gen. is in office & the R. C. in making up the table 10 page Ixxxviii for report Vol I used all the annual tables at their disposal. They had none subsequent to 1856. They applied for them in India but got not even the civility of an answer. It is no reply to the Commission tables to add the years subsequent to 1856. They should shew that the returns quick used for table 10 are either un incorrect or improperly used. Again it is simply absurd to throw out specific diseases such as Cholera, and ages above above 60, -- as your own critics used to do. Their principle of {illeg} carried out is simply to throw out all ages & all diseases & then there could be no mortality whatsoever. It is clear that all ages &
all diseases must be included in every set of mortality tables, & then by comparing the whole population at each age with the deaths at each age you get an estimate of the mortality.

[FN hand, pencil] Mr. Strachey's report minutes on to Calcutta fails

explores a picture of horrors altogether {illeg incurable?}

here. There could be a great outcry if it were taken up in this country I would have a fully detailed report with plans draining, Having what it is: the length width & height of its {illeg corner?}
The number of number minutes in each. The cubic space & superficial area per {illeg primers?}
The state of the fittings, bedding, drainages, latrines urinals etc. with proposals for abolishing utterly the present state of things & introducing another better calculator to meet the requirements of the present day. If you would send any plans here we should be only too glad to get for you every information and practical assistant assistance possible in comprehending them.

There is much experience in England about cholera which would be very useful to you in India. D. {illeg Budder?} paper is of no practical value & does not represent our experience here. It is purely theoretical & by a man who has seen little of the disease. I think we could have improved the practical instructions in some important particular
32 South Street,  
London W.  
June 18/64

PRIVATE

My dear Sir,

I thank you heartily for your letter of May 7 and for its enclosure of your Minutes.

The filter in the Mediterranean Report will answer your purpose. It is intended specially for filtering water before being tanked for use. If e.g. you had good tanks for Fort William, & if you collected all rain water from roofs for drinking & cooking, you would pass the whole of it through such a filter before allowing it to enter your tanks. (The War Office Commission will recommend it specially for India in the "Suggestions" called for by your President)

What occurred to me, with regard to your proceedings, is that it would be advisable to make them very short, unless for special reasons. If everything is put in at length, errors in principle, backed by me high names, may have to be recorded. There is an example of this in your present Minutes where Barrack rooms for larger numbers are recommended by a General Officer & Medical Officer contrary to all sound principle. This is a very great mistake, & even the record of it might lead to mischief. All forget that these overgrown Barrack-rooms are very obvious causes of disease in India. (Dr. McCelland's theory of Barrack building shews throughout great lack of sanitary knowledge on such subjects.)
It would be better to limit the record of matter of instruction to either the enunciation of sound principles & sound practice by the Commission itself or to such principles as it adopted (stated in other's words)

Plans & apparatus IV, VIII, IX, X, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII? XIX, of the Mediterranean Report, will be recommended for your consideration by the War Office Commission. I hope you will think that their forthcoming suggestions (which never would have been forthcoming but for Mr. Strachey's Minute) contain a good deal relating to general principles of drainage, water-supply, barrack & hospital plans, sanitary police & registration of deaths, not included in the Mediterranean Report, which may form the bases of great changes in India. Every thing, including the plans, is now in progress & will be hurried through as fast as possible.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours ever sincerely

F. Nightingale

Dr. Pattison Walker

**£233** LETTER TO DR. WALKER ABOUT SENDING HIM "SUGGESTIONS"; TYPED COPY, original is LMA1 H1/ST/NC1/64/11

32 South Street
London W.
Aug. 10/54

PRIVATE

My dear Sir,

I sent to you and to Mr. Strachey copies of the "Suggestions" (by Book Post a fortnight ago) drawn up in compliance with Mr. Strachey's Minute of April 5.

These "Suggestions" have now received the Sanction of the Military Committee, of the Council, & of the S. of S. of the India Office here.

And they are about to be forwarded to you officially by the India Office.

But our people are so slow that, if I were not afraid of being profane, I should say that Sir John Lawrence is always a great deal more ready to hear than we are to pray. Therefore I forward to you (by Book post today) 4 more copies of the "Suggestions", in case you may wish to apply them at once.

Yours very faithfully,

Florence Nightingale.

Jas. Pattison Walker, Esq. M.D.
32 South Street
London W.
Oct. 3/64

PRIVATE
My dear Sir,

It is rather for the pleasure of conversing with you about your "Proceedings" than for the sake of being of use that I add a few Remarks to those "for June".

106. Resolution
Yes: and the refuse discharged through a pipe below low water mark in the river.

107. President's Remarks
Yes: in new barracks we propose proper fire grates to dry the air in damp weather when required.

Page 52. Tatties.
Tatties etc. are touched upon in the "Suggestions".

Page 52 last line.
Yes: yes.

109. 110
Plans for Lunatic Asylums & Jails must be sent out to you.

Page 53. last line but two.
"minimum allowance"
80 would be little enough.

Page 54. top line but one
125 is the utmost number
Page 54. Third Para.
"Inspector General N.W.P."
"cubic feet & square feet"
750 and 80 if the prison be small & every thing right.
but 1000 would be better.
The Agra Jail & others shew that Jail accommodation wants
entire renewal
Page 54 -- Last Para.
Could you have a reference made to the War Office (Sanitary)
Commission here?
114. "As regards the manure"
Yes.
Wherever manure is laid down near cities, it should be at
once dug in and covered.
Last Para of Page.
This would depend entirely on the extent of land, the distance
from Barracks, the direction of winds, manuring, draining,
crops, etc.
Page 58 -- lines 6,7,8,9 from top.
Yes -- yes -- yes.
Page 65 22.
Col. Crommelin is right however.
Page 67. 36
very good.

Page 75 II
This question raised treated in the "Suggestions.
Plan of Bangalore Hospital bad.
Page 77 II
remarks very good.
Page 79 129. I.
The best deodorizer is a drain pipe or a Scavenger.
Page 84. II.
Let them try their disinfectants.
Page 93 Meean Meer Water supply
"1. quite true
I will not weary you any more with marks of admiration
& remarks of affirmation, but only wish you Godspeed -- & am ever
Your faithful servant
Florence Nightingale
Dr. Pattison Walker
32 South Street, London W.
Oct.10/64

PRIVATE
My dear Sir,

I write in haste to thank you for your important "Draft Rules for Military Cantonments", just received. I have only had time to glance through it. As a proposed sanitary code for Indian Stations, it shews that it has been most carefully considered with an earnest desire to make its provisions efficient -- (and with what a masterly hand it is done!)

There is so close a conformity in its provisions with the crit points in the "Suggestions" of the War Office Commission, which have been sent you, that there will be no difficulty in arriving at an agreement.

In the W.O. "Suggestions" there are some points which might be introduced with advantage into your code. With this view, might I venture to suggest that you should compare your clauses with theirs, so as to introduce into your code any additional clauses you may, on consideration, judge to be useful & practicable?

Two or three points have especially struck me in my hasty perusal --

1. as to Inspectors of Nuisances.
These are officers whose duty it is to see the thing done with their own eyes. This is indispensable with us here.

It may interest you to know that one of the most active
"Inspectors" in England has offered to the W.O. Commission to give up his appointment & come out to you. He says there are many others in England who would gladly lend their aid to the great work in India (not for the sake of large salaries, but simply to help forward the sanitary cause). We have referred him to the India Office.

If you should want any such Inspectors, you would have to apply to the India Office. And the W.O. Commission would try to find them for you.

2. A very important power suggested by the W.O. Commission is the making of Bye-laws under sanction.

Could you adopt this?

3. Could not something more be said about permanent works -- granting to the local authorities certain powers of moving the Government as to putting Stations or towns in a complete sanitary condition (as to works of a permanent character)?

4. Could you not include the sanitary police of native towns, & make some provision for introducing works into these?

These are the chief points which have struck me -- not knowing the bearing of local powers in India. You may have perhaps already provided some of these powers, altho' I (ignorant) do not see it.

You intend, as I gladly see, to send copies to the W.O. Commission. They will joyfully give you every hint that occurs to them.

I trust that Mr. John Strachey is better -- his is a master-hand -- & that your own health improves. We cannot spare you.

I can only wish you God speed on your noble work, & beg you to believe me ever your faithful & ready servant.

Florence Nightingale
Dr. Pattison Walker.
Dr. Walker,

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The suggestions are intended as a kind of guide to executive authorities in India, in European experience in Sanitary working rather than as a guide to teaching on which they are deficient.

M. C. Intending notaries

I suppose that in your course of lectures you will be attending by Eurasians & Natives entering the Medical profession. You will have a glorious opportunity not only to teaching civilization & health but also in teaching then practice by bringing the pupils into practical contact with Sanitary problems in Calcutta.

---

a good text book will be a great help to them, & also a few tracts in the vernacular. Get the natives to give all the information they can as to domestic habits & try to teach them how their habits can be followed with least injury to health.

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Dr. Hathaway

There must be some [illeg veritable?] about the [illeg Mission?] in [illeg] [illeg ausby?] to the [illeg Mad Dog?] all the new officer can do is to give his opinion to the C.O. The authority & [illeg reassembled?] of the C.O. as positing intent they are the same as ever they were.
In regard to the question of the filter in Calcutta. It is evident that any movement must begin there. Every step taken here has only proved the inadequacy of the moment dead with the evil, and any energetic agent taken from India would lessen the influence here while he or she might not be suited for India.

The native cart question would interfere also when vice is followed as an recognized profession. You could do most good {illeg humbly?} with European women who have been {illeg connected?} with the army.

You have now got from us the practical suggestions for Indian Sanitary works & we shall look forward with great interest & anxiety for the first signs of practical works, & measures they carried out. About enough has been written. The great thing is now to get the thing done. This is the work of the government executive authorities & if taken is how it could under any publication of minutes less necessary. Some of the early minutes contained some things that might have given {illeg outrage?}, but the {illeg Cart?} {illeg Tune?} batch which is simply a {illeg send?} of proceedings contains nothing that anybody need feel offended with.
PRIVATE.
London W.
October 18/64

My dear Sir,

I am very much indebted to you for your last letter (of August 31) -- also for the copy of "Rules & Regulations" which I received & acknowledged by last mail.

You have now had time to look over the "Suggestions" which you are kind enough to acknowledge -- & which are intended as a kind of guide to executive authorities in India, in European experience of Sanitary work, rather than as a guide to teaching in which they are deficient.

I suppose that your course course of Lectures will be attended by Eurasians & natives entering the Medical profession. You will have a glorious opportunity, not only of teaching civilization & health, but also of teaching them practice by bringing the pupils into practical contact with sanitary problems in Calcutta.

A good text-book would be a great help to them -- & also a few tracts in the vernacular.

If the natives would give you all the information they can as to domestic habits, you might teach them how those habits can be followed with least injury to health.

[I wish Sanitary rules could be made a religion, a fanaticism with the ignorant of the natives. I suppose it is not by intelligence, at least at first (by explaining reasons)]

that these natives can be led. But we hear of fanaticism about cleanliness in some points among Brahmins -- & we know that Moses made sanitary things a part of his code for the people. Could not observing certain laws of health be made a religion with the ignorant of the Hindoos?]

I trust that your health is better & that of Mr. Strachey.

Believe me
Most faithfully yours
Florence Nightingale

Jas. Pattison Walker, Esq. M.D.
These figures have not been yet published. The statement is therefore Confidential

f252 printed report 11 pages Sanitary Commission for Bengal, minute No. 151 Hospital Nursing by Females, report of J. Strachey, extract by Walker, with FN comments on some pages

ff254, 255, 256v, 257 NOTES MADE IN MARGIN OF J. STRACHEY's "EXTRACT FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SANITARY COMMISSION FOR BENGAL" OF THE 7th JULY 1864 -- MINUTE No. 151, "HOSPITAL NURSING BY FEMALES" PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED

f254 {p. 5 in the article}
(on there being 17.5 Nurses employed in one month)
{illeg Qy?} is the Nurse turned off in the other half month?

f255 {p. 7}
(on the administering of care requiring particular attention)
Of course it ought to be in all cases.

f256v {p. 10}
(on having a Matron for every six nurses, according to H.M.'s Hospital Regulations)
wherever there are two nurses {on the scale of pay in H.M.'s Regulations being applicable in India}
Would not the immense wages which a good Nurse can command in Calcutta (I have heard 21/ per day) make this impossible? Besides our Sup'r Gen'l says £30 instead of £20? {illeg same?} for the first years.
My dear Sir,

I will only today thank you for your beautiful (& distressing) photographs of the Calcutta damage from the Cyclone, which arrived in perfect condition - also for Col. Crommelin's Mem. on Hospital Construction - his principles appear admirable & his application of them ingenious, - also for the Minute on Vaccination.

On Friday night Mr. John Strachey called at my house on his way to Bristol & left with me your Proceedings for August & September. I was exceedingly obliged for your thought of me - but regretted the cause, I fear ill health, which brought Mr. Strachey to me. I did not see him, but he promised me to write from Bristol. If his health permits, & his stay is long enough in England, he might obtain important information here. In the mean time, he leaves the cause in Bengal in the best hands, which are yours.

I am about to write to you, with your permission, at some length.

Sir C. Wood (but this is strictly in confidence) referred the Report of Dr. Leith on the Sanitary Condition of the Bombay Army, to our "Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission" for reply.

X I am not now at South St. but close by (for a time). All letters reach me as before addressed to South St.
We have replied to it. I shall send you a copy of the reply (you have of course seen Dr. Leith's Report) as soon as it is through the press.

In the meantime

Believe me

Yours most sincerely

Florence Nightingale

Dr. Pattison Walker

Mr. Strachey has found us in a thick London fog, & with snow & frost on the ground (it is freezing now) & with a bitter N. Easter.

F.N.

My dear Sir,

I will not let a mail pass without telling you how deeply touched I am by yours and Mrs. Walker's most kind (and pressing) invitation to me, a complete stranger to you. Would that I could avail myself of yours and her great kindness! There is nothing, really nothing, - on this side the grave which I long for so much as a visit to India - nothing which would interest me so much. While others try to run away from India, I would desire more than anything else which I do desire (I "desire with desire", as the Hebrew says) to go to India. I have studied the country so much, I seem to know so well what I want to do there, that it appears to me as if I would be going home, not going to a strange country. But alas for me, it is quite impossible. I shall never leave London, except for the grave. Even the move to the next street brings me to death's door. And I am assured that I have no prospect except of getting worse - tho' it appears that I must have a (family) constitution like iron, for, for nearly 7 years I have never been expected to live 6 months. If there were even any hope of my reaching India alive, & of my being able to go on working when there, as I do here, I believe I should be tempted to go. For my term of life cannot be much longer, wherever I am.
But it is quite impossible. It is absurd for me to think of it, though I shall never forget the kindness which dictated the thought - in you and Mrs. Walker - to be willing to take charge of such an invalid, an utter stranger to you. Even if it were possible, I really could not impose such a charge upon you.

But it is not possible.

I may tell you in confidence, that, in 1857, that dreadful year for India, I offered to go out to India in the same way as to the Crimea. But Sidney Herbert, with whom I worked for five years, all but a week, in the War Office till his lamentable death, put a stop to it. He said that I had undertaken this work, caused him to undertake it, and that I must stay and help him (meaning the sanitary army reforms). Since his death, it has been all the more necessary because all the more difficult. There is but one Sidney Herbert - there is but one Sir John Lawrence - they have no successors - you will know what I mean - what is to be done must be done in their time, or not at all. Our work is mere child's play now compared to yours.

I admire your Lecture - particularly your famous story of the coolie (at 4 rupees a month) dealing destruction round the land. It is a most suggestive and appropriate illustration. I assure you, the information you are so good as to give me is the greatest interest I have.

I had not intended to write this mail, because the papers are not ready about which I meant to write to you, and which alone would have given my letter worth. But I

could not forbear writing to thank you and Mrs. Walker (to whom I intend to have the pleasure of writing myself) for your unspeakable kindness - and to beg that you will believe me ever most faithfully and gratefully yours and hers

(Signature excised)
No. 774
To. J.P. Walker Esq're M.D.
    Secretary Sanitary Commission for Bengal

Sir,

    In reply to your letter No. 734 dated 21st Instt I have the honor, by desire of the Offic-
    =icating Principal Inspector General Medical Department, to convey to you, for submission to
    the Sanitary Commission, his views respecting Female Nursing for General Military Hospitals.

    I am directed to state that he attaches the highest importance to the introduction of such
    a scheme, and feels confident that the very greatest benefit to the sick will be seen to result
    from its adaption, if it be properly carried out. He desires me however to observe that in his
    opinion, any arrangements for continuous & efficient nursing must be conducted by a
    trained Department such as exists in the British Hospitals, but that in India we are met on
    the very threshold of the subject with the following questions.

    1st {illeg}
Have we the material in sufficient quantity to be trained into good nurses: --
If we have not, can trained & efficient Nurses be procured from England to organize
and keep up such a Department here.

The experience at the General Hospital in Calcutta would seem to raise a serious
doubt on the first point already the reports shew a falling off in the qualities required
for good Nurses as compared to what they were at the commencement, and the Principal
Inspector General has been led to understand that the Calcutta Nurses' Association experience
considerable difficulty in procuring even such as are not supplied. If then in Calcutta,
the best field in India for procuring them, these difficulties already exist, from whence can
we hope to procure them for all the Military Hospitals in the Country.

It has been supposed by some that each European Regiment may be trusted to, if suffi-
cient inducement is given, to supply nurses for its own Hospitals, but apart from the fact
of European women with Regiments being for the most part married with families, they have
often impracticable husbands to deal with, men who will interfere and object to their absence
after limited periods. This gives rise to constant changes, and these changes are a death blow to
the useful working of the Establishment, for the women never remain long enough to be thoroughly
trained and useful. It is impossible, moreover, to make the wives of soldiers part for general Esta-
=blishment who may be ordered away to other Hospitals where they may be required.

In England Institutions exist for the training of Nurses and Dr. Bruce believes that India
must be dependent on such Institutions for the Nurses we may require. Intelligent women
of middle age, of cheerful disposition, sober habits, good temper, and neat and orderly habits
are wanted; they must be able to read & write and to regulate the amount of air, warmth, etc.
required by their charge. They must moreover be
be bound to remain for a certain period of years at their duty here, and no plea but ill health should be valid to break such an agreement.

The Rules contained in the Medical Regulations for Her Majesty's service will, as a general rule, be applicable to them in India, but some modification will be required, such as improved pay with length of service, the period for pension being made shorter, and the latter increased.

A Superintendent General for the Establishment and a Superintendent in each Hospital will, he believes be necessary as at home, and more authority over the Nurses ought to be given to Medical Officers in charge of Hospitals than is contemplated in the British Regulations, for it is doubtful if we can always command a Superintendent Nurse for a Hospital, who will have sufficient influence and control over the ordinary Nurses to be able to inflict even minor punishments without remonstrance. In the General Hospital at Allahabad, where the system was first introduced, and where it has been
been brought to a high state of efficiency, the power of punishment, such as stopping the Nurses beer etc. for negligence, has been vested in the Medical Officer in charge of the Institution, and he reports that no dissatisfaction is ever shewn with the decisions. He is however, strongly of opinion, that Superintendents from among the other Nurses cannot, as a general rule, and with our present material, be selected with success, and that they should be brought from home. The power of punishment, therefore, ought in Dr. Bruce's opinion, to be vested with the Medical Officer.

The Superintendent General of Nurses at home might be directed to increase her Establishment to the extent required to meet the wants of India permanently, and she would be indented or at stated periods from this country for the numbers likely to be required.

The duties of these Nurses will extend to doing everything for the sick men under their care which would not demoralize them. In the women's ward they will of course do everything that will administer medicines and comforts of all kinds, see baths prepared, and every order of the Medical Officer regularly & punctually carried out. They ought to be thoroughly acquainted with the preparation of the food for the sick, and be made to exercise a strict supervision over everything connected with the clothing, changes of Linen etc, under the directions of the Superintendent. The hours for sleep and relaxation are laid down in the Medical Regulations of British Hospitals, but Medical Officers who have had most experience of the system in this Country have found that the harassing duties are apt to undermine the health of these women, and they strongly recommend that one month in every year ought to be allowed them on privilege leave.

They ought to have stated hours and places for seeing their friends, or families if they have any, and any extra indulgence on this point /ought
ought to rest with the Superintendent Nurse, as the reward of good conduct and attention to their duties.

An allowance of Beer or wine will Dr. Bruce believes, be necessary, to preserve them in health; but it ought to be as an extra, liable to reduction or stoppage, not as a part of the ration.

Fort William I have the {illeg} Insp't Gen'l's Office 1st of H. Macpherson S {illeg}
things?
23 Decr/64 Secy {illeg} Inspe'r Gen'l Med'l Department

32 South Street Park Lane London W. February 26/65.

My dear Sir,

I have to thank you, which I do most heartily, for two letters, and for two printed papers, one on the construction of Barracks for Europeans, Circular No. 89, and one on Carbolic Acid.

I am sure you are perfectly right as to taking the conservancy collections out to sea. Proper dung-boats with a small steamer to remove the filth of Calcutta down the river to the sea, is the only plan. This is what we used to do at Balaclava, in the Crimea, and till we did it, Balaclava was on a small scale, what Calcutta is on, alas! too large an one, the hot bed of Cholera and Typhus, even during the short time we infested it. If under a very fine climate, a small place, like Balaclava, became in nine months, i.e. till the dung-boats were used, what was very nearly the graveyard of a whole British Expedition, what must Calcutta have become in a hundred years under a very trying climate?

About the disinfectants:- we have had this question referred to us over and over again from the Bombay Government and have consulted the Local Government Act Office. I send you an opinion of theirs, though it does not apply precisely to your case:

"It is the old, old story over again - disinfectants
in place of removal - and a wish to have things 'far sent and dear bought'. Wood-charcoal dust will do all which the fluids and powders are said to have done. But cleansing and reforming the latrines and drains with subsequent flushing, washing and regular removal of refuse, at short intervals will be better. These Disinfectants are the right-hand power of ignorance and nothing more. We do not repudiate disinfectants - they have an use - but that use is not to palliate refuse heaps, which ought never to have been allowed to accumulate. A temporary use of disinfectants may be allowed, to enable a safe removal of refuse, now existing, to be made - the store of poison, heaped up by ignorance in past times. But a continuance of poison-storing and disinfecting should not be allowed. McDougall's Powder may prevent the heaps of foul refuse killing the men ordered to remove it, or wood-charcoal powder - but on the condition that any such heaps and deposits are not to accumulate in future."

I wish such papers as this of the Health Officers of the Municipality of Calcutta could be remitted home for the "Barrack and Hospital Improvement Commission" (consisting of members of the War and India Offices and Local Government Act Office) to make their suggestions upon. It appears not impossible. At this moment the Bombay engineer is in England - consulting with our engineers of the Local Government Act Office, on the drainage of Bombay.

I have to thank you very much for a very able letter, No. 774, upon the Nurse question from Dr. Macpherson, Secretary to the 1st Inspector General.

I was in hopes to have sent you my answer to your official letter on the Nursing question by this mail. But it is only this moment come from the Printers!

(Signature excised)

Dr. Walker
My dear Sir,

I have to acknowledge the Proceedings of your Commission for November, which you have been so good as to send me.

In reading 273 on the "Influence of Temperate & Intemperate Habits", it struck me whether the data could not be obtained in the following way:-

1. that a Regimental list be printed containing the names of every man.
2. that a copy of this List be filled up at the Canteen every day from the peg. board shewing the quantity of spirits & of beer each man has had in the 24 hours.
   Make it a current Regimental Return to be supplied to the Commanding Officer
3. have a Medical return printed with the men's names on a similar form to be filled up on the last day of every year, shewing the diseases each man has suffered from for the 12 months preceding.

The Returns you propose would then become of great use for comparison. Any person with Statistical knowledge might extract from such Tables most valuable information, and a very clear view of the state of the whole case.
If our Commander-in-Chief (In England) were not a "snob" (which is a very disrespectful form of speech on my part) he would do all these things & get all these Returns for us. But he does nothing.

PRIVATE

The India Office has submitted to the (home) Sanitary Commission ("Barrack & Hospital Improvement") the Govt. papers on the principles for designing Barracks in India, containing Col. Crommelin's paper, that by the Govt. of India (which you were so good as to send to me), the papers by your Commission &c. &c.

They are up here now, being considered. On the whole, they are admirable.

In haste,
Pray believe me
Yours very sincerely
Florence Nightingale

Dr. Pattison Walker

NOTE TO DR. WALKER REGARDING FEMALE NURSING IN INDIAN HOSPITALS PEN & PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED 10 MARCH 1865

[archivist: Draft Reply to Dr Pattison Walker]

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of Nov 21/64 in which you request me to send any suggestions that might occur to me regarding the organization of a system of Female Nursing for Indian Hospitals.

I have much pleasure in complying with your request & beg to enclose a few copies of a paper which I have drawn up on the subject. I have thought it better to have it printed for greater facility of reference

In preparing this paper, I have laboured under the disadvantage of personal unacquaintance with many facts & circumstances essential for
me to know in order to give your that precise advice & information which I should otherwise have considered desirable.

It has been my endeavour as far as possible to attempt to realize the conditions under which you have to introduce this great improvement. And having done the best I could I must leave the case in your hands & in the hands of the Government of India, in the hope that the experience I have described may enable you to draw up an independent scheme suitable to the country. When you have done this I would like it as a favour if you would send it to me, in order that I might have the opportunity of going very carefully over it in the hope that in this way we might among us be able to do the best possible in assisting the Indian Government in carrying out this great & benevolent scheme.

Letter to FN from Walker, Calcutta 22 March 1865, encloses copy of memo by Dr Beatson on nursing by females in Indian genl hospitals and re Strachey’s health

Letter to FN from Walker, Calcutta 22 March 1865, encloses printed memo, 16th March 1865 Office of Insp gen of Hosps of Br Troops, Calcutta
32 South Street
Park Lane
London W.
April 10/65

My dear Sir,

I cannot sufficiently thank you for most kind letters by several mails repeated - for four most valuable & encouraging Statistical Tables, which we shall make great use of - for a number of printed papers, all more interesting one than the other.

I have consulted several scientific men both in London & Manchester & at the Army Medical School at Netley about the water-supply analysis question, as to which you did me the honor to write to me.

And I hope to send what may prove useful by next mail - as well as to write about the Statistical tables & the printed papers which you have been so good, so very good as to send me. This is merely an acknowledgement for the great pleasures you have given me.

Pray believe me ever yours most truly & gratefully Florence Nightingale.

Do you know that your water-analysis letter was fished up from the sea?

F.N.
My dear Sir,

I was in hopes to have sent you your (Water supply) analysis questions, answered, by this mail. But my learned men are so dilatory.

However, I will not delay to thank you for all the rich store of information which touches me so deeply, that you have been kind enough to send me.

I feel so much what you say about your Insp. Genl. of Prisons, Mr. Woodcock, whom you call the first of Indian sanitary reformers, so justly. What a great work he did & at how great an expense to his own peace of mind. Indeed we ought to be very grateful to him.

It is hard enough, God knows, for public men to do their duty anywhere. But I do think it is harder in India than anywhere else. So much the greater honour to their memories, be they living or dead.

In regard to Jails - the diminution of over-crowding, with the increase of superficial area, has been the result of progressive experience. Every climate has its limit. Thus, for Turkey, the Inspector, who is at present in England, informs me that 72 sq. ft. are allowed, both in cells and in common rooms.

This Turkish experience is probably the nearest to yours.
One would think the occurrence of epidemic disease in Indian Jails a sufficient reason for increasing the space. If you have any prison in which epidemics prevail, your area is too small. If you have any exempt, your area is sufficient. Increase your area and cubic space until Cholera, Dysentery & Fever disappear *epidemically*. Of course ventilation and cleanliness are inferred.

Prison epidemics in England have been taken as the test of sanitary condition. Formerly they killed prisoners, jury & judges. Now they have ceased to exist in prisons. This is your Indian test.

[You have the Reports on Prison Construction & Prison Regulations by Sir Joshua Jebb (he was the great Prison Sanitary reformer in England, of whom I should speak, as you of Mr. Woodcock, both as to his sacrifices & as to the unworthy return made to him)]

The best plan for a tropical prison I ever saw was for Malta (for a new Prison there) by a Mr. Inglott, of Malta - a man who has a perfect genius for that kind of thing.]

The Colonial Office (of course this is entirely in confidence) is now girding up its loins to clean out its house too, with regard to its Prisons. It has instituted an enquiry. And India must not be left behind.

If these kinds of questions in India could be referred for an opinion to the home Sanitary Commission, we might back you up with our experience. It is a wonder that men do not learn both from these dreadful epidemics, & from their absence, when
conditions are improved. [Lord Stanley is at this hour (again, this is in perfect secret confidence) applying to Sir Charles Wood to refer to the home Sanitary Commission for an opinion both on the Jail question, & on the question of Mr. Strachey's most able Calcutta paper, - which, as you are aware, has been made a Parliamentary paper of & presented to the House of Commons on February 22.

I must again thank you for your invaluable Statistics (& Forms). I am quite touched by your having taken Dr. Bryden's duty which, I think, is very magnanimous. And I only hope that you will do your very best to keep your health and Mr. Strachey too. For, as I shall tell him, it will not do for Sanitarians to die. Martyrs used to do good by dying. But, in these days, martyrs must live to do good.

The Statistics are very good indeed - very cheering - & give a great deal of invaluable information. Let the absence of epidemics become a permanent condition - you will succeed in this at last. A large part of your diminution of Death-rate is due to absence of epidemics, specially of Cholera. No higher reward can be wished you than that you may become able to depend upon, in future, this absence of epidemics.

[We must not boast in London - Typhus has become more prevalent the last two years - and is always trying to raise its head & burst out epidemically. So much the more shame for us in a temperate climate.]

I cannot close my letter without recurring again to the honour, which must be paid to you, for undertaken Dr. Bryden's work.

I do trust it will please God to preserve Sir John Lawrence's health. I conceive there has scarcely ever been a time in history when so much depends for good (often it has depended for evil) upon one man as the head.

Sir C. Trevelyan's breakdown in health is a great misfortune.

Mr. Massey, however, comes out with the highest possible desires (& ability) of seconding Sir John Lawrence & doing India good service.

Pray believe me
My dear Sir
With most grateful regards to Mrs. Walker
Yours most sincerely & thankfully
Florence Nightingale.
N.B. I am quite aware that one of Sir John Lawrence's first Acts was to appoint a Commission to report on the whole question of Indian Jails within a month, on which Commission you were - that the several Governors were desired to send in their requirements & their "bill" for their own provinces, in obedience to the recommendations you then made - that Madras & (I suppose) the other governments have sent in theirs - which, I suppose, have been approved.

(Was it in reference to these that you complained so justly that so small an allowance of superficial feet had been asked for?)

How very glad I should be, if we could help you about these things.

Could you send us a copy of your Report (viz of the Commission on Jails above mentioned) & of any administrative papers appertaining to it?

In haste

F.N.

from pres of Sany Commission for Bengal 26 June 1865

official written letter to Sir re travel by bodies of men in health, invalids, women and ch by railway, and arrangements
My dear Sir,

I write in haste merely a line to thank you for your welcome letters of July 15 and 31 - welcome in every thing but the tidings of your own health, which I am very sorry to hear is so bad, but which I hope you will take timely measures to improve. It is so valuable.

I have received all your enclosures, I believe, including one on the present defective method of calculating prison death-rates. And as you are so very kind in wishing every thing to be submitted to you - which is worked out on your subjects in England - for your consideration, I venture to send you a Memo. by Dr. Farr of the General Register Office, with whom I have always been greatly associated in work.

The object is not to obtain the absolute mortality, which is scarcely possible, but to obtain a result which will be comparable with other results similarly obtained.

You will think that I am never going to send the method for finding out the amount of "dirt" in water. All I can say for myself is that I have myself revised it six times thro' the press - that my learned men are always making fresh additions, which worry the printers very much and me still more, but which are quite worth while, for the paper is quite
different thing in worth, since it was begun more than 6 months ago. I do hope this is the very last Revise, and to send it you now very soon.

I hope to write you a longer letter soon, in return for yours of the 15th July. But I trust that you will not let my letters or enclosures impose upon you additional work. They can all lie by for a time.

I received the Prison Forms, &c, with much gratitude.

I am going to take the liberty of sending you tracings of plans of a small prison, about to be erected in one of our (hot-country) colonies, which we think a sanitary model of its kind for warm climates.

But this will not be [rest of the letter missing]

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Oct. 18/65
34 South Street
Park Lane
London, W.

My dear Sir,

I am very sorry to hear you are so far from well. But I hope that you have taken holiday in time.

John Bull is a conceited ass, & thinks the climate ought to take care of him, instead of him taking care of the climate. The French fare much better.

Anglo India has made its capital of a place where the Moguls used to send their state prisoners to die. And people fall ill in Calcutta, and then say it's the climate.

The R. Commission never told you all to live in Calcutta. But you abuse them for not having laid sufficient stress on "climatic influences".

We are spending just five millions sterling to empty that small gutter, the Thames, of sewage. And this in a temperate climate.

What are you doing?

It is not that Calcutta might not be made much more healthy than it is, if you were willing to spend several millions.

The main question is:— to keep the sub-soil moisture at a certain distance below the ground varying with latitude & local circumstances. This costs money. If it costs too much (as perhaps in a place like Calcutta) then the place ought to be abandoned, or never to have been chosen. This is the only real determination
of localities, as far as healthy surface of ground is concerned. But people in India, tho' they are always raving against the "climate", actually tolerate a state of things in their palaces which we have ceased to tolerate in the poorest village in this healthy climate. And yet we have always Typhus & sometimes Cholera - and at this moment the Poor Law Board is mediating a sweeping Bill (for London) for next Session, because the Vestries are not doing their duty. And the Poor Law Board is quite right. (I tell you this but it is a secret).

There are 120 ways of boiling eggs (this anent "climatic influences") Climate is good everywhere. But man and his habits & his manner of selecting places to live in & to build on are as bad as possible - (as I say, John Bull's a conceited ass, & his conceit is that climates are made to obey him). And hence he confounds climate with his own want of care. He ought to boil his eggs better.

Batavia was the most deadly place in the world. And now, people go there for their health. Can anything be stronger than this?

In the Table of Mortality for 1859 - 64, shewn in its distribution by months, which you have been good enough to send me, are appended notes as to the climatic elements, which are assumed as causing the increasing death rates during certain months. I think this is a pity. They belong to a method of determining causation which in this country we venture to think we have improved upon. High temperature & moisture are nothing per se. As influencing other causes, they are a great deal - they
have immense power. To place them as causes is much the same thing logically as it would be to make the perfection or imperfection of roast beef depend on the quantity of coals raised at Newcastle— as if you said, the more fuel the sun puts into his grate, the more unhealthy India becomes.

I have to thank you for your most kind notes of Aug. 16, & for its enclosure from Dr. Bryden.

There is a growing conviction in Europe that, when Cholera seizes a population living in bad sanitary conditions, its influence may extend hundreds of miles atmospherically from the centre where it began. And there is a diplomatic proposition to suppress or regulate the Mecca pilgrimage, in order to prevent its becoming the epidemic centre for the West, which it has always been hitherto.

The moral is: that unless you improve the sanitary condition of the Civil populations, you cannot insure immunity for the soldiers from epidemics.

I have to thank you, which I do most cordially, for the valuable Draft No. 262 about railway travelling by troops—also for the extract of a letter No. 247 about the Jails in the Lower Provinces. How curious and instructive that is— & how terrible! It shews that some one must again set hard to work to reform the management & laws of these Jails, like a Howard, & never leave off till he has done. The contrast between the men's and women's health, & between the cubic space for each, startles even me.

But my mind is full of Lord Palmerston's illness.

He may be passing away even at this moment. He will be a great loss to us. He made a joke about every thing. But, tho' he made a joke—when asked to do the right thing, he always did it. No one else will be able to carry the things thro' the Cabinet he did. I shall lose in him a powerful protector. Especially in Poor Law & wide sanitary views, he was so much more in earnest than he appeared. He did not do himself justice.

His presumed successor is so queer tempered that he cannot manage the Cabinet.

I most sincerely hope that his note will find you quite restored in health. I will write again by next mail.

Pray believe me ever yours most truly

Florence Nightingale.

Dr. Pattison Walker.
My dear Sir,

I write in haste because I do not like to miss a mail in acknowledging your most kind & interesting letter of Sept. 20. But we are all in confusion because of Lord Palmerston's death. I sincerely hope you are better, if not quite well. We cannot afford to lose an hour of you.

If it sad what you say about the hurry of Indians to come home. May it not be the result of the state of health which Indians suffer from the bad sanitary state of Calcutta. Bombay & Madras are not in such a hurry, I believe, are they? As for yourself, I am afraid that cardiac & lung affections always suffer from the great altitude of Simla (do not they?) & that, tho' Calcutta is worst, Simla is bad for you.

I have failed to acknowledge your "No. I. "Return shewing the Sickness & Mortality "&c Military & Civil Population &c - Bengal "during month of --- " i.e. the Form which you were so kind as to send me.

It has excited a good deal of attention at the War Office & Army Medical Department here. And I send you their Remarks tho' fearing that you may think them impertinent.

Presuming that the Return is intended for the information of the Military & Civil authorities & not for professional purposes - they suggest the following points for your
consideration:-

1. Instead of Intermittent & Remittent fevers being stated separately, these might be given under the head of "Paroxysmal"
   or Fever (Intermittent )
   (Remittent )

2. Sun-stroke should be stated separately - or there will be a large proportion of the cases of apoplexy returned under "apoplexy".
   A separate column for "Sun-stroke" might precede "Apoplexy".

3. Instead of the two columns "Respiratory Diseases" & "Phthisis Pulm.", they would suggest to put "Phthisis Pulm." first, & then "Other diseases of the lungs." or to put it thus:-
   ________________________________________________________________
   Diseases of the Lungs
   ---------------------------------------------------------------
   -----                  Phthisis Pulmonalis  |  Other Pulmonary Diseases
   ---------------------------------------------------------------
   -----                  

4. For "Wounds & Accidents", they would suggest "Wounds & Injuries."

5. To insert a column "Diseases of Heart & large Vessels" they suggest as important.

6. The column "Deaths out of Hospital" vitiates the Return, because it excludes the causes of Death.
   These causes should in every instance, be stated - either in a separate return or by subdividing each column into
{typed vertically}

-------------------
In Hospital
-------------------
Out of Hospital
-------------------
Percentage of
Total of Strength
-------------------

{typed normally}

(instead of the 5th Column under each disease "Percentage of Deaths to admission."
As the Admissions & Deaths are both given, the Ratio of D. to A.
    can be easily calculated, if required.)
Of course if this suggestions be adopted, you must alter the heading of the 3 last sections to "all other causes".
7. It is most desirable to have a column for "suicide", if by the adoption of these alterations you gain a space.
8. Would it not be well to substitute "Disease of the Liver" for "Hepatitis", as some men might otherwise omit Hepatic Abscess - which, altho' a consequence of inflamm'n, may possibly be, & sometimes is, returned as a distinct affection.
9. Is not some instruction necessary as to the cases to be included under "Spleen Disease"?

N.B. It was impossible for me to finish even this short letter last mail. I was too ill and too busy. And I doubt whether you will think it worth sending at all.

I am very sorry you are deprived of Mrs. Walker's care & society for your sake & hers.

Ever sincerely yours
3/11/65 Florence Nightingale
Jas. Pattison Walker, Esq. M.D.
34 South Street
Park Lane
London, W.
3/11/65

My dear Sir,

I have seldom been so struck by anything as by the "Extracts from a letter No. 247 dated the 8th May 1862 from the Inspector General of Jails, Lower Provinces to &c" which you were so kind as to send me. [I am aware I have acknowledged it before.]

I believe I could give you a help towards furthering the object you have so much at heart, viz. providing a remedy. Could you send me any later information in such a form that we could use it here?

Every thing relating to this subject is of immense importance to the future of India & also of our Colonies. Should you be so kind as to grant my request - would you, in sending figures, be so good as to state the precise manner in which the Statistical results are obtained? - in other words how you get the percentages of mortality?

We should also have the chief groups of diseases.

I may mention to you, quite privately, that we have a powerful protector in Lord Stanley (who was President of the R. Commission). He will do all he can in this matter. I fear the impending renewal of political agitation will not be favorable to departmental work. Still, as Lord Stanley says himself, "We must do our best."

Parliament will not be called together till January, he tells me.

It may be that, if these Ministers under Lord Russell break down - (Lord Palmerston's loss is incalculable - it was he who dragged every too liberal measure thro' the Cabinet) this next Session may see Lord Stanley Minister for India.

Yours Sincerely
F.N.
My dear Sir,

I have never acknowledged the "Memorandum on Hospitals" by Dr. C.A. Gordon ("our" Dr. Gordon) which you were so good as to send me. It is an admirable paper, a very good solution of the problem how far & in what manner the Hospital regulations in use here are adapted for India.

The only real difference between us is that Dr. Gordon thinks the Indian Hospital-Steward, if he be empowered to answer all requisitions of the Medical Officer, will have done his duty, while we require him to supply according to a scale, and, besides this, to comply with all requisitions of the Medical Officer. We think our plan the better and safer, for we give a distinct responsibility. But, in this matter, you in India can alone form a practical opinion. You know your local habits best.

The whole...... (Rest of letter missing)
26/11/65
34 South Street
Park Lane
London W.

My dear Sir,

At last I send you the final Revise, which I have just received from the Printers, of Dr. Angus Smith's paper on Water Analysis, asked for by you I am afraid to say how many months ago. But I can truly say I have not lost a moment. First I applied to our Army Medical School Professors - to some of our great Government Chemists. None were able to satisfy the want. Dr. Angus Smith is the only man in Europe who could do it. And this paper is well worth all the trouble. But what that trouble has been no one who does not know Dr. Angus Smith can know. [I think he is more difficult to manage than all the Government of India] The enclosed paper has been thro' his hands & mine some 15 times. And we have had nine Revises of it from the Printers. The rough proof which I send you, tho' merely a rough proof, is the final one. It has been seen & approved by the great War Office Sanitary Authorities. And on Wednesday when they have a meeting, they mean I believe, to vote the sending it "by authority" to Army Medical Officers abroad & to the School at home, as their text book. But I make haste to send you this copy. And I will send you others, when I have had it printed off.

In great haste, Yours most gratefully for your many kindesses

Florence Nightingale.

I do trust that your health is better.
My dear Sir

I have to thank you most sincerely for sending me a copy of your "First Annual Report", which contains most gratifying evidence of the administrative energy, intelligence and earnestness of its authors and of Sir John Lawrence.

The more we reflect on it, the more important does this question of the health of our Army in India become. To say much, it is worthy of all your life that has been given to it.

I shewed your Report quite privately to (General Register Office) Dr. Farr. And I send you his remarks (on the other side). I know you like to hear every opinion of any importance.

When all that you have recommended has been carried out, we shall see the results in still more greatly diminished mortality.

You have again raised the discussion regarding the estimated death-rate. We consider that your points can be easily answered, especially where you have run parallels between certain home rates and yours, which do not resemble each other in the circumstances.

But what is really wanted now is onward progress in the great work of civilizing and saving life.

And this you are doing.

Ever yours sincerely,

F. NIGHTINGALE.
PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

In going over your "First Report" it is most gratifying to see, e.g. at p. 73, that the Indian Government is prepared to spend in one year half a million in their endeavours to wean the soldiers from drinking ardent spirits and to induce him to drink wholesome beer.

And, p. 48, the Government spends 10 millions for the better accommodation of the Army.

You know, I dare say, that our Registrar General, Major Graham, was in India Private Secretary to Malcolm [illeg] and Elphinstone - he he takes the deepest interest in our Army there.

[His son, Captain Graham, is at Jubbulpoor]
when the E.I. Company was abolished and the amalgamation of the two armies took place, Major Graham regretted that Local European Corps, amounting in strength perhaps altogether to 15 or 20 thousand, were not continued in each Presidency, like West India Regiments, Cape Corps, Malta Fencibles, etc. etc., thus reducing the number of the regular British Army necessarily quartered in India. But is was otherwise arranged and consequently between 70 and 80 thousand of the British Army are to be kept constantly in India, in his (Major Graham's) opinion, to the great detriment of that Army. For the best of Regiments, without exception (he thinks) in India become demoralized. And he laments that so many officers are in peace times brought up in such a school. He maintains that an officer who in peace times has passed ten or twelve years in India is good for little.

Therefore "seeing that it is fated that 70,000 or 80,000 of our countrymen brought up in this temperate climate are to spend their lives in that tropical region" (this is still Major Graham) he greatly rejoices to see the provident care of them which you and the Indian Government are taking.

letter to FN from Simla 6 Dec 1866 with note by FN in orange pencil: To be returned to FN, no signature
Dec. 18/65
35 South Street
Park Lane
London W.

PRIVATE

My dear Sir,

I really cannot tell you the grief I felt at your two last letters, which arrived together—both for the account of your health & for the inestimable & irreparable loss which the great sanitary cause in India will sustain from your resignation. I cannot write about it. For I should only intensify my regrets. And that would be of no use. I can only hope that the step you have taken will perfectly & entirely relieve yourself & Mrs. Walker of all anxiety about your valuable life.

I send you, by this, a plan of the Malta (female) prison which we consider the best for hot climates we have yet done.

Perhaps you will like to shew it to your friend Mr. Stewart Clark, the Inspector Gen'l of the N.W.P. Prisons. It may not be quite suited to India. But your acumen would see at a glance how it might be adapted.

The facility of supervision, the opportunity it gives to the prisoners of sleeping in the open air, the facility of ventilation, the power of multiplying the units to any extent, (if a larger prison is desired) are what we prize.

[I sent a copy direct to Sir John Lawrence]
By last mail but one, I sent to you, directed to Calcutta (I had not then had your fatal news) the first Proof of the final Revise of Dr. Angus Smith's water analysis paper, written at your instigation. By last mail I sent three copies to you at Simla. (I had not strength to write.)

I think I told you the ordeal this paper has gone through, in order to excuse its delay. It has been 15 times thro' our hands - & has gone thro' 9 Revises. It is considered now to represent the last & most perfect knowledge on this subject in Europe.

I have presented it at the War & India Offices and they were so pleased with it that the War Office has asked for 600 copies to distribute "by authority" among its Officers, Medical & Engineering - & at its Medical School. The India Office has asked for copies too. But it takes at least a year for them to do the sum in addition of how many copies it will want. And, as it will be at least another year before it sends them out, I shall send 100 copies (privately) to India for distribution. Could you kindly tell me how this object will be best attained?

I send you three more copies by this mail.

I give Dr. Angus Smith 200 copies. (He is a most curious man. Do you know him? Nothing by the pressure put upon him would have made him bring this paper to its present point. And yet he is the only man in Europe who could do it. So you see what good you have done. The present paper will circulate thro' Europe & other parts of the world. And practical scientific men will improve upon it & bring to a farther & still farther progress what Angus Smith has brought to this point only at present.)

I have to thank you for the (Croquet & Archery) Photograph, containing yourself & Mrs. Walker, which interested me extremely. I wish I could send you some which would interest you as much.

I will not enlarge upon the immense loss to myself of your retirement from the Sanitary Commission. For indeed I cannot. It is irreparable. But I hope we shall never quite lose sight of each other while I remain in this world.

I cannot thank you for all the kindness you have shewn me. But pray believe me ever yours & Mrs. Walker's gratefully & sincerely

Florence Nightingale.
My dear Sir,

I should have been quite unpardonable for not having written to you before, if my silence had been from neglect, for I cannot look at your beautiful photographs of Simla, at your many most interesting letters, & at all the extracts from Dr. Bryden, which you have been at the trouble to make - also at your Jail Report, & your many other kindnesses, without feeling overflowing gratitude.

But I have been so ill the whole winter - always a prisoner to my bed - often in one position for days together - that I have had the greatest difficulty in carrying on even the most important current business. [10:33]

I have had letters from Sir. J. Lawrence & Mr. Strachey. As you are aware, the position of the Sanitary Commission will be modified in important particulars. I do not pretend to send you Indian news from England. I am at this moment engaged with the Indian Sec'y of State here about this. In one respect, Lord de Grey is a better Indian Sec: of State for us than Sir C. Wood - for Lord de Grey is entirely penetrated with the importance of the Sanitary subject. As signifying improvement in civilization more than anything else. [end 10:33]

As to vital statistics - there are two things:

1. an accurate tabulation of facts.
2. a reduction of facts, so as to obtain conclusions.
The first is by far the most important. And for this purpose the present Army Medical Department forms should be used. The reductions made are of little value, except meteorologically. But there are other reductions which would be of the greatest value for the health of the Army. These require special knowledge for performing them, & could be best made at the Army Medical Department at home. As to Dr. Angus Smith's pamphlet - I cannot remember whether I mentioned to you that after I had finished compiling it, & presented it to the Army Sanitary Commission here, which has Indian members - the Government was so penetrated with the importance of it that the War Office & India Office each took 600 copies, & have distributed these with a printed circular among their medical & some of their engineering officers abroad by authority. So you see what good you have done.

I will not write more at present because I scarcely know whether this will reach you. But I hope, when I have your new address, to write about many things more fully.

Your letter containing an extract from the Engineer's report about the drainage of Calcutta was of the greatest importance to us. Had you been at Calcutta, I should have asked you to ascertain a point for us accurately which arises out of it. But now I know not to whom to apply. I feel as if we had lost our chief friend.

Pray give my most grateful & affectional regards to Mrs. Walker, if she will accept them. And accept the same yourself from

Yours ever truly

Florence Nightingale.

My birth day, as you are so good as to ask, was on May 12, 1820.
April 10/66
35 South Street
Park Lane,
London W.

My dear Sir,

I will only now thank you for your most kind and valuable letter of February 21 from Simla - for the "Proceedings" which I have not yet received, & concerning which I will exactly observe your behests - for the Jail Report, which I have received -

& for your numberless valuable M.S. Extracts - particularly "Habits in relation to Heat Influence" - Return showing cub. ft. & superf. area per man for Bengal Corps - April 1864.

All these facts are invaluable to refer to.

I am afraid you will think I am going beyond my province - but then you know you need not listen to what I say - if I say: Facts are everything - doctrines are nothing.

See what harm the German pathologists have done us. There are no specific diseases - there are specific disease conditions.

It is that which is bringing the Medical profession to grief, & will, in time, work a great reform - to wit, to make them make the public care for its own health, & not rely on doctrines.

It is a grand thing for weak minds - the doctrine of contagion. It is a grand thing for ..........................................................

It is not a one-sided one.

The specific-disease-doctrine is the grand refuge of weak, uncultured, unable minds - such as now rule the Medical profession from Dr. Watson downwards - Watson who has the biggest practice in London.

Pardon me these unprofessional words. I will not trouble you again till I farther know of your whereaboutes - & pray believe me, my dear Sir,

ever yours truly & gratefully

[Signature excised]
My dear Sir,

I know not how to thank you for all your kindness to me. I forget whether I told you that I have received your Proceedings. They are most valuable. I will send them back as you desire, without making any farther use of them than for myself. They are full of interest - full of the energy of you most energetic men - who have been doing your work in your own way.

We here could not agree with all your methods. But we cannot but agree & rejoice that you are doing all than can be done - & that, as you advance, you will improve as we hope even on our procedures in the old country.

I forget whether I mentioned to you that Lord de Grey at the beginning of this year sent a Commission into Algeria, which has many problems similar to those of India [deep ploughing & draining has made many of their pestilential stations healthy & they can now rear children as well as in any country in Europe] The object of the Commission was to enquire into the causes of this decreased mortality. They have already reported in a first rough Proof. The first complete Proof to be had shall be for me to send to you.

I have received your last kind letter of April 4 - with

Dr. Macnamara's paper on Water Analysis - which I have duly forwarded to Dr. Angus Smith with your message. By this mail I send you by book post (16) sixteen photographs, of which I beg your kind acceptance and Mrs. Walker's. I selected them particularly with a view to what she might feel interested in and to adorning her new house, if she will be so kind. /

[I am disappointed to see how much less well they look without their mounts. But if you take the trouble of mounting them, it of course makes them look much better.]

Nos. 501, 521, 519 are all from pictures by Turner in our National Gallery - specimens of his different manners.
My dear Sir,

I am extremely obliged to you for your kind letter & for your valuable Report on Ventilation. This first report is admirable - and we now eagerly await the results of your trials.

I hasten to send you the first copy of our Algerian report. The French in Algeria appear to have been going in the right direction. The important - most important - result has been that they have proved in Algeria the effect on health of cultivation _per se_, & of cultivation & drainage together.

Could not the Indian authorities try the effect of completely improving the drainage, water-supply & sanitary condition of two or three stations in the manner recommended by the "Suggestions" of the War Office Sanitary Commission? These are quite in conformity, so far as drainage and water-supply are concerned, with what the French have done - of course, independently.

I would just mention, casually, that it will be seen from the account given of the sanitary administration in Algeria, that they have found necessary an organization much more complete than the simple inspectorial service contemplated in India. At the same time I doubt not that a better & more efficient system might be framed for India than the French have framed for Algeria. What do you think?

Pray believe me

My dear Sir

Yours ever faithfully & gratefully

Florence Nightingale

Jas. Pattison Walker, Esq. M.D.
My dear Sir,

It is long, very long, since I heard from you - And I was almost afraid that your health was worse. But I received some few mails ago a tin cylinder which could not have come but from you, I think, & which gave me a very great deal of pleasure - containing a wonderful photograph of the Ganges Canal, with that exquisite bridge, of which the construction with its 3 beautiful arches is worthy of the Ponte della Trinita at Florence - & its two magnificent lions. It is a most characteristic picture - and the executing of such a work with such very grand architectural art is worthy of India.

I was much interested to in the Foundry List of Tools &c - in the 1866 papers of Examination of the Thomason College, & its Report (which you were so kind as to send with the photograph). They are among the most important works of the age - the Roorkee works.

I delayed thanking you hoping to receive a letter from you. But, as none such as come & as one feels a little uneasy about the health of one's friends in India, when one does not hear from them, I will not delay any longer.

You know that I have still some Commission "Proceedings" of yours, which I ought to return to you.
I will not enter now upon the immense subject of how Indian sanitary subjects are progressing (or not progressing) at our end, till I hear from you.

In December I had the pleasure of seeing Dr. Norman Chevers for a few minutes, just before he started for Calcutta, That I was able tho' I was obliged to receive him on my couch. He gave me some news of you. I have always regretted so very much that your health prevented your remaining at Calcutta. It seems to me that to give the native professional young man some idea of Sanitary Science, as you were so ably doing - & which it appears they are not at all slow to take in - is the only way really to civilize India in physical things.

Pray remember me most kindly to Mrs. Walker.

I have had a very bad winter as to over-work & ill health - & do not find myself able to do the work I used. Believe me

ever sincerely & gratefully yours

Florence Nightingale.
My dear Sir,

I cannot tell you (tho' I should be very ungrateful of I did not try) how much pleased and touched by your most kind, interesting and entertaining letter of May 10 I felt.

In the first place, as Napoleon said of the 'etats de situation' of his troops, I read even now in my old age all details of sanitary matters and even "Memoranda" "On accommodation required" with as much eagerness as a girl reads her first novel.

In the next place, we had had some questions with very insufficient data referred to us at the India Office - and your details, especially on the Meteorology and temperature, day by day, of Chukrara, just filled up the missing link. The details of your `dinner-parties' also - don't laugh - were most important.

When people can feed themselves well, that is the best proof of our military power to hold the country. There was no Crimean bungling here. And I shall always believe that we have a firm tenure there where we can give a dinner under difficulties.

Add to this, your letter was as amusing to me as White of Selbourne - as touching as Sterne. And you are as zealous as Mr. Chadwick himself on sanitary matters, with a poetry and humour quite beyond Mr. Chadwick.
And now I am afraid I shall make but a very poor
return for your most kind letter. I am so overworked and
so constantly ill. I feel now how much the enormous pressure
of work, and often of disappointing, always of harassing work,
for the last 18 months has told upon me. And when the
Parliamentary session was over, I 'disappeared' & would not
give my address. [I told the War Office I was going to
Ephesus, because I much preferred fighting with the wild beasts
of Ephesus to fighting with the War Office wild beasts.]

I dwell gratefully upon the encouragement which your
kindness gives me at a time I will not say of despondency but a
solemn time to me (every life has its solemn times if people
would but mark them) for this week in August saw, 15 years ago,
my first undertaking of the Matronship of a Public Institution.
12 years ago, my return from the Crimea home, since which time
I have not revisited this home, & have never had 10 minutes
leisure.

7 years ago, the death of the best friend and fellow-
worker, man or woman ever had, Sidney Herbert, the War Minister,
whose labours in the administration were the highest good as his
too early death was the deepest loss the army - I had almost
said the country - ever had.

5 years ago, we finished the Report of the R. India
Sanitary Commission which has, praise be to God, and thanks to
your labours and those of Sir John Lawrence and many others,
borne good fruit, both for natives and Europeans in India, -
altho' we must all of us feel, as people do whose idea is higher than human power of performance, that the work in India might have progressed more rapidly. [I will return to this.]

it is also 11 years this very day since I was taken ill with the illness from which I have never risen again. You see how much I have to thank God for who has indeed led me by a way which I have not known. At the same time He has seen fit to send me troubles & trials, like waters which one could not cross, were one to look down into them.

I am almost the last survivor of my fellow workers in England, men, some of them but little older than I. And this very year has seen the death of the best and dearest of my pupils, my "Una", who was many years younger than I.

I enclose a little sketch of her which was published in "Good Words" for June, which may possibly give then ten minutes' interest to you & Mrs. Walker who have given me so much. Now my "Una" is gone, I cannot think how I could ever be unhappy, when she was doing God's work so gallantly at Liverpool Workhouse. Life, under this discipline, loses - shall I say? or gains - all its value. It becomes but as a part of eternity. And past & future would seem almost more a reality & a presence than the present - were it not for pressing duty.

I don't know what I ever wrote so much about my own things before. But your kindness encourages me. But I must leave off now for indeed I am driven by business.

I thank you again and again for all your kindness which

Believe me my dear Sir makes me truly & always your & Mrs. Walker's faithful & grateful
Florence Nightingale

Dr. Pattison Walker.
Add Mss 45782, microfilm, Indian material, 265 folios, 98 pages, Adam Matthew reel 22; much filled in
ff1-63 Hewlett;
ff64-110 Ellis;
ff111-64 Hathaway;
ff165-211 Plowden;
ff212-65 Malleson

ff1-1v, undated notes, probably Dr. Sutherland re the duties of medical Officers to point out causes of disease in India and to let engineers solve the problem

ff2-5v, Bombay, July 9, 1967 from Dr Hewlett, to FN, re problems of water drainage at Bombay

ff6-7v, August 25, 1867, thanking FN for books received, expressing the need for Parliamentary Blue Books etc, and telling of an outbreak of cholera in India

ff8-11v, September 28, 1867, thanking FN for forwarding Dr. S's reports on cholera, and telling of problems with sewage in Bombay

unsigned notes, ff12-12v, pencil

f12
Village Vatels: Village Police Acts confound Municipalities: capital error making Health Officers their opponents if the Macer himself disagreeable can be dismissed without appeal to Govt India not ripe for Mutinies natives so frightened of seeing themselves in the papers won't do what they think right English press only thing of influence in India have a great man up before law fine him 200 rupees conserve the water - keep it from pollution ventilation: dig a trench, when low caste men not to be had Cholera never touches you 50 miles in Cholera as soon as a case march them out 2 or 3 miles often without food - only 3 hours' sleep hard time - highly enjoyable -day never long enough - no tents
One Civil Surgeon gets all the operations
Another does nothing
British Medical Service gets only the
leavings of Netley
Indian Medl Serve best men
Bombay dirtier than ever
When I began 28 per 1000
then 14 or 16
now 34
people cant sleep on their roofs
I went up the gullies myself 3 3 in morning
Pedder now collector of Colaba
25 years’ service - to be dep Surgeon Genl
my boys
Collectors - they shall be
Sir R. Temple Govt as good
to raise the people to save them
to educate them
initialled notes, ff13-15, pen & pencil, probably from a meeting with

f13
Dr. Hewlett [notes on him]   Feb 25/78   [10:141-43]
2 years doing duty as Bombay
Presy's Sanitary Commnr
2nd year in Famine
By the Village Police Act it has
been found that the Village Vatels
or Headmen can be made use of
to enforce various Sanitary measures
- to conserve the water - keeping it
  from pollution
[even in Bombay cess pools are
allowed to defile the drinking water
by percolation - so near]
to enforce ventilation
to keep up surface cleansing
where low caste men are not to be
had to remove ordure, have a
trench dug for soil:
By the Village Police Act     Cholera never touches you     fines
  can
  be inflicted for neglect
If thing not done, write to Collector
  they shall do it -
if Collector does not do his duty -
  report him to Governmt
  Govts are good - make him do
  his duty -
"And they must do it then?"
  - they shall do it.
Sir Richard Temple
   very good Governor
   looks into things himself
   examines & annotates Reports
himself
   best Governor since Sir B Frere -
   very keen in Sanitary things

Pedder - good man now like
   Crawford, gone back to a
   Collectorship
   Pedder collector of Colaba now

Engineers have not Army
Sanitary Commn's books:
   nor Notes on Hospls
very ignorant
   build Barracks on the ground
against a hill: water bursting
up under floors -
   build Hospitals with wells
all fouled by neighbourg cesspools
One Civil Surgeon gets all the Operations, stone, tumours &c into his Hospital
Another lazy - does nothing - gets none -
British Medl Service gets only the leavings of Netley
the rejected of Netley
Indian Medl Service = the best men
Sanitary Commrs must report to Civil Authority
20 yrs service to be a Deputy Surgeon Genl

To raise the people - to save life - to educate the people - to create them - that is the business of a Sanitary Commr
came home for Fever contracted in Famine Govt inspections
wife: too ill to stay out & must be with our 5 children: too young to go out

Municipalities - don't do their duty natives so frightened of seeing themselves in the papers - won't do what they think right

I used to have a great man up before the Court = if he broke the Sanitary rules - fine him 200 rupees that is the only way:
would offer me 1000 rupees to let him off have him up before the Court he will do right for ever after

English Press - only press of real influence for good in India
Cholera
never touches the places,
towns or villages really conserved:
As soon as a case occurs in
Cantonmts march them out
2 or 3 miles

I & my boys: Deputy Sanitary 6: 2 died of Fever
       Commsrs   Abcess Liver
                  1 invalided for life
                  1 dismissed
                  because he was too slow on

Cholera
made them travel 50 miles
of a night in Cholera
       men of 6 or 7 years' standing

I never gave myself more than
       3 hours' sleep at night
often without food
always without tents
hard time of it - highly enjoyable
day never long enough
always like to have a little
more to do than I can
Meat to do the will & to finish the
work F.N.

[end 10:143]
Municipalities

India not ripe for Municipalities
capital error making Health Officials
Municipal apptments
as long as H. O. neglects his duty
& calls for no expence - retained
if he makes himself disagreeable, he
can be dismissed without appeal
to Govt.
these appointments should be at
least so far Govt ones - as that they
cannot be dismissed without Govt
sanction
Bombay is dirtier than ever
When I began, Mortality 28 per 1000 -
we brought it down to 14 or 16 "
now it is up
People can’t sleep on their roofs
for the smell
But I used to go up the gullies
myself - never later than 3. 30 a.m.
Now here is a Dr. Weir who is
a Captain of Volunteers!!!
A Missionary
Health Officer
enough Deaths on their Registers
all the Lord Sahibs said show us
Deaths on your register.
had a death or two too many
village accountants the Registrars
Saunders incompetent (Mysore
then Elliot, Wingate &
Prevention of famine instead of
an arithmetical dispute about
the numbers dead of famine
Bombay dirty

 Engineernotion of
Hospitals
Fever
malarial type
not famine
fever

 wrote my Reports under a tree,
with sand
blowing in my eyes
Collector of
Abemniajore/Kaladji - removed
relief did not reach
recipients
Poona to Pundipore
relief work carried out
Assistant Collrs worked like

English
least
a pat on the back from
Govt
Joyner - Engineer - Irrigation Relief Work
paid all the people himself
Relief: first special treatment
then pay with only nominal work
then real work
Englishmen over how many
millions
behaved like English Bombay fam
roads like
marshes no carts
travelled on elephants I
swam two rivers

children under 7 one of my boys
seventh day wage invalided
special treatment in Egypt
Nolan
sent him to investigate type of Fever

small pox in Madras fruit of
relief camps in Bombay worst in
Khaladgi & elsewhere where
famine

unsigned notes, ff18-19v, pencil

Patels p. 4 end 1876
I meant to have

Kaladji Govt orders not carried out
Sholapore no wasting
but some had private stores of their
own
& others were put on special treatment
p.251
children under 7

Dr Cornish shd have said 1 lb rice was
not sufficient but 1 lb. jovari was
we work twice armed
Govt cannot know
perfect system of Famine relief in Bombay
perfectly organized & supervised
Never works
(upside down, on a slant)
It would be
as reasonable x to say
in this Famine Year
there was a very high death
rate - but we must eliminate
all Deaths from Famine

See p. 143 x as to say all
160 Deaths from Cholera
& Fever are to be
eliminated

Also all increase of pop
x to be eliminated

Cholera = Famine diarrhea in Madras
= real Cholera Bengal

We shall have another Mutiny some day
there’s mutiny now in
if the Mahratta peasantry join against us

As I.O. S. of S. should order local
Govts shd make them responsible for
high rural Death rate: domestic cleanliness
Sanitation -puts the Collector up
elephant: 20 hours Sardines & potted meat
no biscuit: no grain I liked it
shd have been glad of jowarri (a millet & pea)
Spence Assistant Coll taluq in Belgaum -
not seen a European for 4 months
young Civilian: worked night & day
& so modest afraid he had not done his
best.

I enjoyed it so much
Peile coming home in March - one of the
ablest men they have - Comms in Sind
Famine Commn
You’re a power
1 lb rice not equal to 1 lb jowari
Parrish shd have told Sir R. Temple that
fine Peasantry the Mahratta South
Deccan fine race of men
special treatment for
Sholapore
Kaladji
no corruption every money put
Ahmedabad water relief work: filthy water
famine in Bombay over in Nov/77
150000 famine Deaths
outside
Saltera ancestral men dispossessed
6 heads of Registration by Govt
Cholera Smallpox Fevers Bowel Complts Other Causes
Patels so frightened: they thought the Govt
wanted the people to die. So frightened lest
they shd not have enough.
The men worked with
a will in Bombay
Got more out of them
than in Maglai
where was that
rebellion against
the Govt of India

unsigned note, f20, pencil

Poor Rate
  no poor rate desirable
Mahometan & Hindoos keep their own
poor manage it much better
than we could possibly do
& at no expence to us -

Col Merriman is passing a Bill for
an Irrigation Rate (to embrace
all the people below the Irrigation
work whether they take the water
or not) thro’ the Bombay Council
  I think it disastrous
{the following notes are scattered over the rest of the f}
substitute for
to reduce it
to an arithmetical
dispute however important
instead of Proportion of Famine
Famine Statistics

Moglai destitutes
Canarese Jungle
emigrants with their cattle
p. 152
Mr. Hewlett  Feb 3/79
Patels so frightened: they thought the Govt wanted
the people to die = so frightened lest they should not have
Deaths enough on the Register

Deaths were not under registered
during Famine in Bombay Presy

Headmen thought they could not
have Deaths enough on their
Registers: (Village accountants are keep
the Registers/rars)

The wretches thought the Sirkar wanted the
people to die - "All the Sahibs
said the first thing directly they came/arrived: 'Show us
the Deaths: show us your Registers'"

They were more likely to have
a death or two too many than
not to register all there were:
except those who died in the
jungles

roads like marshes after the rains came
no carts possible could only travel on elephants
swam rivers - no bridges
wrote my reports under a tree
on an elephant, sand blowing in
my eyes -
travelled on elephant for 20 hours x went from
10.30 p.m. to 6 p. m. next day
(x swam two rivers) then made
my camp at 6 p.m., at 10.30 p.m.
called the camp people: & off
we went: mahouts used to
say: elephants can’t do this:
I enjoyed it highly =
often no biscuit - no grain of any kind: I liked
it. officers gave me biscuits: all
mouldy - nothing but sardines
& potted meats - should have
been glad, I know, of this famine
diet jowarri - (a millet = a pea)
I travelled about inspecting, encouraging
helping District officers
District Officers worked like
Englishmen behaved
Englishmen: all they wanted
was a pat on the back from
Govt. young Spence
(& he was only one out of many) -
Assistant Collector = had a
famine taluq on Belgaum:
had not seen a European for 4
months, when I came: a young
Civilian - worked night & day
& so modest: afraid he hadn’t
done the best (he wanted a pat on the
back)
a spectre met me at the Station:
he had been a fine young man: this
was young Spence - a spectre but unflagging
Kaladgi: Govt orders not carried out
Collector of Kaladgi removed:
relief did not reach recipients
but he was removed for it.
There may be as much corruption
among the petty native officials
in Bombay as in Madras (I know
I would not trust them tho’ there
are some whom you might trust
with gold untold) but they
could not be corrupt: there
was too much supervision: x
there was too good an organization x
- an European (the people were
placed in rows) saw the money
or rations given into their
hands: no corruption possible: every
money paid - before/in European presence.

[Madras set themselves against
the Govt of India: spirit of
rebellion: & so the people did
not work well: did not work
their best do their utmost.] The men
worked with a will in Bombay: got more out of them
than in Madras, where there was that rebellion agst the Govt of
India
x Such constant European supervision
made native peculation impossible
x natives not good at organizn: cannot
even execute an order to the spirit
& not to the letter: not elastic = must give them the letter
Relief works: (Irrigation)
Poona to Indapore
Pundipore to Sholapore
Joyner: Engineer (Irrigation Relief
Works) paid all the people himself
Neera works:
tried for 7th day wage [Col Fife]: but got
special treatment: [Kaladgi worst - Sholapore
very bad: special treatment
in both
Relief first, when they were very low special treatment
gave them any food the Doctors
ordered that could be got
    then pay with only nominal
work
    then pay with real work
Got the allowance for all children
under 7 years. they had nothing before
did to
The allowance was enough to
prevent wasting for all those
who had reserve stores of their
own - go see/ on to p.2 (3)
1 lb rice not at all equal (in nutriment
to 1 lb. jowarri. [This Cornish shd have told
Sir. R. Temple] Cornish calculated the ration
too much by an European standard - but a tall large man
wants more food than a small man.
England doesn’t know we work twice as much in India as they do in England or in any other part of the world.

perfect system of Famine relief in Bombay perfectly organized & supervised

Irrigation Relief Works: is there a list of Irrigation Relief Works performed? [To Sir L. Mallet - List always ready for Bombay] [Col Fife: Relief labourers do about a third of the work of able-bodied]

We made mistakes: but we learnt from them - & we corrected them as soon as we could.

had famine well in hand at the beginning it never came to the point of starvation impossible to have European supervision over the daily pay but the higher native officials are gentlemen: would as soon take a bribe as I should to these we could always entrust the supervision they cannot organize but they can be trusted to obey orders we always employed the men by villages wherever possible: so that those should be together who knew one another grass 2nd for babies to every village
Famine Relief Works
Moota Canal
Poona Canal
Malooba Tank

Affected Populn 8 millions
(5 millions worst)

Takavi was given to enable them to “home” themselves again
see Sir R. Temple’s Famine Minute

Marwari money=lenders
did they suffer?
I am afraid they did not:
bloodsuckers
curse of our Deccan
Madras: small pox fruit of relief camps
Bombay: worst in Khandeish & elsewhere where least Famine
    = famine Diarrhea in Madras
    Cholera = real Cholera in Bombay, carried off in a few hours (doubtless
    more fatal from previous reduction of strength by Famine)
Madras: Cholera often Bowel Complaint the direct result
    of Famine - tho' sometimes the result of crowding together in unsanitarized
    Relief Camps, Relief Works & Relief Houses -
    Fever: Famine Fever
Bombay Fever malarial type after the rains x
Then what were the Famine Deaths put down to in Bombay? e.g. in Kaladgi
    Death rate quadrupled x I sent Nolan, one of my boys, now
    invalidated in Egypt) to investigate types of Fever: generally malarial
Bombay: x famine over in Nov/77
[Madras: not over in March/78
Mysore: Jan/78 still very bad]

x 150 000 Famine Deaths the
outside: obtained as
the excess over registered Deaths in ordinary years
But the increase of pop. forbidden
(ignored) by Govt. xx
xx 6 heads only of Death Registration
only, allowed by Govt.

Cholera: Small pox: Fevers: Bowel Compts, Injuries
Other causes -
xx Then what are Famine Deaths
registered under ? Anemia: “other causes”
xx And does Govt allow no
increase of popn?

Qy irrigation
And did not Village Patels
& Registrars share the
distress & migrate or die?
Was not relief to enable them/Ryots
to ‘home’ themselves again Takavi
desirable? or necessary?
-2(3)-

Sholapore: no washing
but some had private stores of
their own
& others were put on special treatment

p.251

Cornish shd have said - 1 lb. rice was
not sufficient but 1 lb. jowarri was

Over how many millions did the
Bombay Famine extend?

Did Marwaris money lenders suffer from
famine? I am
afraid
the
bloodsuckers did
not

Are Marwaris honest?
see St. G Tucker: can’t trade again till all
bankruptcy debts paid

Did Ryots become more indebted
from Famine? or to re-home
themselves after Famine?

f27v

From the Moglai, & Native States destitute people came in
beyond rescuing

Canarese Jungle
emigrants with their cattle
in search of fodder
died there of fever

p. 135  p.152

Many especially of the lower caste Mhars or Mangs
would sooner live on carrion
devour a dead dog
than go upon relief works or
be fed in relief houses.
Bombay City dirty, dirtier than ever.
Weir incompetent: insulted us:
made to apologize: Death rate
risen
Engineers good masons & builders
but not a notion of sanitary
requirements either of Barracks
& Hospitals of building on
basements or of anything of the
laws of health

grass huts
3 or 400 {illeg yds?}
along dams

The S. of S. for India should
order local Govts to see after
the sanitation of the country -
the domestic cleanliness -
should make them responsible
for the high rural Death rate -
should pull the Collectors, District
Officers, up - they can do it if
they will
I meant, had I remained Sanitary
Commr, to go round to selected
Collectors, they to have select

Patels (headmen): & to try
the experiment with these
select Patels how they
could be responsible for the
domestic sanitation of their
villages: there is a law,
enforcing by penalties, by which
they could be made so -
We were to have tried the
experiment
p. 4 end 1876
Ahmedabad water relief work filthy water thro’ jute & urine if flowers watered with it, died — excellent water a few 100 yds off — (v. Inspection Report)

Mysore; Saunders quite incompetent — then Elliott, Wingate (a capital man) & sent Peile coming home in March one of the ablest men — They have Actg Commr in Sind — now on the Famine Commn

We shall have another Mutiny some day: then God help us if the Mahratta peasantry join against us: (a fine peasantry Southern Deccan a fine race of men — I like them very much, but they are profoundly dissatisfied: all that is true about the indebtedness: they did however, ask me to thank the Govt for what had been done for them during the Famine) there’s Mutiny now in & in Sallara — ancestral men all dispossessed by the sowkars —

{f32 is blank}
Sir R. Temple’s
Minute for Famine
Dec 24/77

Mostu Canal
Poona
Saltara
Nair &
well in hand
not to the point of starvation
8 millions pop
(5 mill worst)

Poor Rate
no poor rate desirable
except but there must be Famine relief
Except in Famine, Mahomedans & Hindoos keep their own poor:
manage it much better than we could possibly do
& at no expence to us -
But they don’t keep them out of the Sowkar’s hands?
And do they fall into the Sowkar’s hands themselves
to supply their own poor?

Irrigation Rate
Col Merriman has a Bill
before Bombay Govt for an Irrign rate - It is to take in all
the people below the Irrign work whether they take the water or not,
I think it desirable
[Col Fife: No: it will bring in so little in proportion to the discontent it will make. And it will make the people discontented]
the S. of S. orders increased pop not to be
the Govt of India orders it to be
(1 p. c. per annum)
p. 133
causes of disease
in {illeg} impure water supply as well as {illeg scanty} food eaten raw food for want of fuel

{ff35-37v appear to be pencil notes, on envs, for ff38-47v
Hindoo Mahometans Xtians all others
Collector at Sholapore got such a wigging & he deserved it when Relief Works suspended, but no
Relief houses ready, dysentery & cholera
Sir P. Wodman [?] Chapman had the courage to take it out of Civilians’ hands & put it into Sir M. Kennedy’s, then Genl Kennedy. Head of P.W. Dept
Col Burke following the water
Matthew helped me at Sholapore with matted huts, roof ventn, shifting but had famine work in hand at beginning.
European boy supported by low castes teaching them English

35v impossible to have European supervising daily pay but upper native officials are gentlemen ^ an be trusted to take no bribes. These always supervised.
Men employed by villages wherever possible Grass hut for babies mothers pan in, wrong village, or every 2 or 30 yds at a illeg 2 miles long an old boy to look after them engineer had a trader to sell chapatties that they might not have to cook things on P.W.s P.W. oversees (not Irrigation) Gentleman educated man afraid of the pitt [?] native official taking a bribe from people going on works

f36 large works. Lytton gave in [?]
[omitted]
Sir R. Temple only Governor who ever travelled in Tonga [?]
Sir M. Kennedy went into his Office & thought out everything how this order wd be executed, how the Ex. En wd carry it out we made mistakes but we learnt by them & we corrected them as soon as possible.

unsigned notes, ff38-44, pen & pencil

f38
Mr. Hewlett Feb 10/79

It was Sir P. Wodehouse’s policy - Chapman, Chief Secy, first bought up grain - Sir P.W. said it would raise the price Sir P.W. had the courage to take it the Famine out of Civilians’ (Chapman’s) hands & put it into Sir M. Kennedy’s, then Genl Kennedy head of P.W. Dept.

Genl (Sir M.) Kennedy, head of P.W. Dept, taken from there to be put at the head of the Famine: a great man: a grand organizer: he would go into his Office & think out everything how will this order be executed? how will the Ex. En. carry it out? Lord Lytton will confess himself wrong in this matter of great Relief works v. little ones large works: Ld Lytton gave in

If anything went wrong, We flew at the place & worked with a will: Sir R. Temple heard a complaint (Sholapore) - I made it. relief houses all wrong - he came down - without warning -
It was in Krishna that I swam
the rivers on an elephant.
obliged to travel on elephant after
the rains set in: impossible
then - the tracks one marsh
to travel by tonga
Collector in Sholapore got such a wigging
& he deserved it - when Relief Works
suspended on account of rains, he had no
relief houses ready - dysentery & ulcers all heaped
up it was in Sholapore that I got fever in
the jungles
I went there & Mathew helped me at Sholapore with
matted huts roof ventilation - soon shifted the sick
first of all set out crossing Beema
by ford: tonga with ponies
first thing in the ford was to stick
in a stone: we had to push tonga
thro’: my servant said he was
touched up by the sun: couldn’t
do anything. I had to cook my
own food & make my own bed
- thought it great fun -
this was first of all: travelled by tonga
from 12 till 6 a.m. - thro’ the river
Beema - then till 9 or 10 p.m. cooked
my own dinner - slept for an hour or two
- off at 12
The Hindoos are either high Caste or vegetarians
middle " - flesh eaters
low " - carrion eaters
[no Hindoo will eat beef]
low caste, not outcastes -
The Govt makes us divide them into

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahomedans</td>
<td>Hindoos</td>
<td>Xtiens</td>
<td>Others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I want them to let us divide the Hindoos at least into

High Caste & Low Caste -
The low Castes are a fine race
live outside in suburbs -
not allowed to come within towns: death rate very high
indeed from the horrible conditions under which they live, bad water &c &c -
Now this ought to be shown: let us have the Death-rate of the low Castes separately: & then amend their conditions -
They have a perfect thirst for
knowledge: they/ these low castes supported
a European boy of 16 who
was lost in return for his
teaching them English.
    outside suburb inhabited by
low caste must not enter
the village fine intelligent
fellows but drink
very high rate of mortality
should be separate in Registers
    I asked Govt of Bombay
what could be done for them
educate them, they said
& so we did, but not in Schools

Christian converts - all drink
very unsatisfactory converted
to get into Govt employmt
Knew one, a grand old man, who
was satisfactory & had good
influence over natives: he was a
devout low caste: went on pilgrimage to Himalayas
& a Parsee boy who became a
clergyman
fell in with Padre Wilson: became a sincere
Xtian: influenced others:
It is the young gentlemen of the Secretariat who do those Reports. They confuse our caste with low casts: don’t know the difference.

Mamlutdars: native Magistrates or J. P.s rank after Deputy Collectors (native they are native gentlemen Palace Mamlutdars

Famine Native magistrates, native judges native behaved exceedingly well in managing relief houses -

Public Works overseers (native (not Irrigation P.W. overseers, are gentlemen, educated men. We were afraid of the petty native officials taking a bribe from people going on works but we made the P. W. overseers (native gentlemen) look after this well

{f41 is blank}
Ahmednuggur: water supply
form of a Cross

Byapore: Kaladji
Mahometan aqueduct
relief work to repair it
finest remains in Bombay
larger dome than St. Paul’s
Sir R. Temple came:
no tea for me
went to see the antiquities
Sir R.’s only Governor who ever
travelled in a Tonga

Burke following the water
he taught me that

Famine
you were obliged to have the
children eat not only out of
reach but out of sight of the
parents.
When we fed children & adults
together the parents would
snatch the food from the
children
The children had that self
control: if the parents
held their eyes fixed upon the
children, the children would
not eat under the eye of the
parents, no not even if they
were starving.
love of children died out
with the famine:
man murdered his
like wild beasts always wanting
to wander home to die
Joyner: Engineer = Moota works rode up & down his 5 or 6 miles of works: if a breach of his Sanitary rules allowed by his native subordinates/ illeg, down upon them directly, & punished the neglect or found it out at once: & singled out the offending subordinate.

Sanitary rules splendidly enforced. natives better off sanitarily than in their own huts without ventilation, good water or drainage

opium eating among natives almost general terrible sights the Opium houses in Bombay the D. of Sutherland whom I took there spoke to a man & he was only anxious tho’ with mental politeness to resume his opium.

deteriorate man & race opium pilules given by the mothers to their infants (qy Manchester)
Famine

Deserted villages? only seen
1 or 2 deserted villages during
the whole time of the Famine
(villages not deserted)
Patels (headmen) remained in villages
registering not suspended.
Corpses? only saw 5 during
the whole time of the Famine
Inquest on every one
one old man had left Relief
house the day before wandering
home to die like a wild beast
Nearly all those who came to for
Relief, had money in their pockets -
All Hindoos hoard one can
hardly say what for? all
are saving
some had 500 rupees:
20 " was common
could not tell what saving for
women & men had their
ornaments on Relief works
men their earrings

chupatties sold to people on works
European Engineer official appointed
had a trader to do this sell them
that the exhausted people
might not have to cook
their own food
Grass huts for babies erected every 200 or 300
or 400 yds on dam 2 miles long
mothers at work with infants
left them there with under an
old crone /hag to look after them & popped in for
a minute to see them
or grass hut to every village
Health & prosperity to you &
to your life-giving operations 12/2/79
work {printed address:} 10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.

My dear Sir
As you are aware, I am so/deeply
much interested (as all
England would be, if she
only knew) not only in
your Sanitary work/Commissioner,
[tho’ these are enough to fill a life time with interest
operations, but in the whole
cruel story of the Famine & in the
great deeds of the heroes
thereof heroes indeed - that
- I want not ‘to make you
fight your battles o’er again’
but that England should
have some small idea of what
battles have been fought
& victories won against
awful Famine in Bombay - what has been
undergone & what achieved.
T.G. Hewlett Esq
&c &c
I read all over again your 14th & 13th Annual Reports & your Inspection Reports: all are intensely interesting: but they contain but very little about the Famine & very little intelligible to the common herd/the general run of English at home people. England has/does not in the least idea/know of what has been done & what has been overcome by the Hercules labours of such great Englishmen dealing with this fearful monster.

When I asked for your 'occasional' or Monthly Famine Reports mentioned in your too brief summary of your Famine tours in the 14th Annual Reports, I was told that these were not published. I am sure that these Reports ought to be popularized, & a
short popular/simple paper ought to appear in one or more of the English periodicals here on the Bombay Famine & Famine Relief.

I should/could scarcely venture to ask Sir Richd Temple to if he would be so good as to send/authorize me copies of these occasional Monthly Reports for a short time — together with any “orders of Sir M. Kennedy or published Minutes of the Governor/m of Bombay.

But of this he may be sure that if he would do me this great favour, it should not be wasted upon me. And I would keep sacredly private anything that reflected discredit upon any officer in papers sent me, while all the much preferring that, if possible, such passages should be omitted out of any papers with which I may be honoured.

My object is by no means,
to write a sensational account
of the Famine: God forbid & much less
to animadvert on any
arrangement or persons
where so much has been so
nobly done to save life
& re create a/as it were starving masses/millions
of our own Indian children
& those even who are not our own
but rather
It is simply to give England
which does not read Reports
some idea/simple account of what has been/so much that
successfully done - so nobly ventured & so nobly done
to save life & recrute starvation

We have nothing in our own
English distress, tho’ alas! bad
enough, - there was nothing
even in the Irish famine - at
all to give to any power of
imagination we have in England a
conception of what an Indian
famine is: of what are the
labours so cheerfully undergone necessary to cope with
this/it - but which alas! often jeopardized
the lives/health of the deliverers
God speed you & your work always
If you could obtain for me any of
these papers or monthly reports, you wd
necessary to cope with this colossal calamity, compared with which the greatest war is nothing:

God speed the soldiers & the Generals on this brave Famine War, & in the other brave & continual War against sanitary evils: Health & prosperity to you & to your life giving work is the constant prayer of

Perhaps I need scarcely add that if I may be honoured by any of these ‘occasional’ Famine reports or papers, there is no time to lose. Already the Famine is forgotten here that far deeper & wider tragedy is lost in the Affghan War & now in the Zulu War.

Parlt meets today & tho’ I hope that there are many members who will bring up these burning Indian questions, & that India will thus force her way to the front, yet our very best must be exerted to interest the people of England even in some small degree in the people of India - & that with the smallest delay possible If any papers could be sent me showing good work in the Famine by native gentlemen, native officials - that would be good.
The enclosed is but a poor/faint shadow of
the earnestness with which I think
of your past Famine & Sanitary labours
& of your Sanitary labours to come -
the earnestness with which I press my
request.

Perhaps you might be able even before you leave England to tell me what you said about the possibility of Mutiny in the Deccan, I think you said & where in the Deccan - & the danger of the Mahratta peasantry joining

This I need not say would be for myself alone

Perhaps you could also tell me even before you leave England of the way in which the native Mamlutdars I think you said native (officials) gentlemen worked so well under Europeans in the Famine Relief -

Tho’ much has been done of late years to bring Englishmen to think a little of their Asiatic countrymen, yet it is astonishing what large masses there still are among us who think of Indians as ‘niggers’ or tigers or as rice at best purchasers of Manchester cottons.

And you are aware that a ‘House’ can never be made to listen to any Indian subject - that Indian questions are systematically shirked by the Cabinet, & by a hardly less important body, the “Times”

I would try to make the best use of any facts you could give me with or without names about native gentlemen officials who have done well in the Famine or in Sanitary works [end 10:147]
2/5/79

Mr. Hewlett - Kurrachee - Sind

asked him whether he approves of Bombay drainage
harbour scheme?  Sir R. Temple’s Minute

asked him about Kurrachee & e.g. about the effects of the Sind

[9:840-41]

Irrigation
told him what Sir R.T. has sent me:

Sir R. T. does not understand – & few of the high officials
in India do – either that none of this gives informn such
as the mass of the Eng. reading public will care about –
nor how important it is to interest the mass of the Eng.
reading public aright in India, altho’ he says himself
(so truly) “acq’d with details” –

Why are people so much interested in War matters,
so little in these far greater interests & disasters of
Peace?

Because the authorities publish the minutest
details of a battle,  Isunda  R. Dt.
The feats of the heroes recommendd for V.C. are described
even to the hourly doings of Prte J. J. who held a
Hosp’l Ward with the bayonet agst so many hundred Zulus

And why will the Civil authores not describe the far
greater feats of the far higher heroes who held not for a
night but for a whole year Famine at bay, & saved
not hundreds but millions from death?

They wd so soon find out their account in it by seeing how
the interest of the people of Engd wd be raised in India
– the people who sway the Parlt wh. sways the Cabinet
wh sways our mighty Empire

Possibly the effect in making Eng capital too flow
into India might be momentous

But we know nothing really about India here

Sir R. Temple’s views – efficient Sany Dept – satisfactory
regret your not being San. Commr:  But what you have done
in Bombay you will do in Sind God be with you -

Reason why newspaper correspondents mislead on one side
by giving only one side & partial facts is that the Govt
gives hardly any on the other - at least not with any
details that common readers will read
I do not think people say - Govt gives ‘inaccurate’ ‘records’
    I think they say: Govt gives none at all that we
care to read

Sir R. T. says to Medl students miserably defective
Regn of Deaths [So it is acknowledged to be in Madras]
But I thought he had ascertained in the Famine that
the Deaths were registered not considerably under
the actual Deaths

signed letter, ff50-55, pen & pencil

Confidential Claydon Ho: Winslow: Bucks
Sept. 24/88

My dear Sir
    I am compelled to trouble
you for your invaluable advice
in order to be able to answer
Mr. Runchorelal Chotalal’s
letter I have made
the enquiries he asks for.
    He “proposes to send the
“Water-works & drainage
”(Ahmedabad) plans to England
“for the opinion of the competent
“Sanitary authorities before
“executing the work”
    To whom are they sending
the plans? If the plans are
sent to the I. O., or to Col: Ducat, they will be returned with advice from them. [Mr. R. C. asks for advice] Or will they be sent to the Army Sanitary Commission, that is, to the Engineers upon it?

2. Mr. R. C. asks me to “let him know what will “be the terms of a competent “Sanitary Engineer to induce “him to come out to Ahmedabad “& carry on both the water “works & Drainage work “satisfactorily”

On enquiring I am told that “in all probability a competent Sanitary Engineer could be found who would be willing to undertake the supervision at from 500 to 600 per ann. “ It would very much depend on the magnitude of the work” But a higher authority whom I consulted says: “There is much difficulty in advising as to a young Engineer who would be fresh to the ways of the country & to the materials
“to be used” He says if I get the plans & let him see them, he could advise better.

[But I do not expect they will be sent to me & hope they will not]

“The best plan would be, I am told, if the plans are not sent to the I.O. or to Col. Ducat, “to ask “some Engineer of standing “to take up the matter “and to send out a “man to act under him “in supervising the “work”. There are two

well know Civil “Drainage Engineers” mentioned by name who “would be “good & possibly not “extravagant, tho’ the “former has lately largely “increased his appetite “for fees”.

Two others are also mentioned.

Also: a young man who has had experience in other climates than ours who “might do very “well & go out himself”.

But it is obviously impossible for my authority
to speak to them “without
“being able more
“definitely to say what
“the extent & class of
“work is; so as to judge
“of time occupied -
“nor without knowing
“what sort of information
“the plans mentioned
“will afford.
“nor without some
“fair certainty that they
(the Engineers) would be
“employed
“For it is most
“probable that before
“any one could safely

“commit his reputation
“to a scheme of drainage
“he would have to
“re-survey the town &
“ground adjacent for
“himself”

“The plans MAY however
“be all that is wanted” ==
Could you kindly tell me
whether this last is likely
to be the case?
I ought to write to Mr.
Runchorelal Chotalall
on Thursday.
If I ask these questions
of him, it will be two
months before a reply could be received by me. Besides, is it not the case that, in writing to an Oriental, one should be as definite as possible, not giving alternatives? & that an Oriental always suspects a “job”, which is I suppose the reason why he writes to a woman?

[I need not say that I have only consulted Government men who could not have the smallest interested motive.]

To me the most satisfactory thing would be to hear from you that Mr. R. C. has consulted Col. Ducat & send the plans to him; & that the plans are all that is wanted; & Col. Ducat has advised upon them; or will advise. If you could answer at your earliest convenience, returning me this letter (to save yourself & me trouble) I should be truly grateful -

Excuse the trouble of many kinds - & believe me ever yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

T.G. Hewlett Esq &c &c
I need not say that it would be an immense help to me if you would kindly tell me, you who know him, how to answer Mr. Runchorelal, if you cannot give me the information I want, bearing in mind, of course, that I cannot receive the reply for 2 months. But I hope you will have heard from Col. Ducat.

unsigned draft letter, ff56-58v, pencil, original in OIOC Mss Eur B.278 is a little different

Mr. Hewlett April 30/89
Private
My dear Sir How long it is since I have heard or written. How many questions I have to ask you! I had It was understood some weeks/little time ago that the S. of S. for India would be disposed to appoint a Commission at the I.O., if the War Office did not re-appoint theirs (the Army Sant Commn) Might I ask if you have heard from Sir J. Peile or otherwise anything about it? I repent that I have not written to you earlier but I have been ill & overworked - we have had
serious illness & death in our family - And I have been always waiting to know something definite

2 I have had more time & strength to be anxious about all these things than to write about them. What

I am very anxious to know whether you have heard if anything from the Bombay Govt in answer to your remonstrance - Whether you have or not, I am told that it is very well you have written - Governments do not usually make an amende - But in these cases if you wish to write or have written to the S. of S., he can then interfere officially, if he chooses, which he could not do without

3 I am very anxious to hear/What can you tell me about your health which I trust gives you now no uneasiness

4 & also want to know/What do you hear whether from the Local Govt Board you have heard anything about employment - I am told that it is quite possible that in time you might get something under the Co. Councils - You could always throw it up again.

5 I have not written again to/What have you heard from our friend Mr. Runchorelal Chotalal of Ahmedabad? It was impossible to get anything done then from home, as there was no plan for official interference. If

Did you ask or advise me to ask Mr. R.C. whether he could induce his Municipality to employ an /call in a good Engineer from England? Would such an one take 5 p.c.? Because if he would upon a work of which the expence would be ? 30 000 or 40 000, it would be hardly worth while to save 2½ p. c. by employing the incompetent Bombay Govt Engineer

I have not written again to Mr. R.C. because you did not tell me what to say - And I do not know the present exact state of things which I
Hewlett -2- 30/4/89
should be very glad to hear from you -
6. If the Bombay Sany Dept were put under the Collectors instead of the Judicial Dept, they wd take a pride in making it efficient instead of its being attacked from outside? The Collectors are under the Revenue Dept? But this is a matter in which Viceroy's cannot interfere
7. Has anything been done about reducing the so many questions

Bombay existing Dy Sny Commrs by two - when they are two few already? This has been mentioned in the proper quarter & Ld Dufferin’s promise cited

unsigned notes, ff59-59v, pencil

Dr. Murdoch June 27/89

Health
Village Sanitation Dr. Hewlett
[Sanitary Reform]
my letter to Mr. Murdoch
7 Adam St

Fever (Ague) better clothed in the cold season less fever

Cholera Dr. Farnell

Vaccination
calf vaccination natives

____________________ prefer it
native Dr. Harvey

colporteurs Calcutta offended deity thro’ India
To Mr. Hewlett June 29/89
write pamphlet on Village Sanitation
- absolute necessity of Sanitary Missionarizing in the country in India, without which any Govt Bill of no effect.
A Madras man (Murdoch) publishes small cheap tracts for natives, culled from best sources, remarkable sale for India Mahratti }
Hindi Bengalee translated Tamil Telugu e.g. “Sanitary Reform” - object being to turn them away from their superstitions thinking disease the doing of an offended deity - to be cured by propitiating her by sacrifices - to seeing cause of disease in Sanitary

-neglects & teaching how to avoid these
Xtian Vernacular Socy - native colporteurs all over India - wishes to write simple Tract on Village Sanitation - What but this pamphlet for authority?

Do you recommend Calf Vaccination How practised? Natives prefer it so much. They think it then a sacred rite.

Subjects for Tracts for Village people?
He was the first Health Officer of Bombay for upwards of 7 years -
He was a Sanitarily - engineered city in himself - up at 2 or 3 in the morning himself leading his army of scavenger
Death rate fell in consequence from 35 to 23
He was the Sanitary Missionary of the Famine of 1876-8 while acting as Sany Commr travelling for 20 hours out of the 24, without tents, often without food - organizing, testing/arranging, advising/supervising, giving health to the relief camps & centres - truly a great work -
He was the Sanitary Missionary of the Presidency - as Sanitary Commissioner for the last 5 years & for several years previously from p. to instructing, teaching, the people/native gentlemen, Presidents of Munies the causes of death &
disease & how to remove them
Without this, without the engaging the people on your side, without convincing them of what is their
own interest, you may pass all your/our all Sanitary Acts are but they remain but a dead X letter - you/we may have the most exact knowledge of what is wanted, but you cannot carry it out - experience He has the most remarkable influence over the people - from his knowledge of their customs & habits of the villagers: his sympathy with them - his great experience & insight - his how to draft a Sanitary Bill for Villages his practical knowledge not only of the cities of Bombay & B. Presy but of the villages when the greater part of the p an Indian pop. resides as it well known - water supply, conservancy, sewerage & drainage buildings ventilation his practical knowledge is unequalled I give the Govt joy which enlists his writings his services whether for home or for & reports India I have been asked to give my testimony to the work of T.G.H. C.I.S. D.S.G. - late Sany Commr of Bombay -Presy I have known him for many years - have known his work well whether as H. O of Bombay city in the Famine as Sanitary Comm have been in the constant habit of consulting him on all Sanitary subjects to which his life has been devoted body, head & heart His work among the soldiers/our troops, European & native is well known To the former we can speak “ “ “ “ native popn should be no less so No man is better, no man is perhaps so practically well versed in all problems & details & how to deal with them - His is no mere theoretical knowledge - & to a certain extent he has the requisite Sanitary Engineering knowledge X E.g. When he began work in Bombay Presy the people might die of Cholera at the rate of 200 or 300 a day, & none would take any notice except to scold the Goddess of Cholera or Small pox - Now they cry out: if there are 2 or 3 deaths by Cholera: Bestir yourselves, gentlemen - Don’t you see we’re all dead? This is a great step - And that of bestirring themselves is a greater. And he has begun it
unsigned notes, ff62-63v, pencil

**f62**

Hewlett Oct 15/89
Hewlett has entered into the glory of the/his Lord
In him India has lost the man who cannot be replaced x
But before your loss, all other thoughts stand still - all words
fail What must/can we say of your loss? Runchorelal
0 insuppe
  he was one whose knowledge of Sanitary principles & details
& works for India was so far ahead

x his compeers that he could be consulted with absolute
confidence on every point
- his knowledge of the natives & of the way to influence them
for the good was alike unequalled
I will not say he was the most or one of the most disinterested,
self-devoted
man I ever knew. For he was absolutely disinterested & self-
devoted - making the sacrifice which to him was no sacrifice of
himself for man to God - to X
  I knew what his love for his family was. That
is too sacred to touch upon/speak of except in our hearts &
deepest

**f63**

sympathy & prayers for heavenly comfort for
you all

**f63v**

In him we have lost the last first & perhaps the first man in
India
on whose practical knowledge & information
we could absolutely depend.
  India has lost in him the man who of all others
could wield her life & death problems with an unerring
hand & by his practical knowledge of the natives
bring them to consent & to cooperate in/& to consent to their own
health salvation
from X He has won for himself a crown of righteousness
which was what St. Paul desired for himself as the
greatest reward/crown of his labours. And like Our Great Master
in
His death, the crown of appreciation & of glory will come
afterwards

ff64-67v, Madras, October 18, 1864 from R.S. Ellis, thanking FN
for sending him the paper 'Suggestions for Improving Indian
Stations’ and including details for improving conditions in cantonments, including the coercive system for dealing with prostitutes and asking FN to use her influence to gain expenditure for Public Health in India
ff68-71v, printed memorandum on the Sanitary State of India with handwritten notes by FN (not transcribed, photocopied)

f72, unsigned notes perhaps in Dr. Sutherland’s hand, addressed to Mr. Ellis, about reform in Calcutta and enclosing a paper on this subject

ff73-78v, Madras, January 5, 1867, from Mr. Ellis to FN about the organization of a Public Health system and about his report on bad conditions in the distressed districts of Madras Presidency

ff79-80v, Madras, April 27, 1867 re Dr. Cornish & his work in India

ff81-91, June 5, 1867, re a visit by Lady Napier to England and her desire to see FN because of her interest in providing trained nurses for hospitals in India, as well as Mr. Ellis’s hope he will be able to get a Public Health Service established, and expressing his frustration with the quality of Engineering currently available and including the successful measures taken in 1864 to prevent cholera among pilgrims. The principal object of this letter is to tell you that Lady Napier is going to England for a few months and is very anxious to be allowed to call upon you. Both Lady and Lord Napier have since their arrival here given the best example to all officials out here, by showing the greatest personal interest in everything connected with the san admin. Lady Napier is very anxious to see illeg trained nurses at all our great hospitals, civil and military. She has herself constantly visited them wherever he has been and has been much struck with the discomfort arising from the want of properly trained hosp attendants. We have in our East Indian women and in a few Europeans and Native women very fair raw materials for nurses, and there would be a great demand in the town of Madras for well trained nurses for private houses when visited as is so often the case out here by sickness. But we can do nothing without competent instructors and a small number of trained nurses to begin upon.

It would perhaps be best to begin on a small scale and have out a lady who herself has been thoroughly taught the science of nursing and two or three taught nurses (not ladies) who wd form a kind of normal school and make illeg of our raw material. I am of course very anxious that Lady Napier shd receive every en for the real interest taken by both her and Lord Napier has really got a deal accomplished during the last year I am of granting for a satisfactory settlement of the question of a Public Health dept. It must really be taken up as a great question of admin. I shall I believe soon be transferred to the appt of chief sec in govt and must illeg the san com. I shall be in a position ... large number of my projects carried into effect and I hope to get Lord Napier to go at the question of a Public Health service and get
the sec of state to take the matter up seriously and to decide how the objects can best be secured.

I am quite satisfied that Sir J. Lawrence’s scheme will not do and I am also quite certain that without a distinct service we cannot attempt to make even a beginning of the work over our vast provinces in India.

Pray don’t have war that will be as disastrous for our work as a Reform Bill which I hope will have got itself passed by this time as it didn’t seem that anyone wishes to pass it.

Next to a Public Health service I want to catch a few engineers who can build and learn how to drain. I am in perfect and unalterable despair about our royal engineers who know absolutely nothing about drainage or about building and half of the success of our San reforms is in their clumsy hands. It wd make yo laugh to see some of their work but it has often made me nearly cry with vexation at the dreadful waste of money.

Illeg asked me what wd illeg had done to prevent attacks of epidemic cholera at places of pilgrimage. The place where the experiment was first tried was at a great Hindu shrine called Conjeveram, about 40 miles from Madras and now accessible by railway. There in the month of May vast numbers of pilgrims from all parts of India assemble and prior to 1864 the assemblage of the pilgrims was always attended by an outbreak of cholera, which they carried into Madras and along their various lines of march. In 1864 I got attention directed to the necessity of San precautions. I had just been made pres of the San Com and was the newest of brooms. The measures I advised were small enough, a regiment of scavengers was enlisted during the time of the feast. The streets were thoroughly watered and cleaned twice a day. The wells used for drinking purposes were carefully guarded and the greatest care was taken to prevent any contamination of the water. All carts and animals brought by the pilgrims were picketed in proper places assigned to them and were not allowed to remain in the streets.

Public latrines in sufficient numbers and made of bamboos and staves were erected and nuisances in the streets and highways were entirely prevented. The latrines were constantly cleaned, and all sweepings and dirt of the town were buried in pits to illeg of the town and covered with earth. These precautions were observed during the whole period of the festival from 10 to 15 days.

The result was most successful. The festival of 1864 passed without any outbreak of cholera. The same arrs have been made during the last three years and with entire success. This has been done without grumbling, through the influence of the local officers. The residents who benefit by the pilgrimage and the managers of the temples have borne a large share of the expense. What has been done so successfully at Conferam..in the Madras district has also been done with about equal success for the great Hamphy festival in the Ballary district, all that is
necessary is to make these san precautions obligatory by law. Am preparing an act for this purpose and there is a similar law being manufactured at Bombay. I am finishing my current report which I shall do myself the honor of sending you when finished. I give you a short abstract which as regards invaliding is very unsatisfactory and as regards death rate is still very high, but we have had a very bad year as regards seasons and failure of rain.

f92, addressed to Mr. Ellis, probably in Dr Sutherland’s hand, about obtaining a competent Sanitary Engineer & Surveyor.
My dear Sir,

I have thought over your proposition about the Nurses & Lady Supt in every possible way. I have had a long interview with Mr. Porteous, at Lady Napier’s desire, in order to collect local particulars —

And, as you are aware, the Nursing subject, even as regards India is not new to me — for I was applied to officially more than two years ago from the G.G. in Council about sending out or training Nurses for India — since which time there has been much written & little done —

I fully hope that we shall be able to answer your call, not at once, not without frequent references backwards & forwards, of course, but still that we shall be able to do what you wish ultimately —

But I must ask you to let me explain a little of the nature of the case & our difficulties in order that you may not think our scruples & our conditions extravagant.

When in December 1864 the Govt of India first consulted me on this subject of sending out Matrons & Nurses — I, of course, consulted men conversant both with India & Hospital organizations. We all came to the same conclusions,
1. there ought to be a continuous stream of Trained Nurses coming out from England to India

You cannot depend on recruiting in the country, tho’ you must do all in your power to promote it.

You ought, therefore, as you have your Civil School, as you have your Military School, expressly for India in England - so you ought to have your Nurse School.

the India office ought to do this (in concert of course, with the G. G.) finding the funds - And we, if they please, will find the organization.

our Training School cannot give a sufficient supply -
our Matrons & Nurses are taken up for at least a year beforehand.

and we have been called upon to supply one of our Colonies

Besides this, the home market will probably be always more attractive to good Englishwomen (i.e. to Englishwomen who don’t go out to “get married”) for a long time to come than the Indian market - they are now well paid at home, they are near their own friends, & they have not the dreaded India climate before them.
Therefore, all our experience tells us that, if India is to have good Nursing from England, it must be done as a special service - by contract - by women who engage expressly for India & are trained with that view.

2. people rarely look at the enormous difference there is between organizing a woman-service & a man-service for India.

If we send you out an Engineer, you have not to look after his private life. If he drinks, or goes to the bad, so long as it does not interfere with his public service, the Public need not make it their business to keep him in order -

But, it is quite different, I need hardly say, with women. If they drink or go to the bad, their usefulness is over - the thing is a failure - you must have a woman as high in character as in efficiency for her to do any good -

3. And this, of course, includes the important question of discipline -

And the consideration of discipline includes the fact that it can only be exercised over women by a woman.

[Hitherto, in India, the discipline of a Hospital has been exclusively in the hands of a Doctor]
A peccadillo which a Lady Supt. would & ought to dismiss a woman for, a Commanding Officer, will think nothing of — a Medical Officer still less.

It is vain to think of sending out women to be under men.

If Nursing is to be ever efficiently introduced into India, there ought to be four Superintendents one for Madras, one for Bombay, one for Calcutta, one for the Upper Provinces, trained, of high character & position — in direct communication with the local Government who, in connection with that Govt, should manage all Nursing affairs, dismiss, appoint, remove &c &c — & take charge of the continuous stream of Nurses coming out from England, but coming out on the Superintendence’s requisition, only, at the desire of the local Govt.

[The complete failure of the Calcutta scheme, made in memory of poor Lady Canning has but confirmed these views]
4. Had we plenty of women, on whom we could entirely depend, ready to our hands, there would be no need of all this 'embarrass'. We could send out what India wants (for already we have a similar request from another part of India) as soon as an agreement could be made.

But we have not [Illeg illeg illeg]

Also if one or two Nurses were sent out to India who, either from not being selected & trained with due care, or from not being put under a discipline out in India such as to ensure due care were unhappily to prove a failure - - - - - then the whole thing would be ruined for a generation to come - You know what the vulgar mind is all over the world - The one individual instance under the eye tells - the experience of a dozen countries does not tell - The one individual instance becomes the law -

Therefore we must ask India to take into consideration the conditions which alone can give a fair chance of success to the experiment, which she herself has proposed to make -
[If I could go out myself, as I fain would do, that would be different. Then we should not have to worry you.]
Now: to come to the particular question put by you & Lady Napier: -

(1) If Lady Napier would/will take the thing under her own special protection, I think that what you propose might be done, viz. that a Lady Supt & "two or three Head Nurses might be found & trained & sent out to you {illeg illeg illeg illeg} [But would “two or three” be enough to make the nucleus of a Training School?]

(2) of what Hospital do you propose to put the Supt in nursing charge?

to train Nurses you must have a Hospital (with both sexes, Medical & Surgical cases) to train in.

It is always better to take the whole Nursing charge of any one Hospital at once -

but if this cannot be done, then to limit the Nurses from England to a part of the Hospital, while putting the Supt in nursing charge of the whole -

[You see, in India the thing must be begun from the beginning - Because there is nothing that we call Nursing in India now at all. And, in some respects, this is an advantage.]

I have gone over on paper all the Madras Hospitals with Mr. Porteous - The General Hospital would be, of course, the least bad for the purpose
I had hoped that the “Passed Hospital Nurses” of the Military Female Asylum might have afforded us material. But the number & character of cases (principally scabies & sore eyes) is much too limited to give the Nurses any right to their name.

(3) To the Supt must be given a complete & well-defined position - as one who has undisputed charge of the Nursing of the Hospital, the care seeing/responsibility of having the orders of the Medical Officers carried out, undisputed charge of the discipline of her Nurses & Training School -

(4) Now about the pay of Supt & Nurses -

[It is the interest of the Govt, if it has out Nurses at all, at such an expence, to do what will secure & retain the best women]

After much enquiry, I should advise the salary of such a Trained Supt as you want to be not under

300 rupees (30) a month

rising to (say)

350 rupees in 4 years

400 " in 4 years more

& a house or good healthy quarters immediately adjoining her duties - to contain the Nurses also - that is to say, if it is the custom in Madras for a woman to board herself - (we prefer giving board) -
plus provision in the event of sickness -
   and provision on ultimate retirement
   either by grant or pension -
free first class passage out & home
   if she returns home sick on Medical
   certificate - to return to India on recovery,
   then some maintenance while at home

For the Head Nurses
   a rising scale
   similar provisions for sickness & retirement

It would not be desirable for these women to
   board themselves. They ought of course to
   live with the Supt in her quarters immediately
   attached to the Hospital.
And she ought to be allowed a sum to board
   them & herself - (in which case some small
   deduction might be made on her pay)

   What the rising scale for the Nurses ought
to be I think I must leave to your
consideration
   As a guide, the Nurses whom we are sending out to N. S.
Wales
are for a 3 years’ engagement to have
  50 the first year,  60 the second,  70 the
third, and board & lodging.
There is also a condition that the cost of the passage out shall be repaid e.g. in case of breach of engagement. This however cannot be considered as regards the Nurses as likely to be of much practical effect.

The chances of ill-health & also of marriage are, of course, far greater in India than in the Colonies - But I must leave the calculations of these to your better knowledge.

The Supt who is going out to Sydney is to have 150 the first year, 175 the second, 200 the third, on a 3 years’ engagement, with board & lodging. In all cases, salary to begin from the day of leaving England - [ref pencil:] and passages out - In all cases, of course, the rise to depend on approval. [red pencil next 3 lines] There is also a conviction that the cost of the passages out should be repaid in case of leaving an engagement [last line too faint]

[Even in England, we give to the Supt of a Military Hospital, under the Supt Genl, £150 the first rising to £175 in 5 years, to £200 in 5 years more - plus board & lodging, plus a maid of all work, at £35 a year] plus pension - x as a guide to the Supt’s salary

Mr. Porteous desired me to remin ask you x what was the monthly salary of teachers of Colleges - of Medical College & High School? of government teachers of normal schools? And he said that sufficient pay and a supreme position as Matron were indispensable.
for a Superintendent

I should hope that a Branch Training School for Nurses might ultimately be founded at Bangalore -

When it comes to the point of making agreements, Hy Bonham Carte Esq
91 Gloucester Terrace
Hyde Park
London W

the Secretary to our Committee, of which
Sir Harry Verney, whom I think you know, is the Chairman
would be the person to address -
I am the more anxious to put this in/on a right footing, because permanency in India & life in me are so precarious
You might leave Madras, leaving no sufficient minute behind you -
Then, where are our poor women to go? -
The agreements ought to be made between some permanent body in Madras on the one hand & our Committee on the other
Ultimately, I should trust that the India Office will be your agent in London -
But, to make it so now, would be simply to shelve the whole thing -

It must be borne in mind that to find suitable women & to train them will require time - Our period of training is a year - we cannot hold out any prospect of finding a suitable Matron among those who have already been trained nor that she could be prepared in less than a year - x

Something ought to be said about forfeiture somewhere, if Nurse breaks her contract - see p. 3

There is the greatest difficulty in finding suitable Candidates to train for Superintendents even for Home purposes while the responsibility of the chairman office is less than it would be in India -

Success would much depend on the choice of chief

ff100-01, {archivist: [Aug 1867]} unsigned notes addressed to Mr. Ellis, not in FN’s hand, possibly Dr Sutherland’s, re the futility of quarantine in cases of Cholera, proper treatment of Cholera and difficulty in establishing a nursing school in Madras

f101v, undated, addressed to Sir J. Lawrence, not in FN’s hand, possibly Dr. Sutherland’s, re the futility of quarantine in cases of Cholera due to faulty “germ theory”

f102, {archivist: [Sept 18 1867]}, not in FN’s hand, possibly Dr. Sutherland’s, re permission to try a plan of Sanitary Administration in Madras

ff103-04v, September 26, 1867, from Mr. Ellis, to FN, thanking FN for her Nursing advice, asking for information on quarantine, and stressing the need for Sanitary administration

ff105-10v, January 26, 1868, re Lord Napier’s acceptance of Mr. Ellis’ plan for a Public Health scheme, establishment of a Nursing School, and control of pilgrimages, and speculation about the successor to Sir J. Lawrence as well as reporting progress in sanitary matters and the need for engineering expertise. Mr. Ellis also asks for FN’s help in procuring a commission for the son of “poor MacPherson”
Dear Sir,

I venture to send for your acceptance a copy of my "Notes on Hospitals", now in the press, & of which the publishers have put up this one copy on purpose for your start. Perhaps you may have time to glance at it on the voyage. I enclose a few words on the foreign "Sanitary Services." No hurry about either.

God bless you & prosper you on your way. To use your own word, I look upon you as going forth as "Missionaries" - the greatest Missionaries God can employ upon His earth -

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

(To Dr. Charles Hathaway)
Dear Sir,

I am annoyed more than I can say— that, in consequence of the inexplicable delays of the Lithographers, the Report on the Mediterranean Stations, which has been quite & completely finished some time, is not ready— so that I cannot get even a single copy, which I should otherwise have so gladly put into your hands before you start. Because it is a really useful work, full of wood-cuts & descriptions of Barrack conveniences, sewerage & drainage plans, hitherto thought impossible in dry seasons of hot climates, but which have now been successfully applied at hot-climate stations with drier seasons than India has,

I shall send you a copy to India as soon as I can lay my hands on one— I think I have your address there.

[9:273]

As you are so kind as to offer it, I send a copy of the last Edition of my “Notes on Hospitals”, just out, for Sir C. Trevelyan, the Finance Member of Council at Calcutta. If it will amuse you to cut it open on the voyage, pray do. But, (except the recommendations at the end of the section on Indian Hospitals) its principles of construction are adapted only for temperate climates.

I send you half a dozen of my India paper read at Edinburgh, if you can make any use of them in India. But pray remember not to take them unless convenient— nor the book for Sir C. Trevelyan, which can be sent by post if returned to me.

I wish you God Speed on your voyage to India.

I look upon the sanitary work there now, as the true missionary work, as you see. [end 9:273]

Yours most faithfully,

Florence Nightingale.
PRIVATE

I think you must not look at the Sanitary Commission as “at an end”. You are doubtless aware that Sir J. Lawrence wrote a very full Minute, dated January 9, to the Secretary of State here, proposing an organisation for the Public Health Service in India. Some modifications will probably be proposed. But I think this is only a beginning of a great development of the Service. In the mean time, let me again say how deeply grateful I feel to you for all the invaluable information, the records of proceedings & letters I have received from you. And I cannot but still regret that you have not been able to continue in the Sanitary Commission under its new form - sanitary work I am sure you will do wherever you are.

F.N.

ff127-29, Government House, Calcutta, February 6, 1864, Private

I have not forgotten the kind promise you gave me when I saw you on the 8th of December that I might write to you as circumstances might arise in which you take an interest, or because you of all persons ought to have the final intelligence of any sanitary reforms being adopted for the British Troops serving in this country. You will see by the enclosed extract from the Gazette of India that we have lost no time since our arrival in setting to work. Sir John Lawrence reached Calcutta on the of January and in less than a month the members of the first Board of health I this country have been nominated and will commence sitting at once. Had the Appendices to the royal sanitary Commission Report been sent out we shd have begun even sooner.

One of the first & most important duties of the Commission will be to compile a sanitary code for the guidance of the several local boards and the officer commanding regiments and stations, as well as for the information of govt. If you know of any Manual I shd be very glad if you would sent it out to us through the India Office. When I was engaged in my special duties in the Punjab I made a similar enquiry of my publisher as to whether there was any recognized sanitary manual adopted either in the army or medical dept generally, and the answer was in the negative.

F128 The work they sent me out viz “illeg Hygiene” I thought very insufficient. It does not convey practice instructions & fundamental laws for observance but goes too much into the theory and natural causes of disease. This we do not want. It is a code not a commentary that is required. Hitherto it has been the case & still is for every Brigadier or medical officer to have his own ideas of hygiene & to act according to those ideas. The one man pulling up or cutting down what his predecessor has planted rejecting river water for wells, &c or “vice versa.” Govt are helpless, they order the adoption of the last scheme; money is
frittered away and no real progress is made.

Nothing can exceed the horrors of the native part of Calcutta as against drains & filth. The Municipal Commissioners appointed lately a medical officer of health on a salary of £2000 a year and the candidate selected is the one homeopathic doctor of the metropolis a Frenchman so that he naturally does not carry the sympathies or approbation of the medical profession with him. We have also a Civil Engineer who came out with us from England a Mr Clarke, on whom the great task of improving the drainage revolves. It is an Augean evil, but a commencement is everything.

Sir John Lawrence inspected the Barracks in the Fort a few days ago & went minutely through every part including lock rooms & hospitals &c. There are smaller errors in the construction of the ileg which now be altered, the worst defect being he close proximity of the latrines to the cook room. He has just written a minute on the Indian Army Commissariat Commission of which I will send you a copy. As it has not yet been sent home, nor even published, it must of course be considered “confidential.” I feel safe in sending you any paper of this kind, that it will not be sent by anyone else. I am taking up the destitute condition of the merchant sailors at Calcutta who are very badly off here & who die at the rate of 6 or 7 percent. We hope to influence the mercantile and shipping interest at home. Our Greens and Smiths & Wigrams - & get them to assist us liberally in providing a good institution or Sailor’s home & thus keep these poor fellows from the grogshops & dangers of the bazaar.

My excuse my having this trespasses so long on your valuable time but I know that your heart is in the good cause & that you will forgive me. Yours very truly C. Hathaway

ff130-31, February 23, Govt House Calcutta

I venture to send to you a little pamphlet, the duties of the officers of health at Calcutta. This office is quite independent of the Sanitary Commission just appointed by Govt and is only recently made, being at the disposal of the Justice or municipal commissioner. The successful candidate is a French man and homeopathist Dr Tonnerre!

I also send you a little pamphlet describing the state of our Calcutta bazaars. None of the statements are overdrawn. In today’s paper there is a letter from a ship master complaining of the number of dead bodies floating up and down the river, while cholera has appeared with much virulence in the heart of the city.

I may tell you that the price of wood is so high that the poor Hindoos can no longer burn the bodies of their deceased relatives, so they content themselves with putting a whisp of straw into the mouth of the corpse, and then setting fire to it, they throw it into the stream, f131 where you see it floating over a groundee on the bank with crows and vultures battening on their foul repast!
The streets are little better. It is the custom to throw out the whole refuse of the house on to the pavement, and once a day this is removed by carts, but in no other city in the world could such an abominable practice be permitted, and this too is not in the lanes and back places but in the large streets and squares corresponding to our Pall Mall and Haymarket at home.

I was very glad to hear from my friend Dr James Pattison Walker that you have kindly written to him to send him copies of your works. I think so highly of his energy and zealous determination to overcome difficulties and the “vis inertiae” which we specially labour under at Calcutta, that I obtained his nomination as sec to the Calcutta San Com just appointed, and believe that he will do all that can be done.

The orders for improved illeg rroms and sundry other matters connected with the soldiers food and messing &c have been issued by Govt. I will send for a copy as soon as published.

ff132-33, March 5/64 Government House Calcutta March 5 1864

I am not going to inflict a long letter on you, but as I have heard several criticisms passed on your notes on the Royal San Commissioners’ Report and know that there is an attempt made in some quarters to show that things were not so bad as the commission stated them to be, I think it only fair to give you an idea of what I find Calcutta to be, and can fearlessly declare that nothing I have witnessed elsewhere (and I have visited a great many very bad stations) approaches Calcutta for filth, & also apathy on the part of the inhabitants, Europeans as well as natives.

I sent an article to the “Friends of India,” our best journal here, which has caused a little movement of “the dry bones” and which I enclose for your perusal. But it is like driving a very big nail into a very hard wall; a great number of blows are required before the work is done and the nail sent fairly home!

On Saturday last, I accompanied the govt gen to his country palace at Barrackpore, a distance of 16 miles. We went by water and in that short space I counted upwards of 50 corpses in every possible state of decomposition, some nearly fresh, with crows and vultures feeding on the flesh and floating down the stream, others swollen and distorted by the formation of gas within until they appear like hideous Giants. A native rajah from the Upper Perunnees who was on board the royal yacht was horrified at the sight, and said “We never see such things in the Punjab.” And yet use and custom have so habituated the European inhabitants of Calcutta to such fearful scenes that they take no action in the matter, and merely shrug their shoulders with a faint protest against “interfering with the religious rights and prejudices of the natives”! And this too when the river has at present 3000 European sailors living and sleeping in the vessels moored there who all drink and wash in the water.
I understand that the medical returns for the European Indian Army have been just made up for the past year and that tho’ mortality is only 3 percent and at Gwalior and Moreer where the previous year it was 12 percent it was in 1863 only one percent. This is a very gratifying result and shows what may be done by judicious san measures and energetic action on the part of our authorities. I only hope that it will not be quoted as a proof that no further pressure is required or that san commissions and Boards of health are not needed.

I was very glad to hear that you have sent your book to my friend Dr Walker. I have had him appointed sec to the Calcutta Com and he is working energetically with the president Mr Strachey.

PS Pray do not think that I expect you to reply to my notes. I know how much you have to do.

f134, March 10, Govt House Calcutta. Confidential.
As a codicil to my last letter I send you the first minute issued by the Presidency Com. It is considered very severe and has caused much excitement amongst those who think that they are indirectly censured. But it will do good, and was certainly required. It has not yet transferred beyond official circles.

typed copy of signed letter, ff135-38, original at FN Museum

f135 {archivist: (Original lent by Rev. J. Hensley)}

COPY 32 South St. Park Lane,
        Private London, W.
        March 10/64

My dear Sir,
I have seldom had so great a pleasure than from your letter &
Sir John Lawrence’s.
It was very very kind of you & him to take the time to write to me -
[9:488]
The appointments are excellent & shew the Governor General’s wisdom - at least to three of them I can speak from my knowledge of the men’s works.
There is no Manual in existence such as you desire. But the moment I received your welcome letter, I wrote to the “Local Government Act Office” & to the War Office to send out (for your Commissions) copies of all their sanitary reports.
The barrack & hospital plans we are preparing for you are nearly complete, - & also a printed paper of suggestions on all the
subjects which have arisen out of the Indian enquiry - & which I hope will meet what Sir John Lawrence wants. This is in the press - and as soon as a complete copy is printed, it will be laid before the Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission, which has been re-constituted here with two India members, as you are aware. [end 9:488]

We want to make it as complete as possible with wood cuts & lithographs, And then it will be left to you to apply the principles, as you best can.

The difficulty on this side is not in framing a code, but in
framing a practicable code for India. In the suggestions, we have laid down the heads. And you should codify them. We may err, if we codify. And you may err, if you leave out duties. But, if you send your Draft Code to the Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission, they would see whether it included everything, leaving you entirely responsible for the procedure. By a little giving & taking in this way, a good code will eventually be framed. You will find a good basis to proceed upon in the new Medical Regulations for the Queen’s Service, at least so far as duties of Army Sanitary Officers go - (a copy of which you took out with you.) Dy. Insp. Genl. Longmore stated in evidence that these Regulations worked well in India.

In the paper we are preparing, there will be many hints for duties of Civil Officers of Health & for Officers over Bazars. (I sent, through the I.O., addressed “private” to Sir John Lawrence, a copy of the Mediterranean Stations Report, the Moment it was out, which you wished to see - If you have time, in the midst of your multitudinous (but not hard) duties to look at it, you will find the gist of the defects & remedies in the first 22 pages. These, with a glance at the “pictures”, give a good idea of the India problem, with the exception that all the improvements for India need to be on a more extensive scale, with more water, larger cubic space in Barracks & Hospitals, more complete ventilating arrangements, more constant attention to sanitary police. The plans for Barracks will not of course, do for India. There they should be raised much more above the ground - & have but one sleeping floor.
Copies are being sent out by the I.O. to India - But you might not notice them, in the press of business.

I will not call your duties hard, because for your great man & mine, nothing is hard.

I am very sorry that our part of the work was not ready, as soon as your Presidency Commission was ready. But the fact is, we should never have got a start at all, if Sir John Lawrence had not given us one before he left England. Even since that, we have been hopelessly floundering between the vague & confused jurisdictions of War Office, India Office, Horse Guards at home, Commander-in-Chief in India; - now about such a matter as this, the victualling of troops on board ship going out to India, it seems for the first time to have struck them that it might be better, if each Office knew what it had to do. Sir John Lawrence acts & does not wait. But these people wait & do not act.

But as I can say, Sir John Lawrence himself can hardly tell what an impulse his appointment has given us - the first we have had since my dear master, Sidney Herbert, died. And I could not explain it, without a much longer letter than I can write or you would read.

Of course you will consider this, & any letter I may in future trouble you with, as strictly between yourself & me, & him, if you choose it.

You cannot tell what his appointment, his work, his & your news are to me. This is worth living for.

I envy you your work -

God bless & prosper it - I hope you are keeping his health all right -

Your faithful servt
(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

C. Hathaway Esq.
COPY

32 South Street, W.
April 2/64

Private

My dear Sir,

I cannot say how much obliged to you I am for sending me your various news - & the pamphlets, “Calcutta & its Health Officer” - & “Our Bazaar.”

This “Calcutta” pamphlet shews conclusively that the first thing to be done is to appoint the Officer of Health & to organize such a system of cleansing, removing & prevention of nuisance under his advice, as the local authority may think adequate for getting rid of the terrible but removeable causes of disease, which are shewn to exist.

Do not wait for any works being done by the Municipality. It will take years before such works will tell on the Public health. Cleansing can begin at once; and the Officer of Health should be required to proceed at once with his duties. Calcutta is getting used up from neglect of Sanitary works & precautions. And, unless the authorities proceed vigorously to work, it will become too unhealthy to be inhabited, & will have to be deserted as Rome was before the time of Gregory the Great, a state which Rome has never recovered.

I shudder when I think of the priceless lives, the irreplaceable energies, now in the power of Calcutta & her abominations which you have hitherto had no public housemaids to sweep & clear away except indeed the jackals.

I was very much obliged to you for Sir John Lawrence’s Minute on the Commissariat Report, which Report we have yet seen. I asked a Member of Council at the Ind. Off. here to lend me the Report itself - But he assured me that they had not seen either the Report, or the Governor Genls or Sir C. Trevelyan’s Minutes upon it.
Whether this is true or not I have scrupulously kept private whatever you have been so good as to send me - But I would ask you for the future, might I shew what you send me to Lord Stanley, the Chairman of our R. India Army Sanitary Commissn.

ever yours truly

(Sgd.) F. Nightingale

Dr. Hathaway
ff141-41v, undated, maybe in Dr. Sutherland’s hand, appears to be a rough draft for ff142-43, original FN Museum, black-edged paper typed copy of signed letter, ff142-43

f142 {archivist: (Original lent by Rev. J. Hensley)}
COPY Private 32 South Street,
       Park Lane, W.
       April 11/64

My dear Sir,

You have now to fight the battle in India which has been fought in England. And your newspaper Articles & letters shew that you are quite up to the work.

The great point, as far as Calcutta is concerned, is to make the Municipal authority do its duty. The Officer of Health must also be kept up to his work. There should be some Officer to whom complaints are to be made. The Officer of Health should only report to this authority, which authority should be charged with executing works & abating nuisances. Every municipal authority in England has its Engineers & Surveyor, its Inspector of Nuisances with his cleansing staff, & its Officer of Health.

And over all is placed a Health Committee selected from the Town Council. The proceedings are governed by bye-laws.

It is quite evident from the papers you have so kindly sent that greater precision in the working of the machinery is required at Calcutta. What they want is system; and the relationship & duties of the different Officers should be duly laid down.

Under a proper system very few complaints should be necessary.

As regards the dead of Calcutta: - they should either be disposed of below the city at high-tide or in another branch of the river, as suggested. There must be plenty of wood in the Sunderbunds for cremation. And if you have to supply it to the poor, it would be nothing more than is done in England, where parishes bury the dead poor at public expense.

Could you not contrive some machinery for stopping the dead descending from the Ganges, & either burning or burying them above Calcutta? Under a general system whereby the State found wood for the poor, the evils might be perhaps best remedied. [end
ever yours most truly
(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE
Dr. Hathaway
COPY  Private  32 South Street, W.
        April 18/64

My dear Sir,

    Many thanks for Mr. Strachey’s first Minute, x which is excellent, & lays a good foundation for a great work.

    It is well that the Bengal Commission of Health should take account of how Municipalities do their work; uniformity of system will in this way be introduced, and the authorities will have the certainty always before their eyes of any neglects being made public.

    There is a question of great importance raised in the Minute, viz. the relation which should exist between the Police & the Sanitary administration.

    Our experience here is as follows: -

    In the city of London, Police & Sanitary powers are virtually lodged in the same body -

    In the Metropolitan parishes, Sanitary powers are exercised by the vestries, & the Police is under the Home Office.

    But in neither case is there any relation between the Police & the Sanitary authority. Every thing relating to the Public Health is done by separate organization, which is found to be essentially necessary for success.

    The Sanitary authority has its own separate staff of Inspectors for cleansing, nuisances, markets, building, paving, sanitary state of houses &c. And these Officers are held responsible for the perfection of sanitary arrangements within their jurisdictions.

    x of March 5/64
These are all in addition to the executive Officers engaged in sewering & draining. (London is supplied with water by private companies - otherwise there would be also Inspectors of water supply.)

Every parish outside the city has its own staff, so that the work over 2½ millions of people is done by subdivision. All informations are laid before magistrates, & all orders, for “abatement” (of nuisances) proceed from the magistrates. And yet the Police is never called in. Its functions are quite different & relate to public protection simply.

Before you legislate anew for Calcutta, you might wish to consider this matter - to make your Municipality work by Committees on a somewhat similar plan to that here. (i.e. provided you can have proper men) - to make your laws & bye-laws define distinctly the nature of the Inspectorial & of the executive duties, in order to prevent incompetent Committees (if such must be) from fettering the hands of efficient Inspectors.

There would, of course, be no objection to having the police & sanitary work all under one administration - but the important practical point is that there is no necessary connection in their respective duties and that the sanitary administration should be complete & efficient in itself.

In haste

ever yours most faithfully

(Sgd.) F. Nightingale.

Dr. Hathaway.
any public dept. I obtained them privately. At the same time, if any benefit can be derived from the facts being made known in a general way I see no objection to a brief description clothed in different language and omitting all names of the party to whom addressed being published in the Times or in any other journal. This is left entirely to your own discretion. There is a great difference believe me publishing a letter “literatim and verbatim” to giving the mere facts or outline of whatever requires notice and condemnation. It is indeed strange how such revolting, cruel and barbarous practices as here described cd have been pursued for years in the metropolis of India by govt officials under the very eyes of different viceroys, living on the spot.

2. I forget whether I told you in my last letter that a “counter blast” or reply to the report of the Royal San Com on the India Br Army has been prepared by the Mil Dept and submitted. Without actually denying that 6 percent is the reg mortality when taken on the average of past years, they contend that it is not a fair way of selecting the present mortality, or rather that the recent mortality (which was as low as 2 percent for 1863) shd only have been given.

I find the same difficulty with reference to my late Dept, of Jails. The Supt and officers in charge and even inspectors in some provinces such as Bengal and the NWP argue that death from cholera shd be excluded -often go further and say that every case of death above 60 or of worn out and feeble men shd be excluded as well as all accidents proving fatal. My reply is “we wish to know how many deaths really occur. You may give any amount of expl or details in a footnote you like, but the fact remains the same that 46,000 prisoners have died within the walls of our Indian jails, within the last decade!” This in many instances is really converting a sentence of ‘brief imprisonment into one of capital punishment if any portion of the mortality was preventible as I maintain it is. The mortality in the Punjab jail under my mgt from 1853 to 1863 gives an average of 4 percent, while in Bengal it is 10 percent. Why shd there by this difference? The classes being in each case precisely the same.

I will send you a copy of our report, the new Prison Committee, by an early mail. It is being now printed.

ff152-52v appear to be a draft of ff153-53v
My dear Sir,

I am extremely obliged to you for your letter of May 3 - & for its enclosure (Minutes on Calcutta Jail) - & especially for your good news of Sir John Lawrence’s health.

[9:295]

Your account of the Military Department reply to the Indian Army Sanitary Report is much what we thought it would turn out to be.

The whole question at issue is simply this: “what is a fair formula of mortality?” The Registrar General’s Department & the Royal Commission say that, the longer the term of years you take (within limits), the safer you are - simply because the law by which men die everywhere is not ruled by days, months or years, but by “epochs”.

If any one says that the epoch should coincide with one, two, three, five years, he simply shews that he has not sufficiently studied the subject to give an opinion.

The Registrar General’s Office & the Royal Commission in making up the Table 10. page lxxxviii for their Report, Vol. I, used all the Annual Tables at their disposal. (It is rather hard to be blamed for not using what they could not get. Altho’ they applied to India for tables subsequent to 1856 & suspended their proceedings for a whole year to wait for these, none were sent subsequent to 1856.)

It is no reply to the Commission’s Tables to adduce years subsequent to 1856. They should shew that the Returns used for Table 10 are either incorrect or improperly used.
COPY

I could not help laughing at your critics who “exclude” specific diseases, such as “Cholera” accidents “proving fatal” &c.

(It is very convenient indeed to leave out all deaths that ought not to have happened, as not having happened. And it is certainly a new way of preventing preventible Mortality to omit it altogether from any statement of Mortality.)

Then they would “exclude” “deaths above 60”. Their principle, if logically carried out, is simply to throw out all ages & all diseases; & then there would be no mortality whatever.

It is clear that all ages & all diseases must be included in every set of Mortality tables; & then, by comparing the whole population at each age with the Deaths at each age, an estimate of the Mortality will be gained.

I wait with impatience the copy of your Report, (the new Prison Committee) which you kindly promise me.

Mr. Strachey’s Minute on the Calcutta Jails exposes a state of horrors altogether inconceivable - & which, if known, would make a great outcry. You should have a fully detailed Report drawn up, with plans shewing what the Jail is - the length, width & height of its rooms - the number of inmates in each - the cubic space & superficial area per prisoner - the state of the fittings, bedding! drainage, latrines &c. - with proposals for abolishing utterly the present state of things, & introducing a better one to meet our day’s requirements. If you like to send us any plans, we shall be only too glad to get for you every information & practical assistance possible in improving them.

Since I began to write, I have to thank you for the Third Section of Mr. Strachey’s Cholera Report. I have only had time to glance at it. There is much experience in England about cholera which might be useful in India. (Dr. Budd’s paper is of no practical value, & does not represent the present amount of experience. It is purely theoretical, & by a man who has seen little of the disease.) I think we could have improved the practical Instructions in some important particulars. [end 9:295]

With all good wishes, believe me yours very truly
(To Dr. Charles Hathaway.)

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.
My dear Sir John Lawrence,

Thank you a thousand times for your great kindness in writing to me - you, whose hands and head are fuller than those of anyone on earth.

I rejoice to think that, by this time, Lady Lawrence and your daughters are with you, to take care of you - And I do not at all agree with you (nor, I am sure, do they) that it will be “a sad sacrifice to them.” It is anything but a “sacrifice” to be with you. It must have been a great sacrifice to keep away.

There is only just time to write by this mail, to ask you a question - And, if it is an impertinent one, you must lay the impertinence entirely on me - I believe Lord Stanley is at this moment asking the same question of Sir Charles Wood -

Would you not think it well that papers, which involve sanitary principles of permanent importance (and which involve also expenditure of money) - such as, e.g. Col Crommelin’s paper on the Construction of Hospitals, dated Simlah, August 15, 1864, - his former paper or similar things as to Barracks - many, perhaps all of the papers emanating from the most able and energetic Bengal Sanitary Commission - and still more, the papers of the less-skilled other Presidency Sanitary Commissions - should be sent home officially through Sir Charles Wood, to the home (“Barrack and Hospital Improvement”) Commission?
I should not like any request of this sort to be made by Lord Stanley to Sir C. Wood, (especially at my instigation) without your having cognisance of it.

My reasons are as follows for this request: -

Every body here who knows anything about the matter - knows that what is to be done (in Sanitary matters, as in many others) must be done in your time - that, but for you, but for your strong personal view of the importance of Sanitary measures, - the Sanitary Commissions would be - - - - nowhere - that Mr. Strachey, e.g. in spite of his great abilities, knowledge, and energy in these things, depends upon you for his support. -

((I have just now had a very kind note from Sir C. Wood, (not on this matter). His statesman-like experience no one can doubt. But his knowledge in our things is nil. He is continually blindfolded by the most superficial statements, because ignorant himself (in these matters). Yet his good-will is with us, entirely.))

For such things as the bond of connection between the Presidency and Home Sanitary Commissions - it does not do to depend upon the life of one person, the goodwill of another, upon etc., etc., They should be done, if at all, regularly, officially.

No undue control (by us upon you) could be entailed by a regular official, sending home of all such papers as I have described, before being sanctioned, to the home Sanitary Commission for revisal.

On the contrary, I believe, as so much of the control, in
money matters, is vested in the home India Govt., we might materially assist you in obtaining authority for expenditure in these matters. -

Still more will this be the case, when present authorities and influence have changed hands. [end 9:214]

I will not prolong this unreasonably long letter, because you, more than any man on earth, will know whether this proposition is feasible or desirable. I will not therefore waste your time in urging it.

I thankfully acknowledge the great progress, due entirely to you, made in sanitary matters for our soldiers in India. I acknowledge it publicly with all my (small) might. I deplore their own excesses which, in may climate, would bring their evil results. But even these you have materially diminished, by giving them manly employments and amusements -

But much remains to be done - especially all the draining and water supply works which are, in the want of them, as they were. All depends upon you -

Altho’ there is no doubt that mortality has diminished, as it ought to have done, (thanks to you!) - yet I do not lay the same stress, as some do, on temporary and local diminutions of Death rates. Numerical records, made for short periods, are usually in excess or in deficiency, as to sickness and mortality. so that no general law can be educed from them. From such a method Sierra Leone and all the stations on the West Coast of Africa, might be shewn to be amongst the healthiest place in our foreign possessions. And this kind of reasoning pervades the whole of Dr. Leith’s Report, (which, I may mention by the way, has been submitted by Sir C. Wood to the Home (Sanitary) Commission.)

With my warmest Christmas greetings, and prayers that the invaluable life spent in “goodwill towards men” - may we not say, like, in it sown measure, to our Almighty Father’s “good will”? - may be strengthened and long spared for a blessing to men, believe me, dear Sir John Lawrence, (in some trepidation at my audacity in writing to you) yours ever most respectfully and gratefully

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE
My dear Sir John Lawrence,

I always feel it a kind of presumption in me to write to you - and a kind of wonder at your permitting it. I always feel that you are the greatest figure in history, and yours the greatest work in history, in modern times. But that is my very reason. We have but one Sir John Lawrence.

Your Bengal Sanitary Commission is doing its work, like men, - like martyrs, in fact. And what a work it is! All we have in Europe is mere child’s play to it - Health is the produce of civil-ization - i.e. of real civilization. In Europe we have a kind of civilization to proceed upon. In India your work represents not only diminished Mortality, as with us, but increase of energy, increase of power, of the populations. I always feel as if God had said: mankind is to create mankind. In this sense, you are the greatest creator of mankind in modern history.

Your Bengal Commission must be the model of the other Presidency Sanitary Commissions. I see that, on the Bombay one, is no Civil member. And so far as I know of its proceedings, it seems to direct its attention not so much to sanitary works as to matters of ordinary police. Now the main business of your Sanitary Commissions should be: construction, not police. Improvement in India mainly depends on works (police regulations are, of course,
necessary).

2. Would there be any impropriety in your Sanitary Commissions sending copies of their printed Minutes to the Barrack and Hospital Improvement Commission here, through the India Office - merely for information? As far as your Bengal Commission goes: these men don't want urging; they have not now to be taught. Anything which might even appear to interfere with the responsibilities of your Commissions, unless at their own request, is not only undesirable, but, as far as the Bengal Commn. is concerned, useless. But if you saw no objection to sending the Minutes for information to the War Office Commission here, I am sure they would very much like it ...

or, if that would be too formal and official, (as regards the India Office here) if they, the Minutes, might be sent to me, with permission to shew them to one or two, such as Lord Stanley, (our late Chairman of the Royal Commission), Dr. Sutherland, Capt. Galton, of the War Office, etc.) it would answer the same purpose.

The India Office here does not shew now the least jealousy of the Barrack and Hospital (War Office) Commission. On the contrary. One can scarcely help smiling at the small things it is glad to throw off its responsibility for upon said Commission.

3. There are three glaring (though lesser) evils in Calcutta about which I know you have been employed - lesser tho' they are - and your attention and Dr. Hathaway's have been aroused by them. These are:

(1) the Police Hospitals (or state of Hospital accommodation)
for sick poor at Calcutta. The police establishments seem about as bad as possible. Indeed the poor wretches are brought in mostly to die.

The Parisian system of relief is very good: every Police Station at Paris has means of temporary help in cases of emergency until the sufferers can be removed to hospital. Some such arrangement, with a thorough reform of the Hospitals, and such additional accommodation as may be wanted, might meet Calcutta's case.

(2) the condition of Jails and Lunatic Asylums in India. Certainly it is not for me to draw your attention or Dr. Hathaway's to this. Probably he knows more about them than any man living. The reports and recommendations of one or two of the Jail Inspectors shew that they want experience: as I am sure Dr Hathaway will agree with me.

Perhaps we might help you by sending out such Reports on the subject as may be useful.

(3) the seamen at the Great Ports. You have already done so much. But Rome can't be built in a day.

Bad water, bad food bought in Bazaars, and bad drinks, cause a vast amount of disease and death.

Self-supporting Institutions, such as our Sailors' Homes, (of which indeed I believe you have already founded more than one) would give the men wholesome food and drink - and lodgings and day rooms at little cost.
So many men perish for want of this kind of accommodation at Calcutta, where the evil seems greatest.

It seems to me so base to be writing while you are doing. Oh that I could come out to Calcutta and organise at least the Hospital accommodation for the poor wretches in the streets. There is nothing I should like as much. But it is nonsense to wish for what is an impossibility.

I am sure that you will be glad to hear that one of my life-long wishes, viz., the nursing of Workhouse Infirmaries by proper Nurses, is about to be fulfilled. By the munificence of a Liverpool man, (who actually gives £1200 a year for the object, but desires not to be named) we undertake next month the Liverpool Workhouse Infirmary (of 1000 beds) - the first Workhouse that ever has been nurtured - with 15 Head Nurses, trained by ourselves, and a lady (Volunteer) Matron, who underwent a most serious course of training at our Nurses School at St. Thomas’ Hospital, 15 Assistants, and 52 ex-pauper women whom we are to train as Nurses.

I am sure it is not for us to talk of civilization. For I have seen, in our English Workhouse Infirmaries, neglect, cruelty, and malversation such as can scarcely be surpassed in semi-barbarous countries. And it was there that I felt I must found a school for Nurses for Workhouses, etc. The opportunity has come too late for me to do the Workhouse Nursing myself - But, so it is well done, we care not how.

I think with the greatest satisfaction upon your re-union with Lady Lawrence and (some of) your children.

God bless you.

I am yours devotedly

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

P. S. The Calcutta Municipality does not seem yet to have {it says seen} wakened up to a sense of its existence. It does not know that it exists: Much less, what it exists for.

Still, you are conquering Indai {it is so misspelled} anew by civilization, taking possession of the Empire for the first time by knowledge instead of by the sword.
My dear Sir,

I hoped to have told you by this mail of the completion of the standard plans &c. required by Sir John Lawrence. But the lithographs only came for the lithographers on Saturday night last.

I scarcely know whether it is worth while to trouble you with the following little incident: -

I hear from the Horse Guards that they “were perfectly aware of Sir J. Lawrence’s application (for these plans &c.) & of the delay - but that is it Sir J. Lawrence’s only interest (sic) while the War Office is pressed by a thousand.” (sic)

To which I responded: -

that it is not, because the overworked War Office has not time to attend to the underworked Viceroy that the delay has arisen - it is because the India Office has used, not once but every week for 6 months, the pretexted jealousy of the India Govt. in India, supposed to be entertained of the India Govt. at home, as an excuse for not sending out what the head of that very Govt. in India asked for - that all might have been settled (but was not) by a verbal understanding between the War Secretary & India Secretary in two minutes- [9:299]

but that nothing was done, nor would ever have been done, had it not been for (Mr. Strachey’s) a printed Minute from India (April 5) [end 9:299]

that the greatest living administrator, who rules one tenth
human race, in whose hands are the destinies of 120 millions -
territorial, judicial, legislative, international, communication- al -
in endeavouring to bestow upon his 120 millions, for the first time,
civilization & health, has been foiled by the torpor & self-
sufficiency of a petty War Office, which rules over at most half a
million, -
& with the case with which soldiers are ruled over, compared with races - & that then he is to be told that the War Office has no
time to attend to him! & his “one only interest”!!
You will use your own judgment as to telling this little story to Sir J. Lawrence. Great men smile at what is “aggravating”
to little ones. Otherwise it is no use giving him one moment’s useless irritation.
Did it ever occur to you - what would Christ have done, if Christ had had to work through Pilate!
Yours sincerely
(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE
(To Dr. Charles Hathaway)

I beg to acknowledge with many thanks your letter of June 27 and which I ought to have acknowledged before but I find it hard to et a leisure hour from one week to another. The viceroy has received the Suggestions for Sanitary Work in Indian Returns and would have written to you by this mail but for the sad loss he has just experienced in the death of his nephew Sir Alexander, the eldest son of good Sir Henry Lawrence. His death was a fearful one. He was on an expedition into the interior with his uncle travelling in horseback along a mountain road leading to Thibet and Chinese Tartary. The path is only wide enough for mules and at places it is built out from the side of the mountain or under galleries supported on wooden beams or stanchions set into the solid rock.

On Saturday morning last they started from one of the little travellers’ outhouses, Sir Alex leading & out of sight of his uncle Col Lawrence as the road turns a twist very abruptly. The latter heard a crash as of falling timber & thought it was a tree being cut down, but on proceeding a few yards further he saw Sir Alex dog looking down a chasm in the middle of the road & whining piteously. He then knew what had happened. His nephew had ridden onto one of those wooden galleries. The tunnel in the centre gave way & man & horse went down as though a trap door 200
feet. Death was instantaneous, no cry or moan was uttered. The place was so difficult of access & the precipice so steep that 3½ hours elapsed before they brought up the body. One fearful gash into the brain on the forehead showed how he had fallen. The horse was dashed in pieces - singular to say. Two gentlemen had crossed the same spot a few hours before & all their hill porters with baggage had passed also over the gallery in safety. The fractured portion of the timber showed that the wood was rotten and the concussion caused by the quick trot of the horse had caused it to give way. They buried the poor fellow that evening in the Simlah graveyard, every one of the community being present including the viceroy & Commander-in-chief with all their staff. Our one consolation is that he was prepared to meet his God His last act was to put his bible and prayerbook into his saddle bags before mounting. He had been reading praying up to the very moment of mounting his horse. But the blow to his poor illeg & young girl with a little baby not 6 months old was as you may suppose crushing. He was universally beloved & had intended retiring from the Civil Service & entering the Church at the end of this year. That there was mercy, great mercy, shown by our Heavenly Father, had his wife been riding with him as she intended both must have perished and of the two he was the one fittest “to depart” & be at rest.

F160 FN note: To be returned to F.N.

I see that both the Calcutta jail & the Hooughly Fever Home have been noticed in the House of Commons, that poor India gets scarcely her fair share of notice at home and Indian questions seem to be noted a bore and when discussed in Parliament act as provocative to hunger & drive the honourable members tot he dinner room. Mr strachey is knocked up and the whole sanitary commission have suffered more or less during the present season in the city of Palaces and - Sir John Lawrence has quietly asked him to come in here to recruit his health.

I am afraid that medical men are looked upon generally both in the Army and out of it as very officious Reformers and hence there is a wide gulf between them and the combatant branch of the Service. Generals commanding division or colonels of regiments do not like the “imperium in imperio” or to be told that the opinion of a doctor is to be taken before a hospital can be built or a new cantonment marked out. Otherwise it is difficult to account for the opposition evinced to sanitary commission or officers of health. I believe that no man but John Srachey could have kept the Calcutta Commission up to its work as he has done. If a medical man had sent out the graphic nervous reports he has done he would have been illeg down or f161 forced to resign. But I see an attitude of antagonism assumed by all the military authorities who are watching for an opportunity to catch him - tripping and going beyond his powers that have been given him. They especially dislike the commission publishing their “Minutes” whereas without public notice being taken of what is faulting no reforms can be
expected.

But oh bad as the physical condition of Calcutta is her moral state is ten times worse. I venture to enclose an article from the "Bengal illeg" in a Calcutta daily paper of August 2 written by the editor on the spot & one who I know would not colour the facts in the slightest. If you thought that the great "Thunderer" would notice the hopes that the London society for reclaiming these poor fallen sisters would organize a branch House of Refuge by sending out an agent I could promise them ample encouragement from the Samaritans of our metropolis.

I scarcely like that your eyes shd read the extract but you are truly the soldier’s friend & here is a British soldier illegs...

The worst part of the case is that the deceased soldier after illegs
My dear Sir,

I have to thank you for your letter of Aug. 31. It was melancholy news indeed about young Sir Alick Lawrence. One expects so much from every human being, born a Lawrence, that it seems as if a career of public usefulness had been cut short - But how much sadder it is when there can be no regrets for this world’s loss, no hopes for another world’s future -

I forwarded your terrible newspaper extracts (about the fallen in Calcutta) to the editor of the “Times.” (He was away on his holiday; but his substitute promises to make use of them, without any mention of your name.) But any movement must begin at Calcutta. Every step taken here has only proved the inadequacy of the means to deal with the evil. And any energetic agent taken from London might not be suited for India. The native caste question would interfere also, where vice is followed as a recognised profession.

You could do most good probably with European women who have been connected with the Army.

You will be shocked when I tell you that, in this Christian country, Portsmouth & other garrison towns could match, in some (not of course all) of its most repulsive features - the horrible instance you have given from Calcutta.

I have my own convictions about this dreadful evil. I do not believe that any “Contagious Diseases Prevention” Acts, any Lock Hospitals, Medical Police Regulation, or special agencies for
reclaiming fallen women will do much good - though all means should be tried, except those which are immoral, as I believe Medical Police Regulation to be.

To put down brothels & brothel-keepers & all public prostitution, with the utmost rigour of the law (which is far from being done in England) - to raise the moral state & tone, by degrees - of the nation - & in the Army to give every facility for employment, recreation & respectable marriage, to the soldier - these I believe to be the only real means against the evil.

I was glad to hear that Sir John Lawrence had received the Practical “Suggestions” for Indian sanitary works. And we shall look forward with great interest & anxiety for the first signs of practical works & measures being carried out. About enough has been written. The time is now, to get the thing done. This is the work of the Government executive authorities: and, if taken in hand, it would render any publication of Minutes less necessary. Some of the early Minutes contained things which might have given umbrage. But the last batch, which is simply a record of proceedings, contains nothing that anybody need feel offended with.

As to the “Imperium in Imperio” - there must be some mistake. According to the Army Medical Regulations, all the Medical Officer can do is to give his opinion to the Commanding Officer. The authority & responsibility of the Commandg. Officer are positively intact. They are the same as they ever were.

Believe me ever

Your faithful servt

(Sgd.) FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

I quite agree with you about Mr. Strachey. I only hope his health will be preserved. He would be irreplaceable. Dr. Hathaway.

ff165-66v, embossed India Office, July 22, 1868, from Charles Plowden, re forwarding the Proofs of Sanitary Abstracts of Bengal
Thank you very much indeed for your kind recollection of me. I am going down to my mother’s this afternoon where the game will be very highly appreciated.

Dr. Bryden’s report on cholera is at last on its way to this office, I will forward you a copy directly it arrives. The sanitary report I sent yesterday only arrived last week, & till Madras & Bombay reports for 1868 are not yet here. I have commended an Abstract of the India Sanitary report and before long shd be at illeges.

ff171-72, March 28, 1870, re forwarding copies of various reports

ff173-76v, April 4, 1870, thanking FN for suggestions about alterations to be made in the Abstracts, and asking for advice about matters
ff177-80 embossed India Office, April 12, 1870

Thank you very much for your kind letter of illeg. Dr Sutherland has written a second time to Sir H. Baker entirely sympathizing in my difficulties about cholera reports and suggesting, like yourself, that valuable facts might be extracted from the monthly reports and other special ones. I have spoken to Sir Bartle Frere and Sir H. Baker

ff181-82v, June 4, 1870, Plowden sending copies of various reports

ff183-88 embossed India Office June 10, 1870

I enclose you the proofs of the Abstract of the Madras San Report for 1868 and take the opportunity of telling you how my work stands as regards the Sany blue book of 1870. The continuation of the preceding vols I have made ab

ff189-91v embossed India Office July 4, 1870

My dear Madam, I enclose now the proof of the “Abstract of the Madras Sany Report or 1868 and take the opportunity of telling you how my work stands as regards the Sany Blue Book for 1870. The continuation of the preceding vols I have made abstracts of the annual S Reports for 1868, from India, Madras and Bombay. Also of the Municipal & Health officers reports from the three presidencies for 1868. These I have all in progress and including the

ff192-95 embossed India Office July 14, 1870, enclosing the Proof of FN’s Memorandum for the Blue Book and asking where it should appear in that Book and asking permission to print another of FN’s papers

ff196-99v, July 26, 1870, sending more reports and reporting on progress

200-01v, August 1, 1870, sending a Proof of FN’s Sanitary Paper

ff202-03, August 5, 1870, sending FN the Proof of her letter to the Social Service Association for correction

ff204-05, August 13, 1870, discussing further revision of the paper

ff206-07, August 25, 1870, discussing the papers to be contained in the Sanitary Report

ff208-09, October 5, 1870, forwarding a copy of the Sanitary Blue Book for 1870 and asking how many copies FN would like

ff210-11v, October 12, 1870, Craigflower, Dumferline, N.B.
informing FN that her request for copies of the Blue Book would be forwarded to the India Office

ff212-18v, Simla, June 2, 1866, from Major Malleson, Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal, answering questions put to His Excellency by FN regarding sanitary questions in Bengal. Stylized printing

(f219 is blank)

f219v, Title page for Memorandum ff212-18

f220, June 3, 1866, rough draft for a letter to Major Malleson, not in FN’s hand, probably Dr. Sutherland’s, re the question of nurses in India

f221, about louvres for some windows

ff222-28, Delville, Simla, July 18, 1867, from Major Malleson to FN, thanking FN for her letter of June 3, and discussing the employment of nurses in military hospitals

ff229-30, Simla, July 6, 1867, a memorandum discussing the sanitary administration in India

ff231-51, Fort William, June 10, 1867, printed extract of the Proceedings of the Governor General in Council with notes by FN, photocopied

f250
[at bottom next to printed 20 Nurses.]
No Assistant Nurses
None but Head Nurses.
F.N.

[next to und head nurses, and nurses]
Never. I
Never said that there should be any
but Head Nurses
in military Hospitals
or that there should be Nurses at all except in General Hospitals.
F.N.

has FN note on f251 re ests of # of sick, and that depots occupied only 6 or 7 months a year:
“Certainly. This is a reason for not putting nurses in Convalescent Depots at all. FN.
"I would not put Nurses in Convalescent Depots at all. FN

and re regimental hospitals:
We never put nurses in Regimental Hospls, not in Crimea. F.N.

I have expressly stated that, neither in England nor in India,
are Female Nurses desirable for Regimental Hospitals.
In none have I ever places Nurses.
F.N.
At end, at “In Calcutta alone can the scheme of nursing now proposed be carried out in Bengal.” and this is [illeg] contradicted at p 35 Para 15 and the C in C prefers Allahbad. FN

What is wanted is to send [red pencil] Superintendents & 4 Head Nurses After this let them propose the method in India. All these discussions beforehand are waste of time & paper. And every one of them contradicts the other. There are not two who agree.
F.N.

ff252-53v, rough draft of letter to Major Malleson, in JS hand
Major Malleson
Sir, I have read over the papers you sent me about he introduction of trained Nurses for Indian Hospitals, and also the decision of the Government of India negativing your proposal. If you will refer to my reply made at the request of the Secretary of the Bengal Santy Commission of illeg 21st 1864 requesting me to send out suggestions for the organization of trained nurses in India, you will find that while doing the best I could at a distance, and without local knowledge to illeg the desired information, I at the same time advised that a small tentative experiment should in the first instance be made and I offered to help on this. The cost would not have been very great and after reading over the proposal I still adhere to my opinion.
I never intended to rear up in the first instance an extensive superstructure of nursing, for all the military Hospitals. You have not half ....

F253 another pencil draft JS

I have received your letter with the printed enclosures about nursing in Indian Military Hospitals. I have received a letter from Sir John Lawrence on this same subject and as I have replied to him it is unnecessary that I should write anything further on the subject except to say that I never contemplated the introduction of a cut and dry system and that I strongly urged the necessity of beginning with a supt and a few nurses on trial. You have asked me for hints in improving your existing system of nursing, but from all I can learn from the papers sent to me, I shd say that you have no basis for improvement, and that I shall retain the opinion that you want trained nurses in India and that you shd begin on a small scale. This is the course taken
elsewhere and by the time you get this I hope that a small bad of
trained nurses (which you might have had) will have arrived at
Sydney to begin the good work there at the cost of the Colonial
Govt. The papers contain some odd mistakes on the whole subject.

In instance they appear to advocate trained female nurses in
Regimental hospitals and in convalescent hospitals, and they
advocate different grades of female nurses, e.g. assistant
nurses. The fact is that I have always opposed the introduction
of female nurses into any except general military hospitals and
the only nurses of any use in these hospitals are head nurses and
a supt. Excuse my pointing out these mistakes, although the illeg
has decided against improvement in nursing at least for the
present.

signed letter, ff255-57, pen

f255

Private  London September 26 1867

Dear Sir

Since I received your letter of
with its printed enclosures, I have
received a letter from Sir John
Lawrence on the same subject (the
rejection by the Govt of India of Female
Nursing in the Military Hospitals) And
I have therefore replied to him - It
is unnecessary therefore that I should
trouble you with any farther reply - And
it is only in acknowledgment of your
courtesy that I hazard the following
remarks in obedience to your desire.

(1) I do not read the Resolution of the
Govr Genl in Council Par. 2, as holding out
any prospect of the employment of
any other description of Nurses then
those who have hitherto been employed;
it only contemplates putting “existing
establishments” on a better footing -
I do not therefore see how I can follow
Major Malleson
the suggestion in your kind letter, & aid you in this - as I would so gladly do -
the extensive & (as I venture to believe)
impracticable scheme drawn up at the request of & rejected by the Govt of India, is not mine. In fact, the experience of my whole life would lead me to reject it; even more positively than the Govt of India has done. I will mention a few of the propositions, to which, as I have never consented, so I never could consent to, in any Establishments for which I was responsible:

E.g. 1. the employment of Female Nurses in Regimental Hospitals
or 2. in Convalescent Depots
or 3. the employment of Assistant Nurses or of any below the class of Head Nurses in Military Hospitals

Also, 4. women of such a class could never be found who would submit to such a degrading rule as being deprived of their “beer” as a “punishment”. And it would be useless to attempt the governing them except under a Lady Superintendent of their own - Of course if
women are to be treated as Female convicts
none but women of the class of female
Convicts would be found to come -
But it is useless for me to trouble you
with any more than these few examples
- since the scheme is not now in hand.
N. B. It is implied in one of the printed
papers that I successfully employed Female Nurses
in Regimental Hospitals in the Crimean
War. Never. I never employed Nurses
in any but General (Military) Hospitals
either in War or in peace.

(3) The chief objection urged in two papers
is that the scheme might interfere with
the “Ladies’ Committee at Calcutta”.
Again, in one of two papers by the
same hand, the unfitness of the “raw material”
to be procured in India is insisted upon
as an insuperable objection to the introduction
of female trained Nursing in Military
Hospitals in that country - unless at the
inadmissible cost of importing a whole
establishment of such nurses from England
- and it is urged that, even if that great
expence were incurred, the attempt must
fail because the services of such Nurses
could not be retained - that therefore
the attempt to introduce female trained Nursing must inevitably fail, in whatever way it might be tried, & therefore ought not to be made.

But in the second paper, we are assured, with equal confidence, that the nurses procured & trained in India “do sufficiently well” that they are not only spoken of “with almost uniform approbation by the Medical men, for the way in which the work is done in the Hospital” but are largely employed in remunerative private nursing - that “they combine with Hospital work the nursing of Sick Officers” and that “it may well be conceived how welcome to the sick a well-trained Nurse must be who understands what is said & can help them in their helplessness”. This in justification of a Resolution - not to employ - not even to entertain the idea of employing female trained Nurses, of any class or description, in any Military Hospital.

(4) I have never dissembled the difficulties (on the contrary, I have always urged even to pertinacity) that a small, well-considered beginning should alone be made
- tentative to be treated merely as an experiment at first -
but a re-statement of difficulties with which every one has long been familiar & which it is certainly much easier to succumb to than to combat & overcome - is hardly “the way to win”.
I should not have troubled you even with these few remarks, were it not that your (private) letter seemed to desire it & to ask for suggestions - But the only one which my life’s experience can justify me in making is what I have made before - viz. a small tentative beginning with Trained Nurses from England.

Pray believe me dear Sir
Yours most faithfully
Florence Nightingale

ff258-65, Delville, Simla, November 5, 1867 Private. from Major Malleson re his order to the printer to send a copy of his report for 1866 to FN and drawing her attention to the proposal to have a Sanitary Officer for each province, also thanking her for her remarks about Nursing and remarking about the difficulty of effecting change in the Governmental attitude in Sanitary matters

Dear Madam
I must apologize for allowing your letter of the 3rd September to remain so long unanswered (received it but did not want was starting an expedition into the interior and since my return have been very busy rearranging for my cold weather tour. My illegs//

f260 Sir John Lawrence left Simla last week up to the date of his departure he had I believe only heard that the proposed measure was under construction. I cannot doubt however but that it will be sanctioned and, in that case many of the evils more complained of must disappear. I ask your attention especially to the description of a Bengalle village by Dr Bose, himself a native of Bengal. He beautifully describes the inertia and want of energy of his countrymen. I feel confident notwithstanding that they may be made to change their nature in this respect. During my visits to the various towns throughout India nothing has struck me more than the eagerness with which the natives when once convinced of the value of sanitary measures, will adopt sanitary precautions. For a long time they continue obdurate to all illeg but when once the benefit of the proposed measure s has been placed convincingly before them, either by their being used by the European population or by neighbouring
towns of their own brethren, they give in at once and become enthusiastic. This is the case at Agra, also in many towns in the Punjaub, in which Mr Thornton told me the inhabitants themselves proposed that a rate shd be levied for sanitary purposes. In this respect, as in all others, Bengal, though our oldest possession is far behind the rest of the presidency.

With respect to your letter under acknowledgement lleges express my obligations to you for entering so fully into the subject and say how entirely I f262 agree with you on the general question of nurses. It is difficult however to see how much progress can be made in the cause at present in such matters, as indeed in all involving encroachment on the duties of others. Have obliged to act with great caution. A sanitary commissioner is, by some departments, still regarded as an intruder and you know how difficult it is to make way where departments offer even a passive resistance. In a time of war it is possible to ride over such opposition, but in peace I have observed the departments almost invariably reserve their powers. To make any way at all, then it is absolutely necessary that I should feel my way carefully, and especially refrain from proposing measures touching on the functions of other departments, unless I am confident of my ability to carry them. F263 It is one thing to expose abuses, that I would never shrink from, another to bring forward schemes of reform, the soundness of which might be disputed. Never will I shrink from responsibility, but I think the cause of sanitation would be injured, were the sanitary commissioner to bring forward schemes for which the official mind in India is not ripe. No one is better disposed to aid that cause than Sir J Lawrence, but there are others in council besides himself and his seat there is far from being a bed of roses.

I have ventured, in the same spirit of illeg with which you have addressed me, to point out the great difficulty which dogs the course of a sanitary commissioner in India. Nevertheless, notwithstanding this and others we are advancing slowly indeed, but still advancing. For my part, I entertain not the smallest doubt as to the future of f264 sanitation in India. If you can get the natives all over India to take it up in some parts, it will be safe forever. At present Sir John Lawrence is our bulwark and he will, as you know stay but one year longer in this country. I must look to you to endeavour to instill similar sentiments into his successor, whoever he may be.

I leave the next week for Calcutta stay there till February to be near the Gov general in February to proceed to the Punjab and inspect all the stations, esp those on the frontier in that province. I shall do myself the pleasure to send you a copy of my report of that inspection.

Meanwhile, in case you may be kind enough to communicate with me, I may task you to address your letters to the care of Calcutta as for some time I shall be

[fin]
The Lushington Judgment

I don’t at all see how people can say, “Why don’t the “essayists” leave the church.” They might as well say, “Why don’t the bishops leave the church.” Surely Dr Williams might equitably just as well prosecute the Bishop of Salisbury as the Bishop of Salisbury prosecute Dr Williams. No one can believe all the articles according to the letter, the because the letter is contradictory. An essayist may as well say to a bishop, “I interpret them this way” as a bishop to an essayist, “I interpret them that way.”

What seemed to me deplorable in Dr Lushington’s “judgment” was its tendency. I mean that it seemed to say (1) Think what you please, provided you don’t speak or preach it—as if I were to say, have the most distinct and correct idea you can upon the nature of cholera, but do nothing to cure or prevent cholera. (2) Its tendency seemed to be (of course I am not criticizing its law) to say “truth is nothing at all to the point; the character of God is not the question—that is not a religious question at all and does not signify here.”

No one it seems to me (as far as I can judge from the very little opportunity I have) that the few enquirers abroad and at home are just as much in the old story as ever, that the character of God is a mystery, one we are not intended to pry into, one which He has placed “beyond the reach of our finite faculties.” Perhaps they mistake “character” for “nature.” Yet I suppose for one enquirer into the character of God there have been a hundred into the “nature” of God.

You are so good as to enquire after the “stuff.” There has been nothing done to it (or about it) since you heard of it last, but my War Office life is drawing to a close and then, if I have any life left, I shall turn to the “stuff,” and if I do anything with it, it will be owing to your encouragement.

(It is a year today since Sidney Herbert’s resignation of

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1 The writers of Essays and Reviews, including Jowett.
office a fortnight before his death) and in one short year Sir G. Lewis has dragged down the War Office to the position of contempt, out of which Sidney Herbert was five long years in dragging it up, and through simply by letting the agencies work uncontrolled, against which Sidney Herbert’s official life was a continual struggle. It is a strange religion which makes it the greatest sin for Lord Palmerston to see a minister on business at 11:00 on Sunday morning, and which sees no harm at all in Sir G. Lewis correcting the proofs of the astronomy etc. or writing learned Latin squibs on Saturday with S. in the War Office, where the lives, moral and physical, of half a million of men depend upon him—and this in spite of Lord de Grey’s efforts. The War Office has never been at so low an ebb of intelligence, the Horse Guards at so high a flow of folly and insolence as now, at least not since the eight years time I have worked in the War Office. [Prince] Albert’s death was a very great loss to us. He exercised a moral influence over the Commander-in-Chief, keeping him in order, as Sidney Herbert exercised an administrative influence, and now that is all gone."

I have a few months more work to finish the Indian [royal] commission, which was to do for the Army in India what had been done for the Army at home—not that it will bear any fruit, for it will end in nothing but writing—the head and the heart are gone, which made that first five years’ work all active and nothing left than writing. After that I can, if I can, do anything about “the stuff,” I don’t mean literally, for I don’t believe I could. But I think I could teach it viva voce to a few working men. What I am so afraid of is that even if anybody would listen to it, it would lead to nothing but a philosophical school, not a religion. I should like to say to them, now it does not signify in the least whether you believe this or the reverse, unless you put it into practical truth in your lives, and I don’t know how to show them how.

If I were what I was eight years ago, I would have a Working Men’s Children’s School, like Mr Ellis’s, but, unlike his, to teach them all the laws of nature (known) upon this principle, that it is a religious act to clean out a gutter and to prevent cholera, and that it is not a religious act to pray (in the sense of asking). I have such a strong feeling that he who founds a soldiers’ club (to keep them out of vice) is doing more than he who teaches abstract religious truth, that I would not teach “the stuff” if I could do anything else practical, but I can’t now.

Why I think of the working man is that I would not try to call anybody out of any church or sect. Because I do not believe that any organization entailing any practical duty on men is better than none. This is not to say that I consider the Stuff a pis aller. In as far as it lays a grain of truth about the character of God that surely has immeasurably more importance than anything else.

I speak for myself: if it were not for the character of God
I should shirk work. I could not go on for the sake of mankind doing the immeasurably little I can for them, if I did not believe myself part of a plan by which God is doing immeasurably much for them. If I did not believe that God’s plan intended the ultimate perfection of every human being, that, if one of his laws were different from what it is, every individual on whom these laws seem to bear so hardly now would be less happy in eternity than he will be, I could not work. For otherwise it would seem as if I had been trying to work for God and He to thwart my work (I have often told Him so). He brought about the most extraordinary combination, one which could hardly ever happen again, by which a woman obtains all the practical knowledge of Army organization, and a Secretary of State is willing not only to listen to her, but to devote every instant of five years to it—and He breaks this up.

It is not on the temporary grief of separation, even supposing this to rise to any dreadful consequence you may imagine, that I wish to dwell, it is upon the physical and moral welfare of half a million of men put back by this event. Now nothing but a study of the character of God could make one think that still one’s little work was part of the infinite plan to bring everyone to perfect happiness, and that His is the only plan by which it can be effected. Therefore I think the study of his character must always be of the first importance to all. I hope you will be able to understand me if you get so far. I lose my own thread because I cannot now hold my pen for more than a few minutes at a time, but I always am, believe me yours most gratefully and ever lovingly

F.N.

I would not be supposed to mean that the cleaning out the gutters is to be all our religious acts. [missing words] might be some manifestation of our feelings towards our Creator, some religious “service,” in short whether a form of religious service I know not. I am sure I do not want any dissenting minister I ever heard to express out of his own head my feeling towards my Creator.

I am sure that it is a dangerous mistake the taking merely the negative, as my dear Clough did (though it was not dangerous to him) namely, not going to church, because you don’t like to hear that said to God without settling what should be said to God. I don’t want the “Stuff” to enter anyone’s mind without its having for a result to settle what to say to God, and I am sure I cannot do this, at least not for others. I don’t want the “Stuff” to enter anyone’s mind without improving his life. I always recur to the working religious orders as being the only people who have said: that is what we think God says to us; we are going to do it.

Now the only satisfactory result of this (or of any) “Stuff” would be to do something like that. The most religious mind I ever knew was that of a Roman Catholic reverend mother [Mary Clare Moore], who was so good as to go out with me to the Crimea.
After we came home I found her one day cleaning out a gutter with her own hands. I know she did it on no theory. I think she had much better have employed a man to do it, but that is what I mean by a true idea of religious life, and she the only Roman Catholic, too, I have ever known who never tried to correct me. But this [forming a religious organization] is just what I am not able to do, and therefore I have so little heart about the “Stuff.”

I do not understand the words freedom of thought (1) because I don’t see how anyone can prevent my thought being free (they can prevent my speaking or acting); (2) because I don’t know what good they could do me when they have “granted” freedom of thought, if freedom is the power of me over me, my thought is a very small portion of me; (3) I dislike the phrase freedom of thought altogether--freedom to think what is untrue I don’t want, freedom to seek of truth is the thing, and all the phrases, liberty, private judgment etc., encourage a fatal mistake, viz. that there is no absolute truth to be sought with all our might, to be found not by the efforts of one, but of all. I don’t want freedom to think my thoughts but freedom (or rather power) to find God’s thought.

One thing more: Dr Lankester, a medical man, has lately won the Coronership for Middlesex, a matter of great interest to me as a principle. I offer it is an illustration of what you say as to lawyers not being our best theological guides.

N.

F14 Jowett letter to FN Nov 9 [1862]

f16 Jowett letter to FN Dec 3 [1862]

f19 Jowett letter to FN

ff21-26 LETTER ON OXFORD UNIVERSITY PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE
DATED MARCH 1865, black-edged

f21

[2]
"been the starting-point & main propelling agency of modern cultivation".

Now, I think you are a `Prophet.' (in Spinoza's sense & J.S. Mill's & Ewald's) of the 53rd of Isaiah.)

My heart bleeds to see the sacrifice you have to make to `prophecy' to Oxford -- how she takes out x all she can, out of her `Prophet' & gives in nothing back, or as little as she can. I am afraid you feel as
if she were wearing you out, & as if

x I know so many women like that: who take all they can get
& give nothing back.

f21v you could might perhaps do more good elsewhere, with
a less amount of martyrdom.
But whom has Oxford but you? --
and what would she do without you? --
It is very shocking to see a great
Institution like that, -- the trainer of the
best brains in England, -- actually behind
the current ideas of those brains --
And, were she left to herself, what
would become of her?
I am sure, (if I were a `Prophet', instead of being a sweep,) I should `prophecy' about her, exactly as the Prophets of old, & Jesus Christ himself, did about Jerusalem -- "Behold, thou art become a laughing stock among nations" -- and "O Oxford, thou that killest the prophets & stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often he would have gathered thy children together x and ye would not" -- [And I am sure I do not mean to be profane in using those words.]

N.B. In putting a mark into Spinoza's 18th Chapter, I don't at all specify that you should not make yourself "intolerable" to "kings" -- nor that you should not "irritate," instead of "correcting" under-graduates, -- of which latter I do not anticipate immediate danger -- & to the former I should see no objection. But indeed our own royal family, while Albert lived, was perhaps before any family in the kingdom. So there was no object in making oneself "intolerable." [partially cut off at bottom: MEAN TO OTHER "kings" EVEN "pious ones"

"been the starting-point & main propelling agency of modern cultivation".

Now, I think, you are a `Prophet.' (in Spinoza's sense & that of the 53rd of Isaiah)

My soul is vexed to see the sacrifice you have to make to `prophecy' to Oxford -- to see how she takes x all she can, out of her `Prophet' & gives nothing back, or as little as she x I know so many women like that: who take all they can get out of this poor earth & give her nothing back.
can. I am afraid you feel as if she were wearing you out, & as if you might perhaps do more good elsewhere, with a less amount of martyrdom.

But whom has Oxford but you? — and what would she do without you? —

It is very shocking to see a great Institution like that -- trainer of the best brains in England -- actually behind the current ideas of those brains -- And, were she left to herself, what would become of her?

x Even had Dr. Stanley staid at Oxford, he is not fitted to be a leader. He has always subordinated his convictions to his affections {"I could not love thee, dear, so much "Loved I not honour more" {is not for him to say

I am sure, (were I a `Prophet', instead of being a sweep) I would prophecy against her, as the Prophets of old, & Christ himself, against Jerusalem -- and not profanely -- "Thou art become a [laughing-/gazing-stock among nations". And `O Oxford, thou that killest the prophets & stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often he would have gathered thy children together x and ye would not" --
N.B. In putting my mark into Spinoza's 18th Chapter, it is not meant at all as a warning that you should not, as a 'Prophet', make yourself 'intolerable' to 'kings' -- or that you should not 'irritate' undergraduates, instead of 'correcting' them. Of the latter I do not anticipate the remotest danger. To the former I should see no objection.

[But indeed our own royal family, while Albert lived, was perhaps before any family in the kingdom. So there was no object in making oneself 'intolerable'.] I mean: to other 'kings' -- 'even pious ones'. You should make yourself 'intolerable'.

I do assure you that, if I had not made myself 'intolerable' to the 'kings' of the India Council, I never should have got my 7 millions. One of the 'kings' told a friend of mine that, since I had put him on the R. Commission & he had had to stand by its principles, he had not had a moment's peace of his life.

Next time I want 7 millions, I shall give notice, as Ld Panmure does in the Ho: of Lords, that I mean to make myself 'intolerable' to 'kings', 'even pious ones', till I get it.

I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word.

[Ld Panmure's motion tomorrow night is against Sidney Herbert's measures. And he told a man privately (who told me) that he did not means "not to spare S. Herbert's memory". And we have no one but Ld de Grey to answer him!] [end 9:383]

The "irritator" of ye Under-graduates -- do you know I think that title quite Homeric? I wonder, if I were to direct to you by that title, whether
it would reach you -- [I have had letters from China & from native Hindoos in the interior of India, directed to me, the Queen of the Nurses, England]. I think I shall try. I don't mean it now in Spinoza's sense -- but rather, as he would call it, the "Corrector".

F27 Jowett letter to FN May 65

This letter was written 34 South Street, [printed address] after Mr. Jowett's visit to give her the sacraments Park Lane, London. W.

{FN'S HANDWRITING BEGINS:}

May 24/65
Dear Mr. Jowett
   God bless you for what you have done for Hilary Carter. It is the greatest comfort to her. She was so pleased with your letter.

It does make a great difference to my life to know that you are in the world. St. Paul would be ashamed of me as a follower -- to say nothing of our Lord. I am ashamed of
f30
myself --
   But you do do me good.
   I wish I did you credit.
   I hope no one, except
a Judas, will ever
be so near despair
as I have been --
   I have not spoken
to a hero of your
calibre since Sidney
Herbert's death
& Mr. Clough's & Albert's
except Sir John

f30v
Lawrence --
   And it is that
which does me good
-- to know that
you are in the world.
   Ever yours gratefully
   F. Nightingale
Are you going to turn
out Mr. Gladstone, by
way of doing him good?

ff31-32v LETTER ON BOSANQUET, BISHOP OF NATAL, MOHL PEN HANDWRITTEN
BY NIGHTINGALE

f31
June 1/65
34 South Street, {PRINTED address}
   Park Lane,
   London. W.

Dear Mr. Jowett
   I thank you very
much for your books.
   Is "G.W. Bosanquet",
now a subaltern in
the 85th, a pupil of
yours? He talks to
his men about Plato
& tells them they
don't do what Plato
would have them do, 
& don't realize
Plato's ideal of what
soldiers ought to be.

I realize what you
say of "being in such
good company always".
I am in such bad
company always --
specially my own
always fighting &

kicking these 4 years.
It makes all the
difference in life.
I should like, if you
would let me, to send
a little money towards
the Bp of Natal's fund
-- but should not like
my name to be given.
This is not out of
cowardice. I will
tell you the reason
some time, if I may.

I wish I could send
you something which
would give you half
as much pleasure
as what you send me.
M. Mohl sends me
sheet by sheet the
Proofs out of certain
works by the Atelier
Oriented printing-press,
which he is going
to desert after 26
years, because he is
thoroughly weary of it.

F34 Jowett letter to FN June 65
July 12/65
34 South street, {PRINTED address}
Park Lane,
London. W.

Dear Mr. Jowett
   My deepest reverence,
   my warmest sympathy
are yours.
   If you were happy, I
could part good friends
with life, after all -- tho'
that this world is hell;
that is, the lowest place
in God's universe, I do
assure you -- [on the best
authority.]
   I thank you very much

for the books -- & especially
for the Sermons. I will
keep Spinoza for a(n
unreasonable) time -- as
you are so good as to
wish it. But what is
the use of making it
mine? My heirs are
the War Office clerks -- Not
even my "pupils" would
take anything from me,
if they knew I read
Spinoza. One of them
wrote to me 12 pages,
beginning: "How is it
that while no one
denies your philanthropy,
every one doubts your Christianity?" -- to which I answered, with the utmost sincerity, that she was quite right in thinking me a very poor follower of Christ. And we have been the best of friends -- & she made me dispose of her life -- and she is now Matron of one of the largest & poorest & hardest Nursing Establishments in the Kingdom.

[Do your pupils write to you in that way? Or is

this exclusively feminine? Perhaps we have found out the "difference" between men & women.]

You are quite right in what you say of me. I mar the work of God by my impatience & discontent. I will try to take your advice. I have tried. But I am afraid it is too late. I lost my serenity some years ago -- then I lost clearness of perception, so that sometimes I did not know whether I was doing right or wrong
for two minutes together --
the horrible loneliness --
but I don't mean to waste
your time. Only I would
say that my life having
been a fever, not even
a fitful one, is not my
own fault. Neck or
nothing, has been all
my public life. It has
never been in my power
to arrange my work.
No more than I could
help having to receive
& provide for 4000
Patients in 17 days
(in the Crimean War)
and how easy that was
compared with what has

happened since! Could I
help -- in the two R. Commissions
I have served, in the 9
years I have served
the W.O. exclusive of the
Crimean War, my whole life
being a hurry: if the thing
were not done to the day,
it would not be done at
all. Nursing was a
good apprenticeship.
Patients won't wait to die,
or better, to be made to
live, and operations won't
wait till I am less in
a hurry. And my whole
W.O. work has been of
the same kind.
As in receiving & providing for 4000 patients in 17 days (and that was easy!), so in both the R. Commissions, in all my 9 years in the W.O., the work, and not of my own arranging -- must always be done to the day or not at all. Then what with the intolerable sleeplessness -- But I don't mean to excuse myself. I wish I could do better. But instead of that I think I do worse every day. I do think God "descending into hell" -- whatever that word may mean in the Creed -- is perfectly true in two senses: -- that God

making his world is God descending into hell -- & that to do his work does entail upon some people descending into hell. They deteriorate under it. Still it is their fault .......
Mine has been such horrible loneliness. But many women, maids of all work and poor governesses, have been more lonely than I -- and have done much better than I. I think if I had had one friend -- such a friend as you have been to me for the last
6 months -- I should not have been so wrong. But I am afraid it is too late now. Let us hope however that I should have been much worse without you.

The sermon which struck me so much was that one upon: God is loving -- God is just -- God is true -- & upon what a man might expect from God's friendship, if he did God's work, & lived in harmony with His laws. I think, if I had felt God loved me, I could have borne any thing. But I never could feel it. I am even more broken in mind than in body, tho' I don't think my mind ever was a strong one. Yet I believe I am willing now to do God's work anyhow & leave all the rest to Him.

I think the Elections are pleasing -- specially Mr. J.S. Mill's -- & Mr. Goschen's being at the head of the poll -- & Sir J. Acton's -- & Mr. Hughes', tho' I think he is a goose. I don't think anything of you at Oxford -- because you vote "genteel", like those wretched Lords. Unless, you have to fight your way up to the Polling=booth, & go in for the drinking & pelting & hooting, like a Briton, I think
nothing of you --
   Same for women: If your pupil, Mr. Williams, 
gives us the suffrage, 
tell him we must have the drinking & the hooting. Or we shall 
think nothing of it.
   How I wish I had the combative faculty. It is such a power to carry one through life. Some one said of Roebuck: he was qualified by his fight with the wild beasts of Sheffield to become member for Ephesus.
   How I wish I could qualify to be member for Ephesus.

You can't think how pleased I was with poor Lord Westbury's letter. They have been very hard to him -- a man with such an immense weight of responsibility, besides his Courts, & who has done so much good. He made a great mistake. But it was not what Hunt said it was. It was not what Bouverie said it was. And now the Ho: of C. pass a vote of want of confidence in him. It was not for his vices but for his virtues they have "no confidence" in him. The religious question
is at the bottom of their want of confidence -- & the electioneering question at the top. The opposition wanted to shew with what pure hands they went to the poll. And then the Liberals had to bid against them for high-mindedness. Only Ld Palmerston stuck firm. You say truly: Ld Westbury is but half-sincere. But how many of the majority against him were even "half=sincere", do you suppose? Do you think they were really in a flame against "corruption"? One of them, a Liberal: & one of the most high minded, was telegraphed up to London by a Q.C., his brother, who had returned Lord Westbury for Aylesbury & was angry because the Chancellor had done nothing for him. [He told me this himself.]

In 6 or 8 months, I prophesy, the Ho. of C. will be ashamed & sorry for what it has done. And I don't believe but that nearly every Chancellor has been worse than Lord Westbury. And none of them but believe it too in their hearts. Is that being "sincere"?

The only comfort is that
that good weak man/Lord Cranworth [archivist]
is now our Pope. If he
had not been, in a few
days it would have been
"penal" to "hope" that
every body would be saved.
And to what "penal"
settlement would you
have gone?
But I shall not go.
If I am asked, I shall
say, it is my "hope" that
they will all be -- the
reverse of saved -- specially

f44
your Hebrew Conservative/Pusey & {Pusey NOT IN FN'S HAND}
the Attorney General (Sir Roundell
Palmer) {Sir R. Palmer NOT IN FN'S HAND}

What is the reverse of "penal"?
pension?
Then it is my "hope" that I
shall have a good pension.
But I am really miserable
that I have lost my Pope.
ff45-49v LETTER ON DEAN'S POSITION AT CH. CH., "WELL-MEANING" PEOPLE, PLATO PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE, arch: To Mr. Jowett [Aug 1865.]

f45 {THE FOLLOWING IN PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

[2]
Don't make a joke about your being "Dean of Ch.Ch." If I could have lived to see you Dean of Ch. Ch. (tho' Deans are a thing I can't abide) I should have thought life worth having -- Whereas now?
I think Dante ought to have been whipped for complaining
"come sa di sale
lo scendere 'l salir ... per l'altrui scale"
I have to have my head

f45v
knocked against one stair. My legs broken against another -- & sometimes to be thrown from the top to the bottom & all down, 'other people's' stairs.
"It is all very well to dissemble your lode,
But why should you kick me down stairs?
And this brings me to [3:527-28] what you say:
that it is all custom & routine & eating & drinking like other people which does
the mischief in the world more than moral corruption.

And so it is. But that is just what I complain of {It is the routine which brings about the moral corruption.}

It was because Sir R. Airey ate & drank "like other people" that the Crimean Army was destroyed.

It is because Mr. Villiers eats & drinks "like other people" that the Workhouses are not reformed.

It is because Lord Westminster & the other great London proprietors eat & drink & don't look after their London properties, "like other people", (tho' they do look after their country properties) that London dwellings are what they are.

"Well-meaning" people are, of all others, the people I detest. If you could but exchange them for ill-meaning people, who will do the world's work, the world would be such a gainer.
Only that I am afraid you will think me an immoral woman (which I assure you I am not) I should say that with all my nun's education, I think very little of the sin commonly called immorality, compared with the brutal indifference, the stupid selfishness, the inexorable vanity (for really there is nothing inexorable but vanity) which make the world what it is. All of which may be combined with "good intentions" -- may be found in "well-meaning" people. [There is a man in the W.O. who (& especially his wife) is always saying to me that he did not "mean" to wound, worry, disappoint or 'kick me down-stairs.' And I always answer (only I am
obliged to be civil)
N.B. and he always says
this most particularly
when he does not
"means" to do anything.
   Oh do "mean" to
kick me down-stairs,
do wound me &
break my bones --
only do the work --
do the thing.]
I must hate "well
meaning" people.
Pray let me.       [end 3:528]

I was very much
interested in what you
told me about Plato.
I always read Mr.
Grote's books with the
greatest respect but
in perfect ignorance.
I no more know whether
I am reading fiction or
history than if I were
reading Lamartine's
Girondins. [Only rather
I do know Lamartine
is fiction.]
I am rather glad to know
that we need not read
Plato by the light of
Mr. J.S. Mill's philosophy
tho' I am Mr. Mill's
profoundest admirer.
If ever I open his Logic, the 2nd Vol., I can read straight through to the end or as long as I can. It is so amusing.
Believe me
ever gratefully yours
F. Nightingale

I thank you very much for your note just received. You know what I think about your preaching. [I won't deliver you up to the Bp. of London who says, in his Charge, that as God made you, & such as you, tho' God had better much better not have done it, we must put up with you.] But I can't bear to hear of your writing letters after your day's work. Pray don't do it for me. Don't burn the candle at both ends. You don't know what it is to come to a life where almost every minute is an effort merely to live.

F51 Jowett letter to FN Hilary’s death Sept 7/65
f53 Jowett letter to FN Sept 8/65

ff55-56 LETTER ON YOUNG MEN PEN HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f55 [To Mr. Jowett Sep. [1865.]

{THE FOLLOWING IN PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}
Mme Mohl says of the
educated young men of the present day (but she is speaking particularly of her German nephews)
"these young men are like little fish -- the least thing kills the good in them -- and they are neither good to eat nor to salt" "It's us old folk that feed the young on our vitals".
Do you say that of your "young men"?
As for me, I never saw one, at least not for the last 8 years -- nor never heard of one, at least not for the last 4 years -- So I am a bad judge. And before that I consorted with saw 50,000 "young men". But if any

one calls them of the Army -- Officers or Privates -- "educated young men", he knows nothing about it.

F.N.

With regard to "young women" -- tho' you despise your pupil's Atalanta in Calydon, allow me to observe that tho' Atalanta herself, tho' she is only a sort of a Ginn & not a woman at all -- yet there is more of reality, of character, of individuality (which is a stupid word) in her than in all the "young women" of all the Men Novelists I ever read --

with scarcely any exception.
But then she, Atalanta, is not a sound incarnation of any "social or economic
principle' -- is she?
   No more am I -- am I?

{WRITTEN IN PENCIL, arch: Repeats almost verbatim a letter to Mme Mohl -- 8 Sept. 1865

Swinburne’s Atalanta pubd 1865.
Also Mme Mohl had this year a German nephew Ottmar Mohl with her.

F57 Jowett letter to FN Nov 1865

f60 Jowett letter to FN illeg date

ff61-61v NOTES ON UPPER & LOWER CLASS WOMEN PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f61
   arch: c. 1865
It is nothing but 'bourgeois' the way in which women of the upper classes are sacrificed to
the merest colifichet.
I do think the best & the cleverest women
   I know are especially if Evangelical -- And they can
literally see nothing in life, nothing in the world, altho' they profess the contrary, but to leave
the world just as it is -- & to be what is
called good -- tempered & forbearing -- That
is their only virtue.
   Novels & Sermons have immensely
contributed to all this --
   You are disdainful to your pupil's
Atalanta in Calydon -- But I do assure you
Atalanta herself, tho' she is only a sort
of a Ginn & not a woman at all, has
more reality, more character, more individuality,
tho' that is a stupid word) than all the
women (heroines) in all the men's novels
that ever were written.
   But then she is not a sound incarnation
of any 'social or economic principle' -- is she? -- No more am I -- am I?
that only rolls its Juggernaut's car one
day in the week. - the other, every day in/the week.

One of these victims, a wife -- another, a
daughter -- actually told me, quite simply
& seriously, that she was quite aware
her husband in one instance -- her family
in the other, -- was much better without
her -- deteriorated, with her -- And yet she
went on just the same.

A very successful, & justly successful physician
once seriously told a sister, who had been
home, in order that the Devourers might
recover health & balance, which had
been lost in the process of devouring.
No one can devour with impunity.

This person was myself.

It is only in the lives of the upper class {CUT OFF}
that we see this. And I think
upper classes far more "bourgeois" {CUT OFF}
the lower & that this is one reason. There is nothing
"bourgeois" {CUT OFF}

one member woman of a family earning the bread
of the others, -- or in being sacrificed for it.

But
NOTES ON THE WORTH OF CREATING THE WORLD PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY FN
[3:185-87]

f62 [archvist: To Mr. Jowett]
I think this world is the lowest of God's places, therefore hell, for reasons which it would be too long to write & not worth reading if they were written -- probably only fancies.
You once said to me, that, if I could look out on the sea at Torquay, I should not think so.
But you mistake me.
We cannot conceive any earth more perfect or beautiful than this earth.
We cannot conceive any world worse or lower than this world (I think).
There are a multitude of writers who try to prove that there is on the whole more happiness than misery in this world. Lately, Froude, Stephen & others have tried again to vindicate the goodness of the Creator on this ground.
I conceive that this is the view of utter inexperience.
I think the Evangelical view of utter corruption & the election of a few is more in accordance with this fact.
Can we really say that this world would be worth creating if this were all?
Must we not rather say that, if it is, the wish of a good God, it is a dreadful mistake & that it bears on the contrary the marks of being the work of a Devil?
[I think it might even be proved that it is, the utter misery of this world, as it is, in combination with other evidence, that there is a good God, which makes the evidence of there being a continued existence?]

I appeal to the experience of one who has really seen the world as it is, London, Paris, not with the eyes of a girl of 17 in the upper classes, as they are called. Can a lower state of existence be conceived?

It is not the suffering that strikes me so much --

Indeed, I who have lived in Hospitals, should be far from saying that these impress me with the strongest idea of the misery of the world. On the contrary, I have seen more happiness in these than among people who drive in parks.

It is not the inequality of conditions which strikes me so much. If you look at the faces of ladies who drive in Parks or at those of the young men which you see thro' the windows in the Clubs of St. James' Street, I think they convey to you a very
opposite impression from that of happiness. It is not that this world seems to me other than the perfection of beauty: I desire no other. I can imagine no place more beautiful in heaven or earth than Scutari. And yet, what a hell it was!

It is that, if you come really to live in the world as I have, in London, in Paris, in the Army, among the Fellahs of Egypt among the peasants of Prussia, among the Ragged Schools of Old Pye, as it was among the struggling bread winning women of England, among the brutal beggars of Rome, educated & uneducated, it always strikes you -- was this world worth creating, after all?

It is not the suffering, as I say. It is the low indifference & worthlessness of all. A Heroes suffers most of all. But their his livesfe as is worth having. But can any one say that a prostitute's life be said to be is worth having, in any sense? even though she does not suffer; which the rich ones do not always -- People always seem to think that it is the -- after punishment which decides this point. But supposing this world is all can any one say that such a life, without suffering & without punishment is worth having, in any sense?

I return to my conviction: we can imagine no lower stage of existence than this, we
can imagine no earth more perfectly beautiful than this.
And therefore almost all that is said about hell & the terrors of hell, & the fear of judgment is almost without meaning to my ears.

I often hope, that no one knows more of the vice & misery of this world than I do -- For Because then I hope that there is not much more to know, in kind at least, in extent of course there is

I cannot agree with those who think, like Carlyle & Clough, that the tillers' of the earth is a life worth having. bullocks oxen plough-horses

I think all those sentences are the result of inexperience -- of not having lived into the lives of these people.

And on the other hand I am sure none of these are so impressed as I am with the conviction derived from having lived among these people, lived their lives, that there is no man who will not be made perfect.
It seems to me that people on this subject are divided into two parties. 1. philosophers who say that there is, on the whole, more happiness than misery in this world -- & therefore "we", who are generally the happy ones, ought to think it a good world -- What a thing to say of a good God who is Almighty! -- Surely it requires a very different view of His worlds than this to justify His goodness "A bruised reed shall he not break"

(Who allowed the reed to be bruised?)

And he does break the bruised reed over & over again. There must be a large view & a whole view.

2. philanthropists who are so pleased with the little bit of good they do that they think the world is all right e.g. Lady D. G. because she nurses a Dragoman thinks the Egyptians have on the whole a happy life & that harems are all right. [I know a little too much of harems myself for that]

He descended into Hell (whatever that word may mean in the creed.)

[end 3:187]
Perhaps it is not true to speak of God as a judge at all -- or of His judgements. There does not seem to be really any evidence that His worlds are places of trial but rather schools, places of training -- or that He is a judge but rather a Teacher, a Trainer -- not in the imperfect sense in which men are Teachers, but in the sense of His contriving & adapting His whole universe for the one purpose of training every intelligent being to be perfect.

I think that the present mania for judging, for criticism, among men, as shewn & at the same time, cherished by the flood of Reviews, leading Articles, Magazines, in which are actually now reviews of reviews, is a symptom of the way in which men conceive of God. They see one another do nothing but judge, & they think of God as doing nothing but judging.

The whole immense fabric of God "making allowances", Christ "making intercession" is built on this. God had better not exist at all: Christ had better not exist at all than do this.

And it seems such a silly occupation for Him who creates our circumstances, who holds them in the hollow of His hand, so as to direct them for our infinite good, in whom we live & move
& have our being, to be always weighing & discussing merits & offences.
In the sense in which a good human teacher judges of the progress of his pupils, no doubt the Great Infinitely wise Teacher "judges" -- But in no other sense.
Nay, to compare infinitely small things with, great, exactly in proportion as men hold, in their own hands the circumstances of their fellow-creatures, do they cease to judge.
Our business is, I think, to understand; not to judge. What He does is, as far as we know, to rule by law down to the most infinitesimally small portion/minute of His universe, not to judge.
Is it quite correct to say, in any this sense, that God 'knowing all our circumstances', (He made them) 'His judgement is relative to the very condition of our bodily frame', when we know that this very condition of our 'bodily frame' is, down to its very degree the circumstances of our soldiers. If instead of modifying & remodelling those circumstances to the utmost of my power, & in as far as the laws of God put it in my power, I had been occupied with judging the exact demerit of or "allowances" to be made for, Sir R. Airey, who

as Q.M.G. certainly influenced if he did not bring about the destruction of the Army should I not have been distinctly/fulfilling deserting my charge, & should I not have been acting in the most childish & anti-divine manner?
I think God would not be the Almighty, the All-wise, the All-good if He were the Judge, in the sense in which both Evangelical & Roman Catholic Christians impute judgment to him. X
minutest particular, the result of His laws?

[I know what people will say, that the danger of this kind of doctrine is that it makes throws all the work on God & not on us -- makes it seem as if all the work of our improvement was His & not ours.

I don't think there is this danger -- since the very essence of all God's government, as He teaches us practically every day Himself, is to make us do the work. We cannot do without Him. But He cannot do without us. Or rather He will not do without us. This is the divine self-denial.

There is danger certainly in not presenting the thing as a whole (which I am sure I can't do)

But it is so ingrained in men now, this kind of thing, that you cannot speak, you cannot make a remark about a man, even with the most definite practical purpose before you, without people -- & who are none so very amiable either -- bringing all kinds of counter 'judgments', 'allowances' & such kinds of things to meet you -- Bless their souls! I don't care a half-penny whether Sir R. Airey was to blame or not, whether Lord de Grey is to blame or not; I want the thing done.

If in words which I am perfectly incapable of finding, proportioned in some slight degree, to the majesty of the subject, we could describe God's purpose, would it not be -- to bring all men to perfection, NOT to bring all men to 'judgment'? Would He not say, -- not I want the thing done, but I am doing the thing -- I am training this world of mine to perfection. I do not need to judge. I am teaching mankind to create mankind -- by my laws I do not need to judge.
Is there any 'preparation' 'for that other state' other than that which is necessary to live in this? Have we any reason to believe that there is any heaven anywhere, unless we make it? 'I go to prepare a place for you.' Is it not a rather unfortunate & almost universal mistake that there is no call to us to 'prepare' a place here? but that the 'preparation' for that 'other place' is something quite different & independent? something quite other than our work in this world? There is a fragment of autobiography by Lord Althorp, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, one of the most disinterested statesmen that ever was -- indeed you cannot say, the most disinterested, for he had no self-interest -- in which he tells us, at 49 he has long had it as a purpose to retire from public life, at 49. I think, to do what? -- to leave all the good he was doing -- and to betake himself to prayer & 'preparation' for another life. Everybody in their own small experience could tell a similar tale. I am sure I could thatch a house or build a hay stack with the reams of letters I have had from both Evangelical & Roman Catholic friends, imploring
me to obey God's voice which clearly pointed out to me that it was time for me to throw aside all work, & betake myself to prayer & preparation for death.

I doubt also exceedingly that the motive is a powerful one in these days, altho' the general opinion is obviously that it is. I don't think either fear of death, love of life, desire for a continued existence, are at all the prominent motives they used to be. In a high state of civilization, people are so weary.

Perhaps I am not a fair specimen. But I am afraid if I were to hear that the end of this life is the end of all, I should be rather glad. I am so very tired. But then there is no good God. And, if there is no good God to complete one's work, in whose work, one's/my own little work is but a little wheel, then I should not work at all. Because it would not be worth while. [end 3:180]
superior the Abbess is to the Abbot. But let that difference alone. It is perhaps not much to the purpose. And it can be accounted for in other ways. There is something else this writer knows nothing about: -- Probably there is not a word of truth in the story of the Virgin Mary. But the deepest truth lies in the idea of the Virgin Mother. [The Dresden Raphael gives it in all its power.] The real mothers & fathers of the human race are not the mothers & fathers, according to the flesh. There is scarcely an instance in history to the contrary. Who have been the fathers of humanity? & who, the mothers? (though, alas how few have been mothers of mankind at all)
I don't know why it should be so
It did not "ought to" be so.
But it is so --
This is not for your "clever & singular youth"
obviously.
Perhaps it had better not be said
at all.
But an old woman, with 9 toes in the
    grave, may say many things.
{WRITTEN IN PENCIL:}
    My good old Pastor Fliedner, at least,
    18 or 19 years ago, used to address me,
    with all gravity, as a "mother in Israel
    I think I have some right to the
    appellation now. For I have had
    nineteen thousand children.         [end 3:527]

This is by the same Spanish nun as
above.
And St. Bernard says somewhere: --
"Comment se peut-il faire qu'ayant tant de
connaissance de Dieu, nous ayons si peu
d'amour de Dieu?
   Ayant l'esprit si éclairé, ils n'avaient
pas le coeur également enflammé."
I think this is so eminently characteristic of this age. [M. Mohl reminded me with [3:235] shouts of laughter that I had said, I knew no one illeg man or woman now who could give his or her attention thro' 5 words so as to reach the Accusative, as thus, Tom has made a mess -- It is past the human power now to hear the accusative "mess". It is so remarkable this, that now every one forestalls the end of your sentence, interrupts you, says aloud the supposed end of your sentence, which, in my case, is always the exact reverse of what I intended to say. And this, even though the speaker is a great deal quicker than the interrupter.

f69v (WRITTEN IN PEN:) [3:235 resumes]
Now I think the main reason of the vague ideas of intellectual men about God in this age, (where they are unfettered by custom) as in J. Stuart Mill, your-self, &c &c &c &c, is "parceque", l'entendement, "c'est un inquiet." You are "un inquiet" -- you never give yourself time to fixer une idée. No one does. [end 3:235]
considering him not a man. If he is to be Almighty God, all this becomes meaningless -- his example is nothing to us. And the horrible inconsistency of every Christian sect lies in this; they tell us to make Christ an example in everything. And if we do, if e.g. I try to apply this prayer of his to myself, they are shocked, you are shocked, nay, I am shocked myself. In the sense in which there is the Divine in every man, I do indeed believe that Christ is the highest example of the ideal struggling in the Actual, -- of how, that is, the Divine in man would act the best possible under the circumstances which every reformer must encounter "in the world". I echo entirely those expressions about "the world". But mark how he always recurs to the thought that they are to work in "the world", that he was to work in "the world" -- that to wish to be taken out of "the world" is a cowardly's wish. To grapple hand to hand with "the world" to make the whole of life action -- never to retire in contemplative ease -- if there
is one thing he recurs to again & again, this is it.  

K {K IN PENCIL} Also, how he dwells upon, not this or that theological system but upon God's words, His laws, being "truth".  

Newman's Apologia tells us that (I copy) "Justin, Athenagoras, Irenaeus, "Clement, Tertullian, Oregin, Lactantius, "Sulpicius, Ambrose, Nazianzen" are truth. Elsewhere, that "St. Leo" "shews" him truth. 

J.S. Mill implies that Zoroaster is "truth".  

Plato is frequently quoted as "truth". Or at least what Plato says is always being quoted. 

But no one but Christ ever asks what God says -- ever tells us to listen to what God says -- because what God says is "truth" -- [And if he does, people immediately think that he means, by what God says, the Bible -- tho' the Bible certainly did not exist at all in his time -- & what did exist of it he frequently
I cannot go on expounding all this beautiful dying prayer. I dislike some few expressions in it, which may very likely not be his at all. e.g. it would seem that the object is not for them "to believe on him" but as he says himself in other passages, for them to "know God", to feel "God's love" "in themselves", to "be one" in God, as God is -- in him -- But I am too tired. Many Greek annotators say that "and so" is a more correct meaning than "that they might" E.g. "and so the world will believe" &c, instead of "that the world may believe" &c

I think you would like

Sermons par T. Colani
Premier Recueil 3eme Edition.
Strasbourg 1860
He says, p.16, "Il (Christ) ne nous révèle donc pas Dieu sous tous les aspects."
And what else does Christ not say so himself? F.N. [end 3:181]
I send you a few more sentences from Marcus Aurelius.

---

Love men, but truly.

Not yet lovest thou men from thy heart.

Be like the vine which gives its fruit & asks no more. Pass on to another good action as the vine preparing its grapes for next time. Must we be like these which know not what they do? -- Yes.

Chase away the thirst of books. It is no time to discuss.

(He desires always to know what he is thinking of, & never to be unable to answer this question) -- "what is the use I make to-day of my soul?"

(Chasing away uncertain reverie, he says: -- "What dost thou here, imagination? Away, in the name of God. I am not angry with thee. But away!"

(Manfred has imitated these words
exactly. F.N.)

He quotes from Antisthenes: --

"It is a royal thing, when one has done well, to hear evil said of one".

[St. Teresa, who never could have read M. Aurelius, reminds me continually of him by her turn of thought: -- she says,

We ought to have "a truly royal magnanimity", when we are unjustly blamed, (by thinking that we are "the children of God").

Marcus Aurelius says: -- in the tenderness of his conscience: --

"Come quickly, death, lest I forget myself at the end". And

"Cover thyself with shame, oh my soul, cover thyself with shame! thou wilt then have no more time to glorify thyself."

This, in connection with the really following deep saying: -- is truly remarkable.

"Understand there is something

excellent & divine in thyself; & live in familiar converse with Him who has within us his temple"

[What is this but the kernel of the good of all subsequent mystical (or as you call them, "ecstatic") writers?]

He entreats himself to give himself as soon as possible, "simplicity, indifference to all that is neither vice nor virtue".

St. Teresa says: -- "Méprisons tout ce qui ne subsiste point par soi-même".

In answer to a passage in your letter, she says: --

"En verité, c'est une belle imagination à ceux qui se laissent, abuser ainsi, de croire que, pour s'exempter du mal, il faut éviter de faire le bien."
I would write a Sermon drawing -- not a contrast but, a parallel -- between the doctrine of Socrates that this is life, to "know thyself" -- & the doctrine of the Evangelist, that this is life, to "know God."

The earliest Christians (by whom I mean the writers of the N. Testament) made an immense beginning by declaring this -- that "this is life eternal," to "know God" -- And they made farther an immense step by declaring that this God whom we are to know "is love"

But I don't think they ever went much farther. No one has ever shewn what a God of love is -- what He would do -- how God is a God of love -- how His being so is consistent with His having His world in such a state

George Fox, the Martyr & Quaker, explains it by saying God did not create the Devil -- Goethe says He did [And we ought to be very much obliged to Goethe, who certainly did not trouble himself much about God, for having, by the force of his
surpassing genius, insisted so much upon this.]

Except in one or two instances, we have certainly not gone farther than the early Christians (who wrote the New Testament) in shewing how God is a God of love --

We have rather retrograded.

[For certainly Christ would not have murdered John Huss -- would not have excommunicated Bishop Colenso -- would not have burnt Servetus --]

I think it so natural of Christ to say -- what some think so offensive -- that he would shew them in his own acts what God was -- that he was the way to the Father -- he could not teach them in any other manner that the Father was love -- or to "know God." ["For this is eternal life, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent."

But no one has ever even tried to show how God being love is an explanation of the horrible state of

His world.

[George Fox, tho' he was persecuted himself, seems ready to have persecuted a "ranting woman" -- see his Journal -- for having drawn away his followers on this point.]

There was certainly as wide a gap between Job (& his follower Goethe who understood that God did not hate the Devil & that mankind were particularly in want of him, to stir them up) and the whole Evangelical, Roman Catholic & High Church twaddle upon this subject, as there is between heaven & earth knowing God & not knowing God. When Mephistopheles says that he is a part of that force which always wills the evil & always does the good, he seems to have hit the "mystery" exactly. But then you
must acknowledge that God made
the Devil. [I would even go
farther & acknowledge that God
made the "Times": tho' that may be
going too far.]

**f75v**

God is love, because there is evil --
is the "mystery" we have to find out --
And, "until you have first made
out this mystery," don't puzzle
yourselves about beginnings &
ends. "That is a knowledge
which is the condition of all other
knowledge & which can never be
exhausted or come to an end."
"He is pious who knows how to please
the Gods" --
Then you must 'know God' in order
to know how to please Him.
If God is a perfect God, then the
right is in pleasing Him
But not at all, if He is not.
Now certainly Christians have never
gone about finding out what a
perfect God is -- tho' the New Testament
did do so much for the knowing of
God. But as certainly they were
only the founders of the knowledge of
God as Socrates was "the founder of
moral philosophy." And as certainly we are just as much in the infancy of the knowledge of God as Socrates was in the infancy of moral philosophy, altho' the father of it.

If, e.g., I believed in Calvin's God -- whose "good pleasure" it was to "predestine" many "to eternal damnation," I surely would not love Him or try to "know how to please Him" --- Therefore It would be no use recalling to me that the New Testament says: God is love I should try partly to defy Him, like Prometheus, partly to think of something else -- But I would never try to conciliate Him Evangelical Christianity, so far from making out how "God is love," has oftener made out that He is worse than the worst of human tyrants & murderers.
If God is a perfect God, then the only true "religion" is "morality" -- And the only true morality is religion.

But I would shew how morality, religion, moral philosophy & politics are all, if not one & the same, at least different forms of the same. "Morality" is bringing down heaven to earth (or bringing down God's will from heaven to earth).

Religion is bringing earth up to heaven.

Moral philosophy is the knowledge of the government of God over His worlds --

Politics are the knowledge of His administration of this world (or bringing down God's government from heaven to earth).

[Goethe, I think it is who says somewhere, that it is very easy to get up to heaven but very difficult to get down again.

I think that is strictly true. It is very easy to be religious, if religion is only the getting up to God (mysticism). It is very difficult to be religious -- in the sense of incarnating Him upon earth -- either in "morality" or in politics -- or in any other practical embodiment of His will.]

"God: manifest in the/made flesh." I am sure I feel the depth of the `mystery' of those words more than any theologian --

Good Friday 1866

_ff78 and 79 are repetitions of the above, in pen_
Mr. Jowett

The true idea of God as of a being who cannot make men good --
the very idea of goodness involving free-will in the person subject to the moral training
===

Danger in all parties from the absence of criticism -- The faults of the party become necessarily consecrated.
===

How far greatness attainable?
Not in the sense of great genius -- but of strength of will -- calmness -- peace --
-- higher objects -- independence of the opinion of others & of external events.
The defect of the Stoical character -- too abstract -- wanting in energy to act upon the world --
A Stoic in the ghost of a human being
===

E.g.
Bishop Colenso {Wherever there is abuse, interest, absence of fair argument, there at least among educated men, there is infidelity.
"No case -- abuse plaintiff's attorney"
===

This calmness is not only the right weapon against your opponents -- but the right weapon for the improvement of your own character. They are driven much more to live in personalities. You are led more & more to live in true ideas -- with God & his laws.
Mill's Hist. of India Ch IV. beginning

"In the law books of the Hindus, the details of jurisprudence & judicature occupy comparatively a very moderate space. The doctrines & ceremonies of religion; the rules & practice of education; the institutions, duties & customs of domestic life; the maxims of private morality & even of domestic economy; the rules of government, of war & of negotiation; all form essential parts of the Hindu code of law, & are treated in the same style, & laid down with the same authority, as the rules for the distribution of justice."

Then why not do this now as to Sanitary subjects -- which indeed embrace the whole of the Home Department except justice & hanging?

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Inspiration of Error

It was said of Plato "If he had not erred, he would have done less"

It may be said of every great man, "If he had not erred, he would have done nothing". The fallacies of a great writer serve, not the less effectually, because indirectly, to the advancement of truth, by stimulating the energies of the writers who oppose the fallacies. Thus David Hume -- To Hume we owe the philosophy of Kant Had some mistaken benevolence suppressed the publication of Hume's sceptical theories, Kant would have continued in 'dogmatic slumber'; Reid would have remained in quiet adhesion to Locke: the materialism of Condillac would still be reigning over the schools of France -- the man who gave the whole philosophy of Europe a new inspiration & direction

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ff83-83v NOTES ON RELIGION AND JUSTICE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN [3:528]

ff83

I thank you very sincerely for your most kind letter. In 1860, the consolations of the future never failed me for a moment; and I find them now an equally secure resource. Believe me sincerely yours
"Private judgment"

Nor do we say: -- you will not be blown up on a
rail road, if you will but 'conscientiously' believe in
your 'salvation' on that line of Railway.

It is only in religion that such things are said.

B.J.
Has a man that union of strength & weakness
which will enable him to use his own weakness
for good?

Every man's weakest is also his strongest point

Apollonius of Tyana

Ste Thérèse et Fénelon (n'ont pas) poussé plus loin
l'abnégation et la spiritualité (dans la prière)
Je demande aux Dieux que la justice règne sur la terre
(Thy kingdom come)
Pour moi, je leur dis=donnez moi, o Dieux, ce qui me
convient.
O muses, faites que nous nous aimions les uns les autres.
[Love one another]

Mr. Jowett

I don't think that I think public
opinion is higher & more honourable than
private opinion -- as a rule -- not than any
private opinion of course.
To Mr. Jowett 1866? Aug?

Socrates says -- in the lesser Hippias that it is better to do so or say what is bad & know it to be bad -- than to do or say what is bad, not knowing it to be so --
And this which seems so obvious that it is almost a truism, & which one sees under one's eyes every day of one's life, Socrates Plato has been most unjustly blamed for as sophistry. And M Cousin shews he did not understand it in the least.
I don't care -- If Plato had been writing, the state of England in 1866, he could not have been more exact.
It is the sin against the Holy Ghost.

Every body now, it seems to me, has a moral reason for doing what they like.
When I was a child, it did not use to be so among my grand=parents & the people of the last century. They did violent & wrong things -- much more wrong things than are done now. But they never said they were right.
On the contrary. They were very sorry afterwards & asked for forgiveness from God & man.
I see just the same thing in Governments.
I won't quote L. Napoléon or Bismarck, or Prussia thanking Providence for having enabled her to commit the blackest crime in history --
or Lord John Russell saying in his place in the Ho: of Commons, in favour of L. Napoléon, what he (Ld John) knew that we knew that he knew to be a lie.

But I will only quote what cannot be gainsaid -- the way in which administration is carried on in Government Offices. It is perfectly well understood, perfectly well known by all & every one of the actors, that the "Reports" & "Enquiries" & the "Minutes" & the "Correspond =ence" are not for in order that anything to may be done, but that anything may not be done.

It is like resolutions. People make resolutions to do what

to be is good, instead of doing the thing which is good, in order to satisfy their own selves not to do what is good.

[One of the best people I ever knew told me that I did not know what it was to break Resolutions. No, because I never made resolutions]

So -- nobody supposes that the Privy Council is going to enforce any sanitary measures on the local authorities -- or that the local authorities are going to carry any, without their being enforced.

And so they wilfully allow, permit & even commit the most horrible things, knowingly
-- 67000 murders in 13 weeks -- And every body thinks -- or at least they think -- it is all right. All these Boards & Offices are nothing but a mechanism (as Plato says in his Gorgias) for enabling the persons responsible to do nothing. Now certainly the poor man who robs and embezzles his employers' money, knowing it to be wrong, & goes & commits suicide, is much better, in a much more hopeful state -- than these most respectable people -- who are wilfully stupid -- who cannot be saved -- who commit the sin against the Holy Ghost every day -- who commit & permit all kinds of atrocities, (& report & write & write & report) not knowing them to be so.

It seems to me to be so obvious that it is scarcely worth the trouble of explaining.

The Duke of Wellington told Filder, his Commissary in Spain, that he should be hanged, if he did not get the bullocks. And the Army was saved.
[That was doing wrong wilfully -- a very good thing.]

Lord Raglan told Filder, his Commissary in the Crimea, that he was a very good man, tho' he got no bullocks. And the Army was lost.
[That was doing wrong unintentionally -- a very bad thing.]
Of all the horrible pernicious doctrines, the destructive doctrines that ever were broached, the Evangelical doctrine that God looks only at the "intention", is the worst.

I entirely agree with Socrates that he who does evil & knows it is a much better man than he who does evil & does not know it. For who is the more hopeless of the two? -- Certainly the latter.

"Tis better to have fought & lost
Than never to have fought at all" -- A.H.C.

I have not a shadow of doubt -- have you? -- that I had rather die in the Workhouse Infirmary than live as I see those people do who drive in carriages in parks -- with their dogs' heads out of window -- taking everything they can out of this poor earth & giving nothing back -- [If I kept a dog instead of a cat, I should have to keep a Brougham for it to drive out in & a man= servant to take it out -- whereas my cats are satisfied with a walk on the leads. But the cats of the next century will not be.]

Nobody thinks for one hour --
What do I say? for one minute what is the truth. They want to find an argument for themselves in what you say example [?] of cross=examination of lawyers Gladstone & Lowe Joanna likes it Ann does not
Vagueness
Bossuet
exhorts Madame --
on death bed
Female Sovereigns
cutting off somebody's head

want of clearness
every body wants to have "both"
like the child {influence
wants to have the {authority
which acting only for right & wrong
alone gives & the having done always what they want
Clearness --Mother says she wishes her child to be
& prevents it
Hilary
did not believe me.
Dear Mr. Jowett,

I sent down to the War Off: yesterday to know, (as for myself,) if they had made any the slightest progress in literature in the last 6 years, & to send it me immediately. But they have not -- not the least. So I am obliged to send you only the List of what I mentioned to you.

I think I told you that there has been sitting for the last few months a W.O. Commission, with Ld Strathnairn (Sir Hugh Rose) Genl Cameron, Mr. Power (the Commissary Genl) & others upon it, with a view to consolidation -- to abolishing the Commissariat, Purveying & Store Departments -- (the Army Medical Department they let alone) & to introducing the Intendance system, or something like it, of France. They have not agreed upon their Report -- & may not do so for some weeks. The Permanent Under S. of S. & the Assistant Under S. of S., are, (as I think justly), strongly against it -- tho' anything almost would be better than going on in the
hugger-mugger way we are at present.
Now the way I think I might be of a little use to your friend (through you) is by letting him know these kinds of things, as they go on.
You know what Govr officials are. [And your own Sir Roundell Palmer was just the worst of them] If Mr. Roundell makes the slightest mistake as to the exact present state of things, everything that he says that is right will be lost. And they will get some one to put in the "Times", -- `this gentleman is speaking of the year before the Flood -- nous avons change `tout cela'.
I could probably get him
the first copy of this Report
if ever it becomes an
agreed-upon Report. {IN PENCIL:} {It is not, I believe to be presented to ParlT, & will be a kind of private official affair.}
{IN PEN:}
Our plan, under Sidney Herbert
was to make each Department
complete in itself, & to bring
them all under the immediate
control & in direct communication
with the Secretary of State -- {IN PENCIL:} who
has the Parliamentary responsibility -- {IN PEN:}
so as to ensure unity, efficiency,
economy & promptitude.

[The execution of this plan
which had been already
approved by the Cabinet,
was, as I think I mentioned
interrupted by his illness
& death.]
The plan, now proposed, is
to merge the Commissariat,
Store & Purveying Dept
in one head, who will be
something like the Intendant-
Général in France.
The misery of our present-system
is that neither Secretary
of State nor Permanent
Under S. of S. (which latter
Officer answers otherwise
now to the Intendant GenAl)
have any direct communication
with any of their agents
abroad or at home -- They
can only communicate thro'
the heads of the various Departments.
In the most urgent affairs,
as in time of war, weeks
may be lost, costing lives
by the thousand. In less
urgent affairs, years are
lost.
The misery of the French
Intendance system is: that
it can actually defy both
Minister of War -- &
Commander in Chief of an
Expeditionary force, as has
sometimes been seen -- (tho'
it is supposed that the Emperor
was at the back of that --
as, e.g. in starving the French
Army in the Crimea in the
_second year) {PENCIL BEGINS:} That French armies are
not more often starved
is due to the fact that they sometimes support themselves.
This they could not in the Crimea.
{PEN BEGINS:}
With us, there is nothing now
to prevent the same thing
happening which happened
in the Crimea -- viz. that
e.g. "Medical comforts" for
Scutari came out under
shot & shell for Balaclava
-- consequently, could not be
got out till the ships came
back from the Crimea, &
perhaps did not come back
at all.
Or perhaps parts of the beds for the sick came out in one ship & other parts in another ship. {PENCIL BEGINS:} So that no one had beds -- And, meanwhile, thousands of sick men lay in the same shirt or in none at all {PENCIL BEGINS:} on mats & straw bags {PEN BEGINS:} for a month -- or would have done, if it had not been for private effort.

All this might happen again; because of the way in which things are managed. The Army Medical Dept, e.g. makes a requisition, (instructed by the S. of S.) for the sick of an Expeditionary Force of 10,000 men -- Part of this requisition is on the Store Department (for Hospital equipments). Part is on the Purveying Dept (for
"Medical comforts." All these lie upon the quay -- & are shipped by the Transport Service in any way they think proper -- the Transport people themselves not knowing where they are going nor what they are for. In the commonest routine of the War Office, the same thing may happen. The Secretary of State has no communication with any of his agents, except indirectly thro' the various Departments. If anything goes wrong (e.g. about carrying out his orders at Gibraltar) no information of it can be sent, -- no rectification of the evil can be made in
return -- except thro' the various channels I have mentioned, which may take months of time. It is not thus: --

{PHOTOCOPY OF DIAGRAM}
It is thus: --

{PLEASE SEE PHOTOCOPY OF DIAGRAM}

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE}
As the rays coming out of the pink sun do not obey any known laws, I am unable to describe them.

With the French on the other hand, the Emperor tells his Minister of War who tells (his? -- no, the Emperor's) Intendant GenL, -- you are required to provide for such & such a force, say in Algeria. At the same time the carte de route is given to the Intendt GenL. The I.G. writes to his agent, say at Brest, -- such & such things are to be on the quay at such & such an hour, to be shipped in such & such a way, on such & such transport, for such & such places.

All promotion goes in the Intendance Générale by the ability of the Agents & their success in carrying
out these orders.
But then, on the other hand,
the Intendance utterly defies
all Medical & Military
remonstrance. The way
in which it does this is
curious, (for an administrative
nation like the French).
It acts by Instructions &
not by Regulations.

[Since the Crimean War, in
order to prevent the recurrence
of the horrible calamities
endured there, we have, in
all the Supply Departments
which we have to do with,
constructed scales of
Equipments, Diets, &c &c &c &c
which are to be supplied
according to Regulation -- not
left to the Intendance Instruction]
I have therefore put
down two x books of these
Regulations for your friend's
x Medical & Purveyor's
The mischief, (or one mischief) of introducing the Intendance system here is that we really have not the men. Of course any organization depends upon the men for its successful working. But the power placed in the hands of an Intendance is so enormous that they could at any time starve an Army. {IN PENCIL:} And without any Parliamentary responsibility. {IN PEN:}

Now Sir E. [?] Lugard, who would be the Intendant Genl, (if the Commission's system were carried out), is wholly unfit. He would break down in the smallest war. And we have no men for Agents, as the French have, whose Intendance is the pick of the whole Army.
is the pick of the whole Army

[However, the Commission say that what they are going to recommend is not exactly like the Intendance. But then, they can't agree as to what they are "going to recommend].

The kind of talent wanted (for an English intendance) is one that was much more developed in old Indian days than it is in England now or even in India now --

I am sure this subject must be very tiresome to you -- I have written all this in order to shew you what the changes impending at

the W.O. are likely to be -- & to shew how any one writing on the W.O. must be perpetually on his guard to be informed of any organic changes, going on, however small.

As for me, I keep entirely as much as I can out of them. Because it is only wearing myself to death for things I can't help -- tho', if they ask me my opinion on a question of detail, of course I give it. I am quite aware that Sidney Herbert's plan could not be carried out now

[Lord de Grey, who actually drew up the details (as Parly Under S. of S.), for the Cabinet, & who was
actually appointed by Lord Palmerston as S. of S., on the ground that he would be the best person therefore to carry it out, did not even attempt it. I have not so much as looked at the papers since Sidney Herbert's illness.]

But I don't think this (the Commission's) plan will answer -- altho' almost anything is better than going on as we are now.

If you think it worth while, & if you will return me this letter, (so that I may see what I am going upon,) I will take care to keep you au fait as to any changes proposed at the W.O. (for your friend's information)

ever yours gratefully

F. Nightingale
List of Books necessary to produce the "mental confusion" required to understand the War Office & Horse Guards.

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1. Report Military Organization
   H.C. 9 July 1860. 441. (Blue)
   (Book)
   [The Report, which was written by Sir James Graham, when his powers were already failing, is valueless. But the Evidence contains nearly all that can be known as to the relations between War Office & Horse Guards, which are nearly the same now as then]

2. Administration & Organization of British Army
   by E.B. de Fonblanque
   Longmans. 1858 (a Treatise)

3. War Office Regulations
   Last Edition
   Addenda to War Office Regulations
   Last Edition
   (Clowes, Charing Cross)
4. Queen's Regulations
   Last Edition
   (red)
5. Army Medical Regulations
   1859
   (green)
6. Purveyor's Regulations
   1861
   (blue)
[All these are to be had at
   H.M.'s Stationery Office --
   and, I take for granted,
   at Clowes, Charing Cross.]

   on the Recruiting of the
   Army.
   (just out)

N.B.
   Everybody at the War Office
   is, of course, eating now --
   except indeed the pauper
   sick who are dying --
   [Mr Villiers is coming to see me
    tomorrow -- oh pity me & beat me]
   But when they have
   ceased to eat, I may be
   able to get more information
   out of them (for your friend)                                  [end 15:424]
   F.N.
Ideas for a sermon on what has religion to do with politics?

35 South Street, {PRINTED address}
   Park Lane,  
   London. W.

{IN PENCIL, IN FN'S HAND:}
Dear Mr Jowett
   I am very glad you are going to have "a preaching". But it is not a bit of use 'giving a subject' to men of genius -- not because they are antipathetic but because they must have their own way -- "A' wull do wot a' wull do".
   Besides, if you choose like to be persecuted for righteousness' sake, that is all very well -- I mean, very bad -- But I am not sure that I like to point out the place where the enemy may lay hands upon you by night. I don't know that the early Jesuit Missionaries, who were so
f98v
fond of martyrdom for self & friend, ever gave/supplied that great proof of friendship of giving up the friend to martyrdom. But I would refer you to the M.S. book which I was so good as to send you back.

[I think tho' it is presumptuous of me to think, for I must be Robinson Crusoe come to life again as a female, -- I think that, in London, out of a few special coteries, no one cares about "the great truths of religion", which generally means the very little truths or even the non-truths of religion. E.g.-- salvation. After hearing a

f99
sermon about salvation, people look about, & they see that Christ has not saved the world. And they suppose that all the other words mean as little.

But I would preach about things which come into the every-day life & interests of every body. E.g. in London, every man, woman & child cares about Politics. Therefore]

I would preach your sermon -- what has religion to do with Politics? --

I would take as my text "I and my Father are one" or "The bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world -- he that eateth of this bread shall live for ever"
Now the Father has certainly very strong ideas/views on politics & administration. For they are inexorable -- And therefore I suppose the sons, if they are to put the Father's ideas into flesh & blood, can do hardly anything more effectual than learn what is the Father's government of the world & carry it out "This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof & not die". It embraces every-thing -- the best way of doing charity -- education -- all health administration & improving (or preventing the deterioration of) races [Manchester is, it is feared, entirely deteriorating in race] administration of Poor-law &c &c &c &c &c &c &c &c.

James Mill, in his History of India, (and I saw it quoted in a note in Grote's Plato) says: "In the law books of the Hindus, the details of jurisprudence & judicature occupy comparatively a very moderate space. The doctrines & ceremonies of religion; the rules & practice of education; the institutions, duties & customs of domestic life; the maxims of private morality & even of domestic economy; the rules of government, of war & of negotiation; all
form essential parts of the Hindu code of law, & are treated in the same style, & laid down with the same authority, as the rules for the distribution of justice”.

[When one has to form new administrative systems, as in India at present, that strikes one very much -- how small a part justice & hanging from in the administration of a new country, which does not govern itself.

In India, the entire home government & civilization of the country -- or in other words, God's politics -- fall under the heads of: -- public drainage works to remove malaria -- applying irrigation so as not to be injurious -- improving agriculture -- cleansing, draining, water-supply, police regulations of all kinds, apportionment of rates, regulating trades & manufactures injurious to health, management of epidemics -- management of great emergencies, e.g. inundations pilgrimages, -- state of prisons, census, registration of births, deaths, marriages -- selection of sites

Public works & buildings
(Justice & hanging occupy a very small part)]

It is quoted in Grote's Plato, too that, (I think,) Maine, in his Ancient Law, says: it does not do to mix up all these things with religion, because
religion, as J.S. Mill puts it, (I think a great deal better than Maine (but I can't remember his words) has hitherto only been a consecration of stationariness.

I think that too. But it does seem to me the oddest thing -- of all the odd things that ever have happened in this very ridiculous world of God's, the oddest -- that religion should have been a worship, (in which word I can see no truth whatever) a performance of certain ceremonial actions, a praising & glorification, (which a good man, exactly in proportion as he is good,
ceases to care for) & that
religion does not suppose
God to care at all for the
things which make up
the whole good of the his
human race -- mankind --
Therefore I would write a
Sermon on: --
"what has religion to do with
Politics?"
ending with: --
what has religion to do with
public worship? --
The Sermon on Politics should
embrace all the things -- the
history of nations -- the
inspiration in history --
including the inspiration
of error (over [some one says, I
think it is Castoriana, the
no great authority, that "It
may be said of every great
man". If he had not erred,
he would have done nothing" --
& quotes the sentence on
Plato -- "if he had not erred,
he would have done less" --
& the sentence (of Sir W.
Hamilton, I think,) on
Hume -- that Hume was
the man who gave the
whole philosophy of Europe
a new direction]
I mean the sermon on
Politics should embrace shew all
back (back WRITTEN IN THE LEFT MARGIN)
these things which shew
God's politics -- God's
government of His World.
I am afraid you will think I
am writing nonsense,
therefore I will stop.
But there are other subjects
in the M.S. book you might
take e.g.
2. Prayer

I would shew that as the false idea of Prayer now is: a desire that God should will what we will --
that so the true notion/object/idea of prayer is: that we should will what God wills -- nevertheless not as I will but as thou wilt

[There have been a good many would-be enlightened articles in Magazines lately -- Articles -- which strike one as so unimaginably curious -- something like Sir Jas. Stephen -- but without any of his eloquence -- to prove that it would be very foolish of God to work miracles in answer to prayer -- only He does do it -- sometimes.]

I think I would quote some passages out of S. Teresa, might be quoted
S. John of the Cross, & the early Jesuits -- who were so much more enlightened than we are -- [And people would be so surprised when they heard whose they were --] to shew the true idea of prayer. At the same time, it ought not to be a negative sermon at all -- it ought to be a very positive shewing of what prayer is, not of what it is not --

I would apply it to every circumstance in life --

Every body, has had a tooth out

Every body, has to get up in the morning --

Prayer is not: to ask that the tooth-drawing should not hurt -- but it is when the instrument is in the mouth, to feel entirely at one with God's will.
[As St Catherine of Genoa says: not about truth-drawing -- the feeling of conformity to God's will should be of the same as strength as that of the suffering.]

[I always fortify myself with quotations (as the monk friar did "with a dainty piece of a warden's pie") whether both from S. Catherines or & from J.S. Mills -- because you said that my "stuff" did not rattcher itself to any thing ideas in the world, which I deny.]

As to getting up in the morning, the true prayer is: to get up to do God's service -- Most people, even of those who do "say their prayers", get up because it is unusual not, or because they will be too late for breakfast, or for some appointment &c -- or because
they will lose their situations, if they do not &c --

You quote (in the M.S. book) -- who says that the prayers of the Liturgy are all "slush & sludge" but that when, at times, -- submits to the Creator's will entirely -- feels it too awful a thing to do often.

Any "revised" of the Liturgy to be effectual must be true -- And there is scarcely a word of the Liturgy true from one end to the other -- except the Blessing ("The peace of God which passeth all understanding") but no one ever tries to attain it -- & the "Glory be to the Father & the Son" -- but no one, tho' they talk a vast deal about the Trinity, ever really tries to make
the Father & the son one --

The Absolution is blasphemous, if people mean to say the Confession over again at 3 o'clock -- For they can't intend to lead a new "pure & holy" life, if they mean to say again in two hours, that they have done everything that is wrong.

The Litany would be blasphemous, if it were not absurd.

The language of many of the Collects is so beautiful that people lose sight of the absurdity of the character we give to God in the beauty of the wording.

In the Creeds there is hardly a word of truth except "I believe in God the Father Almighty" & people don't even understand the meaning of the words in which besides there are many words which convey no meaning at all to people
[I except the service of the Communion, because I do think that, altho' the words are sometimes untrue, there is a truth of meaning & of feeling, (the words that it speaks they are spirit & they are life) which there is not in any other part of the Prayer-book.] But any 'revision of the Liturgy' does appear to me to be impossible -- [I am not wanting this to be put into the Sermon.] As to what -- says: that the submission to God is "too awful a thing to do often" -- I think that is a mistake -- Unless it is done always, I doubt whether it can really be done -- at all
If we believe that God's "providence" really pre-destines every thing, even to the sparrow falling to the ground -- (I like that word pre-destination) "il faut entrer dans les grandes idées de Dieu" -- but little things make up his great ideas -- the destination (predestination) of everything by God seems to me the essential idea of all -- if then we believe that he predestines every thing, surely it is not "frittering away", but the reverse, to bring our will into conformity with His, to unite ourselves with Him from the least thing even to the greatest from the getting up in the morning to the death or the marriage which sometimes destroys or makes the whole life
3. Immortality
   (in the M.S. book)
   would make a very interesting Sermon -- if it could be deduced shewn solely from the nature of starting point of a moral God -- who would not create a world for Him to go to the play -- (leaving the miracles alone entirely).
   I can't abide miracles -- either to be disproved or to be proved -- But I think it is more lowering to make a long argument to disprove the miracles, on the whole -- of the two.
   I think a very interesting Sermon of absorbing interest might be made out of what you say that God cannot make man good -- the very gist of God's whole creation is being

that mankind must make mankind --
   he must have time to do it in -- or rather eternity -- Any scheme of this kind if it is God's scheme necessarily includes a scheme one of Immortality on the part of God.
4. Evil

I never can help feeling that the way to prove the 'love of God' is to be duly impressed with the horrible state of His world --

Till people have some rudimentary idea of the great question, I don't think it is a bit of use preaching about little things.

Like your friend to me all religious books now are "slush & sludge & nonsense" -- because they don't apprehend the elementary question of all -- viz. did God make the Devil or did He not? --

Jowett letter to FN embossed Jan 30 1867

Jowett letter to FN embossed [Feb 1867]
Behold the handmaid of the Lord:
be it unto me according as thou wilt

1. What a wonderful favour to be chosen
   before so many thousands to be the handmaid
   of the Lord --

2. What return does God expect from me, --
   with what purity of heart & intention should
   I make an offering of myself to Him
   -- and when that offering was made, what a
   life ought I to lead?

3. I give myself up entirely to Him that
   He may do with me whatever it pleases Him,
   -- and I earnestly desire that He will
   never think of sparing me and let no
   occasion pass of mortifying my pride &
   trying my temper

4. "God forbid that I should glory save
   in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ."
   I offer myself to God that I may
   never seek anything but Him crucified --
   but to keep my soul united to Him and
to do my utmost to qualify myself for
His service.
   I do not think there is a mortification in
human life which I could not suffer with peace of heart by
considering that it proceeded from the Will of God.
Don't you feel within yourself what treasures are contained in these two words "the will of God"? [But it is not only to hear the will of God but to do the will of God. And many will be the cruel mistakes we must make (& bear in finding out what is the will of God]

You are sure that by bearing sickness you perform the will of God, which is more than I am when I perform any other action on my own account.

We really love God if we desire to do His will. x

I make it my earnest prayer, & that daily, that I may live so as to have fulfilled the will of God in every thing.

If I did but know it to be Thy Divine Will that I should do this or that (I would fulfil Thy Will) whatever it was, I have never refused Him any thing.

x An actual union with God, by which the mind always enjoys Him, is a happiness not for this life -- but there is a kind of union which we may enjoy in this life. When you do anything out of conformity to His will, to second Him, because you are consecrated to Him, it is certain that in so doing your soul remains united to God.

Were I to say that I find God more sensibly in the most distracting business than at prayer, I should speak the truth.

Be sorry at night, & look on that day as lost, in which you have not suffered some mortification for the love of God.

A soul that would trouble herself about what is not the will of God must surely have very little esteem for the alliance she has contracted with God.

Her memory was to remember nothing but the favours she received from Him.

Her will was to desire nothing but the accomplishment of His divine will.
N.B.

Purity of heart -- to taste with pleasure the accomplishment of the will of God -- to care for nothing but seeing the holy will of God accomplished

Purity of intention -- to intend nothing but to do the will of God

God's will -- the treasures of/in those two words.

God the Unchangeable whose will never changes, while those of all men changes -- the will of Perfect Goodness, Perfect Wisdom

{IN PENCIL:}
& Power

Luther At Augsburg

Yes -- in the name of God -- in the name of God, forward.

Nor attachment it is not less than love but greater It is friendship

you say well

f114 Jowett letter to FN 22 June/67

f117 Jowett letter to FN Aug 14 [1867]

f119 Jowett letter to FN [Aug 1867]

f121 Jowett letter to FN Sept 1867

ff123-24v LETTER ON MR SIMON, PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN, black-edged

f123 arch: [1867]

Dear Mr. Jowett

You take the bread out of my mouth.

I was to be appointed Professor of Sanitary Science to your disciples, the Medical Marquises.

And now you have gone over to Mr. Simon.

I would not have gone over to Dr. Pusey, not for a wilderness of Miss Sellons, tho' I am very much attached to her. I am always hating your enemies.

But you have been & "made friends" with Mr. Simon, because you like Mr. Lowe.

I have no objection to your liking Mr. Lowe. But this it is a treacherous act. And I, not there to defend myself.

[I do believe it was you who gave up
Mayence to the Prussians.

However, Plato thought just as I do about Mr. Simon.

If you look in the Gorgias, you will see what Plato says of Mr. Simon.

Mr. Simon, he says, is an arrangement of the Privy Council for making the bigger body, which is an ignorant big quack, appear to the lesser bodies x who are ignorant lesser quacks, let's, to know. x Boards of Guardians & of Works

How were you to know that! Ought not such a Socrates as you are ought to have known Callicles (I mean Mr. Simon) by the first words he spoke?

It is different, for Gorgias [illeg] (Callicles) Mr. Lowe (Gorgias) who is himself

a Sophist/Gorgias, tho' a very distinguished one.

He is not bound to know.

There are a good many other passages in the Gorgias, in which Plato speaks of Mr. Simon.

But, as you have just been translating the Gorgias, it is not necessary to repeat them.

Mr. Simon, I will not say perhaps more than, but in common with, Doctors in general, has (with some splendid exceptions, Mr. Paget, to wit -- & a lesser stars, like Mr. Bowman to wit) has, during the last 10 years, brought down Medicine, including Sanitary Science, from a profession to a trade -- a trade,
that is, by which he sells an article called
a prescription (or an operation) to the
sick individual said to be for their health & also a
much more critical including a prescription equally
an article of trade, to the sick nation represented by the Privy
Council,
(for £1500 a year) on a much more extended
(illeg) & which does much more extensive harm — viz.
important matter, viz. the prevention of
disease & said to be for the healthiness of illeg the nations
I come under the
Nuisances Removed Act = He will gladly pat it in force
against me. But I shall have been the only nuisance
Mr. Simon will ever have removed.

NOTES ON "REAL PRESENCE" PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN [3:241-42]

The materialism of defining or of rejecting the Real
Presence, of pretending to say what it is, as
these Ritualists, then R. Catholics, these Reformers
do, on one side or the other -- is frightful.
In an old play of, a woman who believes herself a widow
receives suddenly a ring which she had given her
husband. She cries -- It is my husband.
Now, if this woman, instead of fainting away, as
she is supposed to do in the Play had set herself
to discuss with the company in what sense the
"Real Presence" of her dead husband was in that
ring -- whether he was there in the body or only
in the Spirit, transubstantiate or consubstantiate
in a Sacrifice or only in a Remembrance
the play would have been rejected as too broad
a farce -- too stupid & grotesque.
And yet what is the importance of the dead
husband compared with the dead & living
Christ?
Before people can discuss all this, about the
Eucharist & the Eucharistic vestments, all the meaning must have
gone out of
it. And it can be nothing more than going to
the Levee at St. James'.
This is "shocking", if you like it. [end 3:242]
Death of Lord Hardinge
September 24 1856
Verdict of Ritualist Commission [3:623]
We (the Parishioners) are to judge how you (our Pastors) are to be dressed. If we don't like the "cut of your jib", we, the Parishioners, are to sue you at the law.
If we think the fashion a pretty one, you, our Pastors, are to be allowed to wear it.
I think myself quite capable of deciding on the fashions. But this is not the usual idea of a Church!
Is the Church come to be a shop to suit its customers' tastes?
Dr. Pusey & Colenso

Dr. Pusey -- says: --
no one who does not believe in the miracles & prophecy can have the true belief as to Almighty God
no one who has not can have the true belief as to Almighty God
has the true belief as to miracles & prophecy.
no proofs can be brought as to miracle & prophecy because there are none, but you must holding first the true belief as to Almighty God.
such enquiries as Colenso's as to the truth of miracles or prophecy are of no value, because you must believe them, first if you have the true belief as to Almighty God & if you have not no proofs can be brought, because there are none.
Ritualist Commission 1867 --

Our theoretic idea of Bishops & Deans is of men who are straining every faculty of their minds & souls to find out & to teach what the most important of all our relations in life should be -- viz. our relation with Him who, whatever else we may think of Him, we believe to be the master of our destinies.

But these people are thinking how they are to be dressed!

People talk of the "materialism" of certain great German philosophers.

But surely this is the greatest materialism of all. This is the Materialism of idiots! & dress-makers.

What would you have thought of me, if I, with my Nurses, had sat for "19 sittings" in the Crimean War to determine how we were to be dressed?

Yet -- what great consequence is there in saving the bodies of a few thousand men, compared with the importance of saving the souls of millions which even in our sense of salvation, in any sense of salvation -- must be the result of what our relation with God is?

I had much better be a Milliner than a Bishop according to this

Jowett letter to FN marked FN pencil Very Private. March 6 [1867]

Jowett large envelope to FN, stamped, written on back: [archivist:] quotations from Mr. Jowett's letter 1868?

IN FN HAND

I am quite happy here, for I feel that this is what I ought to be doing, & there is nothing better in life than that.

finite perfection

I wish to look upon my life as only beginning for I am ill-satisfied with the past

to know that this is a physical allusion & to keep your mind above it & have absolute confidence in the final result.

preventive measures 'which are most successful when they are never discovered to be necessary' --

(true of philosophies F.N.)
I should consider it the highest compliment I could receive if next generation people said of my books &c &c F.N.

they fall blindly before Comte's generalizations

f133 NOTES ON WORKHOUSES DARK PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

The Republic

Book IX

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE:}

Workhouses Are the accounts of Workhouses audited & published?--The latter might do some good.
"Who will show us how to explain the "Love of God" in a world where his creatures commit such "abominations, & are in such a state? --"

I do not say "where a Devil is necessary to stir us up to the good" -- because in proof of the "abominable" state of the world -- because, on the contrary the "Devil (so-called)" is a most valuable part of the economy of God, a most valuable member of the household of God. As the author of Job most profoundly shews him, he, the Devil, is a servant of God, without whom there would be no virtue, no courage among men. How could men fight if there were no enemy? -- How could men have strength, endurance, firmness, patience, if there were no evil? Can you point out a single virtue which could exist, if there were not the contrary evil to try it to prove it? -- Nay more, I turn the tables against yourselves -- And I say that it is the absence of evil in the lives of country gentlemen of fortune & their families, which makes their lives so bad -- i.e. -- so little of a heroic struggle. And when you hit at the "Roman Catholics", I answer: -- they are the only Christian sect who have consecrated the word "heroic" as an essential of virtue. The "Evangelical" appears to be entirely unconscious of this necessity of "heroism" in his daily life and while he abuses (justly) the R. Catholic "Saints" & the absurd process of canonization by a Pope, he does not appear to know that it is necessary to prove that a "Saint" has carried his "virtues" to a "heroic degree" before he can be canonized.
"if Life eternal is to know God, & if none of "us are occupied in learning how, we "may well then" -- what? -- not "despair of Eternity" but -- set to work (to "learn how")

Surely the whole of the next Paragraph is not only unphilosophical but untrue -- should it not read thus:? __ __ __ __ "The New Testament writers" "have helped "us" more than any authors we know of -- -- tho' largely supplemented by "Plato", by Marcus Antoninus, by Confucius, by Bouddha (for the last, from his system of pure morality, even tho' he appears to ignore a Supreme Being, has tended to put those notions of morality into man, without which they cannot even conceive of a moral God)

But in the time of the New Testament writers, there was no knowledge of law -- It was impossible at that time for men to conceive of other than miracle, as the mode of government of God.

"The best men of Science" "have helped us" "very" much by opening to us the vista, ever increasing in clearness more & more,
that not only the physical world but
   even the moral world, the world of history,
   is Governed by God by immutable laws --
But even "the best men of Science" have not
gone farther, & shewn that the laws of
Astronomy are not a mere juggler's tricks
   -- that God is not a mere clever juggler --
but that all the laws of Nature as well as
the laws of Mind are framed expressly to
bring every man to perfection -- are framed,
that is, not merely by a clever God but by the
`God of Love' --
As to the "Calvinists", I give them up to you --
   I really cannot call Calvin's God a God at
all for God=good.
As to the "Hindoos", ditto --
   I do not believe that Brahminism has
produced anything at all -- of good.
As to the "Romanists", I don't agree with you
   at all. On the contrary -- I believe,
as said above, that the only conception
of Heroic virtue is theirs -- And as it is
impossible to conceive of a moral God without morality -- so without a capacity for heroism, I believe it to be impossible to conceive of a Perfect God -- of Him who "sacrifices" not alone "His own Son" but many, many sons for us -- to work out the perfection of mankind. Instead of saying: -- "there is none to help us -- no, not one" -- Surely the true thing to say is: -- after all the "help" that we have had from the "New Testament writers", from the "early Christians", (including the greatest of them all, Origen) -- from "the best men of Science", who have taught us the possibility of perfect Law -- from the great Roman Catholic & especially the Mystic writers -- from the gallant fervour of the Puritans & later of John Wesley -- is it not wonderful, may we not say more, is it not shameful that we should sit down & waste all these noble materials ins ready to our hands, instead of building them up into the edifice, all
but prepared for us -- which contains
the conception of the Perfect God? --
how long shall we utter the helpless, lazy
"cry", -- fit only for children, for idle truants
from school: -- "there is none to help us,
"no not one"? --
Shall we not rather build up a
Temple to the "Perfect God"? --
And let me say that "Prometheus" was
actually doing this -- He "rebelled
"against the Jove of his day" -- just as
I should "rebel" against Calvin's God.
But he was a "Saviour" -- "bringing gifts
"to men" -- at his own bitter cost.
Æeschylus uses almost the same words
about him which are used in the
Epistles of the New Testament about
Christ -- (and in some of the Egyptian
hieroglyphical inscriptions about Osiris)
As to "Job", if you mean by "Job" the author
of Job, his is probably one of the finest
& most enlightened conceptions of the
Deity, making Evil (Satan) His servant,
which exists. And "Job" is obviously a
3 purely fictitious character, used by the author for the object of his tale/poem -- But if you mean that the impression, the moral, conveyed by the Book of Job is "reproach against the Deity", I think just the contrary.

[As for the reference to the "good Catholics", I do not quite know to what it refers. I thought the fault of "good Catholics" was -- not that they "reproached their God" but that they showed him a too abject submission -- to what they call a good God but is in effect a bad God --

Still, there remains this everlasting superiority in the R. Catholic theory over the Evangelical theory. The Evangelical sets sets man down as "desperately wicked" & tells him he can't be good. [Now, what are we to say of the conception of a God who made man "desperately" wicked?] -- The R. Catholic theory, on the contrary, especially preaches "Counsels of Perfection", tells man to be "perfect", & expressly lays down the "Way to Perfection" --
4. I don't in the least admit that "we "get no help even from a Savonarola" -- On the contrary --
I believe Savonarola to have been the very first preacher of Christianity who preached the inseparable tie between religion & politics -- between religion & liberty -- who shewed that religion was nothing, unless it embodied itself in politics -- who created in fact the science of political religion

5. With regard to p.5, I should read it thus: --
"Plato" was the only founder of a religion or even of a philosophy, which has ever approached the conception of a Perfect God -- which has ever embodied the idea of a world (i.e. of man) on the road to perfection, working out their own salvation. Surely then "a Jowett" does the world a service by rendering "Plato" accessible to them? --
[I say nothing of "a Jowett" reforming a whole College, not to say two -- nay, almost a whole University.]
[A.H. Clough used to point out how almost all our names for virtue, nay the very word `virtue' itself, had its origin not in Christianity but in Plato]
But -- I will not stop in the Historical -- -- --
     But -- it remains to say: --

Let none of us stop here --
    let us not stop at a historical God --
    but go on to a true "character of God" --
    let us not mistake history for truth.
If we do, are not we a great deal lower than the "New Testament writers" -- than "the early Christians" -- than "the best men of science" -- than the "Romanists" -- than the "Evangelical=Anglicans" -- nay, than "Prometheus" -- than "Job" -- than the "good Catholics" -- than "Savonarola" -- far, far worse than "Plato" -- nay, worse than Henry VIII himself?
    If we can make nothing of all these magnificent materials, lying ready to our hand -- if we have nothing to say but what A. thought of God or what B.
    thought of God -- what the first century thought of God -- or what the eighteenth century thought of God --
if we really can find nothing out of the "character of God" -- of the wherefore of evil -- so as to prevent "all this suffering humanity from suffering without knowing why" --
then indeed it would be vain for any to "listen to our cry" -- for we are of those who have ears but do not hear --
    It would be vain for any "to help us" -- for we are past "help" -- [end 3:532]

Aug. 24/68
Could not you (no one but you could do it) give a Lecture (you who command the attention of thinking men) as to the elemental moral faculties or elements of the moral nature of man -- the motives which guide him.

It seems that people approach this immense Pauperism question without the most elementary notion of these.

Home Missionary: "It's all very well -- but I never knew a man with the grace of God in his heart without a good coat on his back".

His train of thought was:

\[
\text{religious element} \times \text{moral feeling} = \text{moral action}
\]

Or, given the religious principle, cultivated into moral feeling, the practical action follows.
This is just what we don't cultivate or accomplish in pauper education.

My Missionary imitated exactly the line of thought in the Sermon on the Mount. That Sermon takes for granted a religious conviction/foundation in the hearers -- it goes on to give or build up the moral conviction consequent -- & then it points out the moral actions which will be the result.

This is just what most, nay almost all Sermons do not. They begin about some religious doctrine which (among their hearers at least) no one thinks of disputing. And they go no farther.

As some Edinburgh preachers said

"what would you think of an architect who was always laying foundations & never building his house?"

That is just what Sermons do. They never build up. This makes them so inexpressibly wearisome to the public.

What a Sermon might not be preached on this very question. And is it not most extraordinary that, in this question of Pauperism, even thinking minds do not appear to have the most elementary idea of what are the principles which form the motives of man?

Why I find fault with Education is that Education does not include the training of these -- not that it does include the 3 Rs -- but that the 3 Rs are called "Education" --
St. Paul says, (in opposition to that most selfish of all maxims: Do unto others as you would be done by --)
Look not only on your own things but also on the things of others.
Indeed he is always saying things to that effect.
That is the difference between the R. Catholic & you.
The R. Cath. says -- "That beggar has no dinner. I should not like to be hungry. If I were hungry, I should like somebody to give me part of his dinner. And so I will do to that beggar at my Convent Gate"
He never thinks, as you would do: "But the man would like much better to be put in the way of earning his own dinner -- or at least it would be much better for him".
And do you not think it frightful how, in the minds of our greatest administrators, Poor Law &c, these elemental notions find no place?
While the most vulgar Communism is gaining ground in England
Trades' Unions endeavouring to raise wages by the means which ultimately destroy all wages.

My doctrine about Education has no "bad moral". It is the mistake of calling the 3 Rs "Education", tho' Education should of course, include the 3 Rs.
If the teaching of the 3 Rs does not prevent pauperism & crime, as sad experience clearly shows it does not, surely the good "moral" is to shew that the training of the moral faculties which leads to practical action (and let your friends the 3 Rs come in too) is the sole Education which does prevent pauperism & crime.
Also: about "Contagion" -- surely the "bad moral" is that of Simon Magus & Co. which teaches `there is "Contagion" (no one is ever able to tell you what it is, where it is, how it is -- & for a very good reason -- because -- it is not) there is "Contagion" & all you can do is to cut it off, to stamp it out, to kill or to segregate
Ld R. Montague was strictly logical. And the price of meat is to be doubled for the people, because -- for why? -- for a fancy which has absolutely as little foundation in fact as witchcraft has --

Surely the good "Moral" is ours (besides having the small advantage that it is founded in fact) "there is no such thing as 'contagion' -- there is 'Infection', but from perfectly well known causes -- Remove the causes, & you remove the 'Infection'. There is no such thing as inevitable 'Infection' -- quarantine, segregating Fever &c, above all concentrating them in Hospitals, there are all means expressly constructed to manufacture the best "Infection" -- Killing the cows is exactly the same as killing the witches

O my Professor -- are you a Dr in Plato & not know these things!

Depend upon it, if you can find out the facts in Science, Educational Physical or Sanitary, those facts are will show a "moral" -- the best "moral" -- i.e. show best the Perfect God, leading man to perfection. "Contagion" would shew God a Devil "Infection" (facts & doctrine) leads man on to social improvement. So with Educational facts.
No one in their senses would think of putting out London pauper children in London. They must be put out in the country. And there would be no more difficulty really in putting out 150,000 London children in all England than in doing the same for a country which has about the same population as London, viz. Scotland. But of course you would not begin by 150000. You would begin by a dozen --

Say that you advertised for persons to take children at (say) £12 a year -- these children to go to the Nat. School with the non pauper children -- boys to be brought up to farm labour -- -- persons who answer the Advertisement to give proof of respectability -- to submit to selection, registration & inspection -- possibly the children to come up once a year to their respective parishes to be looked at.

Clergy to be induced to make the advertisement known from the pulpit & to take some part in the local inspection of the little paupers, so farmed out. Of course Mr. Goschen will answer that London Guardians wouldn't hear of it. The only answer to that is, I am afraid, that they must be made to hear of it. It has been necessary for them to be made to hear of a great many things that they never dreamt of.
It is easier to degrade man than to raise him.

Central idea -- in dealing with Pauperism -- should be to educate man upwards.

Workhouse idea -- to educate him downwards.

I want to train the faculty which the Workhouse is made to subordinate (in the pauper)

Sir J. Coxe says (illogically)
Train the faculty but use the Workhouse Test.

Bentham has defined Political Economy to be: the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

I should agree in the main with what Goethe says about Immortality, if it were not that he is angry at not being God himself, & does not at all take into his account the only important point of the argument, viz. whether there is a moral God or not.

Tho' I dislike the word "claim" or "covenant" altogether, as having nothing to do with the matter -- ["covenant" always seems to imply that God is so very bad a landlord that, if we, his poor tenants, did not bind Him down with all sorts of leases, agreements, signed & witnessed, He would behave as cruelly to us, rob & murder us as much as -- He possibly could -- indeed even Lord Westminster is not half as bad a ground -- landlord as God is supposed to be] -- tho' I think the whole question rests upon this -- is God a robber & a murderer or is He a perfect God? -- still what Goethe says has some kind of truth in it, if put thus: -- does God ever waste anything? -- would it not be wasting our individuality, for which He seems to have such a respect as really
to sink Himself behind the individuality He has given us -- if He did not give it an eternal life? -- And this seems to me to apply even more to the worthless than to those of whom Goethe says, they have worked for an immortality.

    [When I mentioned my own personal indifference to an immortality it was really not because I thought that was any kind of element in the question, but merely because I believe continuously & firmly in an immortality in spite of my own wishes -- & not, as people always say, because one wishes it, because one feels convinced one cannot die, one ought not to die -- because one has a "personal inspiration", in fact. I feel just the contrary -- And, if I have any "personal inspiration", it is of just the contrary.

    Nay: what is more, I do not in the least care for even those, for whom I would have given my life, to be remembered even in this world --

    "Where are the great, whom thou wouldst wish to praise thee?"]
There is nothing I believe in so strongly as Immortality. It is never out of my thoughts. I believe in it much more than I do in any thing in this world. Just as I believe in God much more than I do in any body else --

But I think the only argument for & reason for believing in immortality is in the moral nature of God. But if you say this, that this is the one only reason, people look at it as if it were nothing. They think that is a very poor dependence indeed.

But if I cannot bear to hear you say that you have sacrificed your life & you are not sure whether it was worth-while -- I think that gave me more pain than any one of the great misfortunes of my unfortunate life -- and I such a poor, stupid limited creature -- how can people think that God the Almighty would let millions of people sacrifice their lives & all for nothing? Because it would be for nothing. Just for a play. It would be for Him to sit in the Theatre.
to see/go to the play.

The Roman Emperor who sate in the amphitheatere to see the people slaughtered would be nothing to God in that case.

I think that God is disappointed (humanly speaking) to see me making so little use of my misfortunes & my fortunes -- And I cannot bear to disappoint Him

And yet people really can believe that He has invented all this great theatre of struggles & fightings & sufferings merely for Him to go to the play.

Of all the lunacies, for people who believe in a moral God to believe this -- this does seem to me the most extravagant & unaccountable. It is like putting God into a pinafore --

Jowett undated note

NOTES ON RETRENCHMENT IN GOVERNMENT, PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

arch: [early 1869]

35 South Street,    {PRINTED address}
Park Lane,
W.

To any one who really knows & knowing feels what a great organization like a Govt Office is (the enormous stakes for weal or woe which a great Public Office like the W.O. -- the I.O. -- the P.L Bd. holds in its hands, working for eternity) the unutterable narrowmindedness of this cry for Retrenchment -- Retrenchment, pur & simple -- is just as painfully striking as any cry for the Papacy among ultramontanes -- as any cry against Xtians among Mahometans -- or for the celibacy of the priesthood -- or -- any other of those extraordinary specifics for religion.

Imagine if you were to found your Balliol reform simply with a view to `retrenchment' -- or the reform of any great Educational machinery.

Imagine if Sir J. Lawrence had conducted the Govt of India, solely with the one principle of economy -- altho' he has consulted economy, (too much, many think)

Do you believe that Messrs. Gladstone & Cardwell bring any other idea to the W.O. -- than that of economy.
Yet -- the W.O. is really the most gigantic Educational institution known in this world. Here are some hundred thousands of human beings absolutely in their hands, body, soul & mind. A soldier can't better his own condition. If he tries, he is shot for a deserter.

It is otherwise with the P.L. Because private influences can step in & take populations out of the hands of the P.L., whereas the soldier is the only human being whose duty it is to be absolutely the servant of the circumstance over him.

At the P.L. reform of 1834, then economy was rightly the soul & principle of that movement. Because England was rapidly going to destruction from pauperism. But very few men, except Mr. Villiers, have advanced in the least beyond the principle of 1834.

A French Administrateur once said to me: -- 'we cannot understand your English laws -- you have a P.L. -- you pay for the pauper children to be educated -- the pauper sick to be housed & doctored in places called Workhouses &c &c And then you pay for private charities to take your paupers out of the power of the P.L. Why do you do both? We cannot understand this kind of administration.

Do you know I have sometimes told this story to Englishmen -- they recognised no more meaning in it than if I had said 'Abracadabra'.

I told you of those 3 poor ladies who brought together 25 imbecile, drinking or unsteady women,
& enabled them to earn £900 a year. The P.L. says this is impossible. They put such people to pick oakum. That was taking 25 people out of the hands of the P.L. But -- is it impossible for he P.L. to do these things for itself? -- Agnes Jones, with Mr. Rathbone's help at Lpool Workh:,, took numbers of sick out of the provisions of the P.L., nursed, cured, & sent them out to work again. Has then the P.L. nothing to do but to economize? It has to economize certainly -- but only as a means to a higher economy -- [The 3 poor ladies were far truer economists than your greatest Pol: Ecots] There are many, men in high offices too, to whom, one could not say the first word of any of this. They stop you at once with 'All Charity is pauperizing' -- I should rather say -- if it is pauperizing, it is not Charity. Has Mr. Lowe, with his surpassing powers, done -- or has he any idea of doing -- anything for his country in the same sense that Mr. Cobden has, that Mr. Villiers has, & I suppose that Mr. Bright has? -- Or is it to be only a this stupid brutal cry for economy?

Imagine if, in the Crimea War, the only idea on which to retrieve our great Sanitary disaster had been, Retrenchment. It is true there was a reckless expenditure in retrieving the disaster. But many think that disaster was due to the Treasury having pulled its strings too tightly at the beginning -- or as I should say to the colossal idol of economy having hidden or driven out every idea of organization, of administration which might otherwise have raised its head. These are some of the impressions which make me sad who once was merry over the Reformed Parliament & the Reformed Ministry.
Somebody says (D'Israeli) that tact can only exist in the absence of deep feeling -- & that a family agree together much better, if they will only wish to please each other & be pleased, than if there is any deep affection among them.

That I am sure is true. And I am sure that people, even not common-place people, especially men, very much prefer, especially among their females, that there should be only that desire of pleasing & being pleased -- & no deeper feeling or purpose in life.

Sometimes a book & not even a clever book, is like a revelation (to one) of the whole of one's past life, I have lived 49 years in this world -- And I never understood before things in this world -- And I never understood before things which this Life of Miss Edgeworth makes me see quite plain.

[He says exactly the proper thing -- exactly what ought to be said (at the death of each wife) -- And you see that he felt: nothing at all]

Upon my honour I think this is the best way of doing things -- try to please all & care for nobody.

Type & explanation of the want of higher interest -- [She says that, in/at his father's case/death, her own private loss put every idea of public benefit lost out of her head. I have endured the bitterest loss that ever woman had, except the Queen's -- And I can truly say that now as
then -- for I feel its intensity more & more every week I live --
my own loss is nothing, is gladly borne, compared
with my ever-increasing feeling of the irreparable
loss to the country -- I know how irreparable I know
now far more deeply even than I did at the time
She sums up her brother's perfect wife --
`good sense, good manners, good conversation, good principles'.
That is like a new light to me
What a fool I have been
Now I see that that is really all that fathers want
in their daughters, all that the world wants in his wife
- good sense (meaning of course sense to think like him)
good manners, good conversation (how enormous is
the importance attached to that now-a-days -- one
would think the world was moved by talk!
good principles (for they don't want their women to
run away & get into the Divorce Court)
And with the four gs, even the better sort of people are
satisfied -- they don't want any deep feeling, any
higher purpose in life, any deeper hold on things
It is rather in their way --
It breaks up the family -- & does not contribute to
'good conversation' -- to pleasant society.
Christ's whole life a war upon the family
I see now how it could not be otherwise.

People must almost always please their own
families -- not by the best which is in them
but by that which is not best.
The higher sort always have to give way to the lower --
not the lower to the higher.
In the Edgeworth family, there does not seem to have
been anything higher in them than what came out
to please & amuse one another.
This was their really amiable peculiarity.
But, in their lives as in their books, there was
wholly wanting -- the Ideal.
And it is, I should think, almost wholly wanting
in the World now -- but more especially in the Family,
in Marriage & in the Novel -- and in
Government Administrations.
But there is more of the Ideal in Indian
Governors than at home.
I am the ever grateful fellow servant of one who
has taught me again to believe in the Ideal.
Life is short & Art is long
To make an Art of life -- that is the finest of all the 'fine Arts'. And few there be that find it.
'What does it pruv'? -- said the old Scotchwoman of Paradise Lost -- & was abused for saying it.
I say the same thing. Paradise Lost 'pruvs' nothing --
Samson Agonistes 'pruvs' a great deal.
Tennyson never 'pruvs' anything.
Browning's Paracelsus 'pruvs' something.
Shakspeare, in whatever he writes: -- whether in the deepest, highest tragedies, as, e.g. King Lear or Hamlet, 'pruvs' every thing -- & does most explain the ordinary life of every one of us --
If I were a Greek, I should feel the same of Æschylus.
I have sat by & heard in so many families the opening scene of Lear -- extracting expressions of affection from his daughters --
-- mothers who have been entirely managed by the flattery of their daughters -- and vice ver a --
-- to the fatal exclusion of far worthier members of the family --
-- brothers who have been utterly misled by a sister who has caressed them -- to the destruction of all truth of mind -- (so far more important than truth of mouth/word)
-- families where the only tie, the only mode of government was flattery, reciprocal flattery.
Many coteries, of artistic & scientific, live only, are kept together solely, by flattery -- by one member flattering the other
In the coterie or in the family, poor Cordelia comes & says: `Nothing'. And she is turned out & outlawed. Or, what is much worse, kept at home under that cold shadow of disapprobation which not one mind in a million can bear.

[This does not refer to people flattering for fortunes -- of such -- I know none -- nor to people who kill themselves, like poor Hy, to do no good to any living soul, but only harm.]

I feel sure that a great deal of what is called lovers' love is nothing but: love of mutual flattery [Hence its sudden disappearance so often]

I am not blaspheming against real lovers' love -- which, no doubt, when it is real, is the highest of all. Socrates -- in the Phaedrus -- speaking of the untrue love `the lover is always employed in reducing the beloved to inferiority.' [This is not specially meant, of course, of the love between man & woman.]

That phrase has stuck by me, because it is so exactly true. What scores come to my mind who were constantly `employing' in `reducing' some one `to inferiority'! [This has nothing to do with jealousy -- & is often the reverse of it.]

Nay, I think I could mention one at least, who was `always employed in reducing' me `to inferiority' -- tho' she professed & I believe felt the greatest love for me.

Poor Hy -- her whole family's constant occupation was, I think you may say, to `reduce' her `to' __ __ __ nothingness.
even to my poor ignorant disciples I cried -- "and greater things than these ye shall do" my whole life's teaching was this.

Good luck! (this is I who speak) nothing surprises me so much as people striving after impossible questions, as this, "what were Christ's exact words", when questions that we can answer, as e.g. God's character,

which Christ himself would tell you you now can understand much better than he did then, are left unanswered.

Ever since I was a girl, I divided questions into 3 sorts --
1. those which never can be answered in this life, & which therefore had better not be asked, e.g. in what manner has God an existence, when we can't understand even the problem of how
man lives in his body.

2. the questions to which we can be always searching for answers, more & more approximate, e.g. what is God's character? -- & which I would be always asking myself & always answering

3. the questions which I have been answered, & which I would never ask myself again. e.g. all your four questions.

As to Christ's humanity

if he were not a man, (which I never doubt & which I did not know you doubted) his example can be of no use to us, & therefore we may as well let it alone.

As for his words, we know about them all we ever shall know, and he himself was, & is always telling us, to go on, to do "greater things" than he did.

[But I never would go on asking myself questions & never answering.]
ff158-58v  NOTES ON GERTZ METTERNICH & BUNSEN PENCIL DATED 1868-69  
[arch]

f158
I am reading a very long correspondence of Gertz, containing the very essence of the 
views & axioms of the great powers from 1816-1830 -- the secret history of all the 
Congresses which have afflicted Europe in that time, & showing the vanity of all the 
wisdom of Metternich & the ruling men of that time, when one reads it by the light which history has since 
thrown on the events of that epoch. They did work like moles underground, have done great harm, kept back the 
sound development of Europe & have prepared all that has happened since

It is not quite easy to give an opinion on Bunsen. He has written at least
30 big volumes on very various subjects -- he was rather coxcomby & vain than
a humbug. He was learned & painstaking, but second rate in his learning, because he wrote on too many subjects & was
obliged to lean on other people's labours, on which he liked to build grand theories, but gradually the foundations give way & the whole crumbles away, as is the case with his very voluminous & ambitious book

f158v
on Egypt. I have read his books only partially = life is short & they are very long.
I suppose the best is his description of Rome.
NOTES ON KATE [?] PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

Kate -- le même désintéressement, la même absence de toute vanité personnelle, le même sérieux dans ses intérêts, mais aussi le même manque de savoir faire pratique. Cela me fait enrager plus que je ne puis dire.

NOTES ON HAVING AN IDEAL, PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN, pale blue paper, black-edged

There is nothing so fatiguing as a companion who is always "effleurant" the deepest subjects -- never going below the surface -- as a person who is always inquiring & never coming to any solution or decision -- as one who is always in a state of violent excitement about some argument or other -- & never settling down to any course or resolution. I don't know whether Hamlet was mad. But certainly he would have driven me mad. This temperament (want of all muscular power in their minds) leads to all sorts of injustice & even of vice -- For want of power of mental grasping is the most fruitful source of both -- excellent men quite as unjust as Hamlet violence & harshness in them always come from it. grasping the ideal -- how rare (In them/Socrates) the ideal of the man was his character -- St Paul "Have a rule of thought" -- an ideal -- Harding -- Dr. Johnson ideal usually not a rule of thought or of action at all -- nothing to do with the character

raising mankind out of this misery & worthlessness which has given me this intense & ever present feeling of an eternal life leading to perfection for each & for every one of us -- by God's laws --
If you have not a strong feeling & knowledge of the worthless existence of millions, as it is now, you cannot realize --

What must we think of God, if this is all?
I do think it is nonsense to suppose that the Workhouses in some future planet will be the better, because the Workhouses have been so bad as this.
Surely He has given us such proofs of His goodness that He might justly "claim" from us not to deny His existence.
And it is denying His existence to suppose that He does not provide for all His creatures an eternity of perfection ments.
Perhaps it is what I have seen of the misery & worthlessness of human life (few have seen more) together with the extraordinary power which God has put into the hands of quite ordinary people -- if they would but use it -- for

But no: the philosopher says, God sacrifices me to the Universe.
And the Christian=God sacrifices the Universe to me.
It is a comfort to me every time I hear from/of you -- And it would be another to write to you, if work allowed
You can only impress a thought on the mind of any ordinary person by "repeating it at him with all your strength, continually, till you have produced a sort of physical indentation".
that irritating chuckle of wisdom & knowingness

[archivist] ? copied from letters of Jowett to her.
IV. They that worship him must worship him in spirit & in truth
V. Millennium
VI. The revelation of God in history & in nature
VII. Miracles & xx
VIII. Character of Christ
IX. Limits of change of character
X. Influence
XI. When the Son of man cometh shall he find faith w t e
XII. Family life
XIII. The relation of parents & children -- Servants
   And you knew this -- And you let me do it.
   But Christ did not leave his work when his mother & brethren interrupted him. That makes all the difference.
   Now women do or if they do not it is with such a struggle as makes their lives miserable if they don't deteriorate
   or bad if they do under it

XIV. The worship of God  Prayer
XV. Varieties of character in the world  5 114
   Men of ability vain
   No
Die gegenwärtige Gleichgültigkeit der bestimmten Dogmen

Die unmittelbare Religion
    Die Zauberei
    Der Cultus

1. Die Religion des Maßes
2. Die Religion der Phantasie
3. Die Religion des Insichseins
    Der Cultus

Die Naturreligion im Uebergang zur Religion der Freiheit

1. Die Religion des Guten oder des Lichts
    Der Cultus
2. Die Religion des Schmerzes
3. Die Religion des Rätsels
The whole business of religion is to do thus.
And except education and statesmanship, adminis=

Everything. It is true
the kingdom of heaven is
within -- but it must
create a kingdom of heaven
without.

My kingdom is not of this world.
What has religion to do with Politics?

I see men as trees walking
I see men & women too as
babies walking

What has religion to do with Politics?

I see men as trees walking
I see men & women too as
babies walking

The whole business of
religion is to do thus
And except education
statesmanship, adminis=
tration (politics) is the straightest road to it.

XVII

Freedom & authority regarded as elements of human character

XVIII

How a clergyman may have a limited freedom

XIX

Convocation

XX Miracles

I disbelieve in miracles -- not from the historical but from the moral point of view -- I mean, that of the character of God. If I believed in Xt's miracles, I should not believe in Xt &c &c

There is nothing very inspiring in dissecting the passion of Christ. But it would be very inspiring, if we were to find that God's is one long Passion in His world.
Assumption of Virgin

Of course I don't believe in either.

But people would answer you

that the Resurrection is in the

Bible & the Assumption not.

Greater works than these shall ye do.

Manners (Consideration for others

A.H.C.'s definition of a
gentleman

The Sacraments

Purity

"Parish clergyman" -- I agree &

I don't agree.

yet quote Taunton & Cameron

Idea of public worship

Perfecting through suffering

Dulness of sermons (& religion)

True ideal of "

(Fliedner & Arnold)

Contrast of Romanism & Protestantism

He that endureth to the end shall be saved

Immortality

The Clergy & the Bishops

Ambiguities in Ch. of E.

Ordination Service
NOTES ON RELIGION PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

[late 1860s] arch

I. Essay on the present state of religion

The future of the Ch. of England
Scepticism of the clergy
The loss by antagonism

Miracles
The future of the Ch. of Scotland
 "Peddling reforms"
our own Liturgy
I not a good judge * I may be read like the Lord's
Prayer * backwards

Impossibility of any good being founded on untruth
Errors of Theology
Idea of national Church
Missions
Way of attacking the orthodox without polemics

NOTES ON RELIGION, LIBERALS, "PRIVATE JUDGMENT" & "TOLERATION" PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE [3:162-66]

Private Judgment F.N.  top Para.  ±±
I do dread all those words "toleration" "private judgment" &c as being utterly without meaning here -- And I think the R. Catholics are right in what they say deriding them.

No state of mind could arise like that here depicted, if there did not exist such absolute confusion of mind with regard to the place "private judgment" holds in religion -- And I think the "Liberals" have justly brought upon themselves the castigation they have justly received by their mis-use of these words -- Nay, the very word "Liberals" is a word without meaning in this, the religious, question -- I would do away with all these words as soon as I could.

"You may think as you like", say the "Liberals" -- at least this is the popular understanding of what they say -- of what a "private judgment" means one person may judge one way and another another, according as it "suits their own minds". But is it not the truth which "judges" for us -- not "private judgment".
There is but one truth -- and we have to find it.
[The R. Catholics say -- & justly -- there is but one
[1]
truth. But then they say -- there is but one,  
truth & they have to teach it -- not we  
have to find it.]  
And "private judgment" ought to mean that  
we have to find it or rather to search for  
it with all our mights.  
There cannot be two truths any more than  
two Gods.  
There can be but one truth; it cannot vary to  
"suit the minds of each".  
"Private judgment" is not the question. It is  
God's "judgment". It is not as our "private  
judgment" judges best. God judges for us. And  
it is His truth which we have to find out.  
It is the oddest thing that religion is the only  
matter which is of so little importance that  
any body would dream of saying this sort of  
thing about it.  
No possible advance could ever have been made  
in any science, any art, any invention or discovery  
if people had said this about it -- viz: that  
it did not signify what you believed -- if you  
were only conscientious in what you believed  
and if it did but suit the nature of your own  
mind.  
Do I want to ask my own mind, my "private judgment"?  
No, indeed. I want to ask God.  
But God tells different people different things,  
it is said & truly said.  
And at different times too, I would add.  
But there is not the less for that a truth and  
an untruth, and not at all dependent on the  
nature of people's minds.  
He did not tell people about rail-roads  
till 30 years ago --  
He has not told people all about astronomy  
(or anything like all) yet --  
You do not on that account say: there are as  
many truths in astronomy as there are private  
judgments & individual minds; take which  
suits you best.  
Nor do you say: you will not be blown up on  
a rail-road, if you will but conscientiously  
believe in your salvation on that line of Railway.  
It is only in religion that such things are said.
Surely the R. Catholic is as near the truth when he says "there is a truth", and "you will be damned if you don't believe it" -- as the "Liberal" when he says: "any religion will do which you yourself think a good thing"

Is truth merely an exercise of the intellect? or is a thing of the most extreme importance which we must buy with our heart's blood

The R. Catholics say: there must be unity and infallibility.

Certainly,

And (13 Para 2 says: that every man cannot be religious philosopher but other people must think for him.

Certainly,

And it does not much signify, if every man does not know the truths of Astronomy.

But it does signify very much that every man should know the truths of religion.

Tho' every man however cannot be a spiritual philosopher, yet every man's mind must be cultivated up to the point of being able to
apprehend the first truths of religion -- & not
suppose that religion consists in going to
mass or to church --
Here it seems to me that enormous confusion
prevails.
What is the use of a man understanding
the religion of his Church, if it is not true?
Yet it is said: people can understand that,
but they can't understand your philosophical
religion.
Or they say: "there must be unity". And they
are right -- but want of unity is the result
of some minds not being yet able to
receive the truth -- not from their being no
God's truth.
Each, by exerting his own faculties, will learn
of God, who is infallible, the truth -- [And then
we shall have infallibility] of God who is one
the truth. [And then we shall have unity.]
And still there will always be discoverers
& discoveries concerning God's truth. Every
man is not a discoverer -- But every man's
mind must be cultivated up to understanding
other men's discoveries.
[2]
Every man could not have invented the Steam Engine -- nor every man discovered America.

The one question in every thing is not what "I think", but what God "thinks". But nobody asks what God "thinks" in religion. What God "thinks" must determine what we think. But all mankind must think to find out what God thinks.

And if it is said that all mankind cannot think, it may be answered: (1) that more perhaps has been done by men, who could only feel what God feels, to make known the nature of God than by any (2) that we cannot know God's nature till we know mankind's -- nor till we know His (or nature's) laws better -- and that men perfectly incapable of philosophizing have, in village schools, in material inventions, contributed immensely to our knowledge of mankind's nature, to the cultivation of mankind's nature, so that we [?] will be able to understand. But then we must have the Religious Discoverers who will apply all this to the understanding of God's nature. This has not been done.
Christ is the only one who ever asked what God "thinks" -- It seems to me that this is the great difference between him & any other teacher the world ever saw -- he is always enquiring after God's "truth" -- after what God says -- "His word is truth". But no one else does.

Newman tells us that "Justin, Athenagoras, Irenæus, Clement, Tertullian, Origen, Lactantius, Sulpicius, Ambrose, Nazianzen are "truth" -- (?) also that "St. Leo" "shews" him the "truth" --

A great many people tell us that the first four General Councils tell us the "truth"

J.S. Mill implies that Zoroaster's theory is truth.

No one but Christ ever asks what God tells us is "truth". And if he says "God's word is truth", people immediately think he means, by God's "word" the Bible -- tho' the most important part of the "Bible" was certainly not written then -- & tho' he is always telling us that what he said himself was incomplete.

x It is so obvious that much of what is said in the Gospels as Christ's word was not said by him -- & that much that he did say is not said in the Gospels. It is so obvious that much of what is there is a
complete misunderstanding by his hearers of what he really did say, that I don't pretend to quote the XVIIth chap. of S. John, but all that we can gather from the Gospels, to shew that Christ was continually referring us to what God thinks -- to what God says -- to God's truth.

You ask (in another Sermon) what was Christ's character? -- If there is any one thing which more than another distinguishes it, in my mind, from that of any other religious teacher that ever lived, it is this: -- this never referring us to authority, not even his own, nor to "private judgment" -- but always to God's "judgment", God's "truth", "God's word" -- What a pity that expression has been so misused!

I think Christ was farther than any character we have ever heard of (or can conceive) from wishing to found a theology -- least of all, a final creed -- "God's" words are "truth" -- farther too from wishing God to declare
him the Messiah by a "coup d'état" he could not apparently be.

J.S. Mill says that religion has always been "a consecration of all that was once established & a barrier against further improvement".

If the "Liberals" mean by their words "private judgment" & "toleration" the reverse of this certainly the words or rather the things are very good things.

But I would rather have Christ's words, as having the real meaning. God's truth -- God's word is truth -- what God says is truth -- not what my "private judgment" says --

Then, we should not have people taxing us with setting up "Yourself" instead of "The Bible".

I would not ever admit that it is "the truth as known to yourself." It is the truth so much of God's truth as this generation is capable of receiving -- as is known to the strenuous efforts of this generation after God's truth.
f172v
As is so beautifully said at (63 "Christianity is not an ingenious plan or scheme or device or invention of God -- a game at which we play with our own abstract ideas -- but truth" --
I would not wish for a better definition than that.

ff173–74v NOTES ON CLAUDE BERNARD, RELIGION & "CONSCIENTIOUSNESS" PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f173
Claude Bernard says (in his Introduction à la Médecine Expérimentale 1865) "Il faut avoir une foi robuste et ne pas croire; je m'explique en disant qu'il faut en science croire fermement aux principes et douter des formules; en effet, d'un côté nous sommes sûrs que le déterminisme existe, mais nous ne sommes jamais certains de le tenir". ["Déterminisme" is his word for "principes de la science expérimentale"].

That is just what I think about religion -- only I can't put it into C. Bernard's strong plain words --
There is a truth. And we must find it. We must never believe but that there is an absolute truth -- But we must always believe that we do not know it yet. Nor shall we know it except thro' the efforts of all mankind in eternity Inspiration of error --
v. Cl. Bernard
f173v

because people immediately think, you are damning somebody to eternal hell] But if there is anything that is exactly true, it is that people's minds never recover thro' life that vagueness, that stupidity of mind, which makes them never precisely sure whether it signifies to know the truth or not, whether there is a truth to be known -- which makes them try (in conversation or otherwise) not to find the truth but to take something from in what you say, or in the fact they are reading or in the observation they are making (in Physical Science or Medicine) to support their view, altho' they are not at all intensely convinced of their own view, but do it only for the sake of argument, & because it is their own view.
    In this sense, it is truly putting "Yourself" in the place of God.
    But I call it the sin against the Holy Ghost.

P.S. It would be impossible to conceive a man more disinterested (indeed he had no self-interest) than Lord Raglan. Yet his defective administration work destroyed the Army in the Crimea for all that. And God did not interfere to wave it because Lord Raglan was 'conscientious'.

[end 3:193][3]
he is so kind & attentive, but he has half killed me. Or of Nurse --: she is the most conscientious woman, but I shall never believe but that my poor wife might have been alive now, if it had not been for her blundering. Or: look at that poor child, he is a cripple for life in consequence of that kind creature, his Nurse, & her mistakes --

People are perfectly aware that God is inexorable on these points (they do not complain of it) They don't in the least expect that God will work a miracle to save their wives & husbands from the blundering of "well-meaning" Nurses & Doctors.

Only in the most momentous thing of all, religion, any thing will do. There is no occasion for us to find the truth -- For God will not 'punish' us for the want of it.

There are no words that occur oftener to my mind than Christ's words about the "sin against the Holy Ghost" -- (or whoever's words they are) [Yet one dares not quote them [2]
N.B. It is I believe quite endless the confusion of ideas, the mischief, caused by that superstition about eternal punishment -- which, after all, people do not believe in. But it confuses all their forms of speech. It stupefies & distorts all the conclusions of their mind.

E.g. I believe the whole confusion in the "Liberal" mind about "any religion will do, if you do but believe it conscientiously" arises from the vague remains of belief, which yet they do not believe, as to punishment -- something which is held arbitrarily in God's hand, to pounce down upon you, & perhaps to be eternal -- or at least to last a long time. They therefore hesitate to attach such tremendous consequences to a state of mind, such a belief, in whom there is no moral error.

But nobody does this, with regard to their precious bodies: -- On the contrary, you hear daily, (at least I do) & alas! too truly: -- speaking of a Medical man: Dr -- [1]
I don't think it is the want of thought so much as the want of feeling.

Pastor Fliedner's preaching was as different from any other preaching as I ever heard as Countess Confalonieri's throwing herself at the feet of the Empress of Austria & imploring her to go to the Emperor in the middle of the night -- else her husband, Confalonieri, would be executed --

is different from a parson putting together a number of words enough to last 20 minutes.

In some little Novelette I have read an account of provincial society, in which the aunt tells her niece, who is going to pay visits, not to engage in any too interesting conversation which shall prevent her from looking at the clock on the mantel piece & timing her visit to 15 minutes. And I can remember exactly that kind of thing about my dear grandmother's neighbourhood --

Now that is Sermons all over --

The difference between a visit of that
kind & the visit of Css Confalonieri to the Empress of Austria is just the difference between Fliedner's Sermons and all English Sermons that I have ever heard. Fliedner did really believe that it was a matter of life or death whether we did what he asked us or not. The great fault of the "Liberals" has been that they have said x: it does not matter what you believe, provided you believe conscientiously. They ought to have said: it is a matter of life or death for you, for us all, to go to God, as Teresa Confalonieri went to the Emp: of Austria, & find out what He thinks, what His word will be. x at least this is what they have been understood to have said.

But there is another cause of the "deadness of Sermons". They have nothing to invite us to. If we say: what can I do to be saved? -- they must answer: we don't exactly know. Though they are always talking about our leading a "new life", they have no "new life" to offer us. Fliedner had --

If he could convince us, he said: Come & be, Deacons & Deaconesses. He said, 'Come', not 'Go'. There is a great deal in that I am sure it is not at all known, & would hardly be believed how children & very young people, if they have happened to be "awakened" by a Sermon, feel the going back to the ordinary life -- quite incapable of creating for themselves the "new life" of which the ideal has been for a moment awakened in them --

Fliedner had none, not the least advantage of manner, oratory or even command of his own language and I think was, without exception, the most ungainly creature I ever saw
If I were a Liberal, I never would say
the "liberal cause" I would say: the cause of truth.

And very difficult for any body in any position to help believing what "all the world" says about them, especially if they are in close proximity to that world. And the power of resistance does not seem in the least to depend upon the mental superiority of the person or the mental inferiority of those about him. Nothing is so difficult as not to take oneself at the estimate of those about one. If they think ill of one, even for what one has not done, one thinks ill of oneself. [It is like the youth who was condemned to imprisonment for a murder he had not done, & who, altho' not in the least mad, occasionally believed, as he stated after his release, that he had done it.] It is quite impossible for men to estimate the amount of tyranny exercised in this way in families by the women of the family. Because it is quite impossible for men to estimate (they who come under plenty of other influences) the smallness, the closeness the constant contact, which makes this tyranny possible & efficient. There is nothing at all like it in Convent.
I really never can tell what "miracles" have to do with the question. Proof as coming from a "miracle" seems to me simply a confusion of the idea of power with the idea of truth -- If people believe in a devil, why may not a miracle come from a devil as well as from God? [Sir Jas. Stephen has this idea somewhere -- but then, with the greatest unreason, or rather with no reason at all, he crops off suddenly & says: Yes, but Christ's miracles are always an exception]

If miracles are evidence merely from the idea of power, as the prominent idea of an Eastern God in the minds of the Easterns was power, then: what do they prove?

A God has had the power to make such & such laws -- Now he has the power to break them -- But how does that tell me that He is the one True Perfect God? -- Rather, it tells me just the contrary. It tells me

that he is a capricious stupid God.

To say that a "miracle" proves anything seems to me much like saying that the word "Abracadabra" proves anything. [end 3:180]

(WRITTEN DIAGONALLY ON THE LEFT SIDE OF PAGE:}
Like an advertisement headed "The Loss of the London" to recommend "Parr's Life Pills" (sic)
"The true idea of Christ as expressing the true relation of men to God."
I like that
  Colani says: "Il (le Christ) ne nous montre donc pas Dieu sans tous les aspects."
  And is not that what Christ says himself?
"The true idea of Inspiration as progress in truth through the working of God in the minds of individuals" --
Yes: but give Error its share. There is an inspiration in Error too. If I could, I would write a historical sketch, called the Inspiration of Error.
When Vincent said: Le genre humain est inspiré -- I think this is included.

Cl. Bernard, the only philosophical man in Medicine now, says: --
"En résumé, les hypothèses et les théories, même mauvaises, sont utiles pour conduire à des découvertes. Cette remarque est vraie pour toutes les sciences. Les alchimistes ont fondé la chimie en poursuivant des problèmes chimériques et des théories fausses aujourd'hui. Dans les sciences physiques, qui sont plus avancées que la biologie, on pourrait citer encore maintenant des savants qui font de grandes découvertes en s'appuyant sur des théories fausses. Cela paraît être en effet une nécessité de la faiblesse de notre esprit que de ne pouvoir arriver à la

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE:}
vérité qu'en passant par une multitude d'erreurs et d'écueils
I don't think any thing strikes words have had a fuller possession of my mind through life than Christ's putting himself in the place of the sick, the infirm, the prisoner -- & the extension which the R. Catholic Church (especially) gave to these words, as it were God putting Himself in the place of the leper, the cripple &c, & telling us that we see Him in them.

Because it is so true.

There is the Error of the body as well as the Error of the Intellect.

There is the Inspiration of Error for us in the physical as well as in the intellectual history.

Only the R.C. Ch. makes the bodily infirmities final. It has no idea of teaching us to recognise God as law in these, teaching us not only to relieve the individual suffering, but to learn by degrees how to remove by law the universal suffering.
I think if it had been a ingenious "scheme", instead of the real truth, it was so clever of God, to say the least of it, to ask for our help, as well as our service, and to receive it as if He wanted it.

He shews Himself in the persons of our suffering fellow-creatures -- not, as in those legends, where Christ appears as a beggar & then flies away -- but because He is really there. It is really Himself, "descending into hell" -- For all those prisoners, those criminals, those sick, those infirm are there by His laws. It is Himself we see -- His word -- His work -- in them.

I call this a part of the Inspiration of Error -- Those people would not be there, if mistakes had not been made in observing His laws -- but not the less -- rather the more -- are they Himself, His inspiration.

I don't the least suppose this was what Christ meant when he said, he was hungry, he & was thirsty, he & was sick, he & was in prison -- & when we visited them, we did it was as much as doing it for him.

But he was the greatest genius in spiritual
things, that ever was -- And I think this
was a master-stroke of genius -- a kind
of divination by feeling of what would be
found to be the exact truth in law 2000
years after.

If there is anything we should think
unlike God, it is these powerless, foolish,
bad creatures. And yet He says -- and it is the exact truth --
that they are the result of/we may see in them in His,
Almightiness, All Wisdom, All Goodness --
I entirely think that "Christ expressed
the true relation of men to God."

It is God making my particular good His
own good -- my neighbour's interest His own interest

NOTES ON A TRUE ESTIMATE OF CHARACTER PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE [5:237-39]

Men & especially women "should never suffer
themselves to be diverted from forming a real
estimate of a man's character by what is termed
respect for his office."

[This which is said of the Clergy & their Bishop
I say of every body, especially every body
stationed in families (I really was not aware
that any body still did this above Bishops.)

It certainly requires great strength of mind
for a woman to "form a real estimate of"
her husband's "character" & to behave the
better, instead of the worse for it. Most
women prefer to remain in an perfect
amiable fog, thro' which they can see what they like
about their husband's character.

But I believe half the misery in families
would be done away with, if women
could really rise to "forming a true estimate"
of their husband's or their father's &
mother's characters, as the case may be.
Because there is none of the reverence left of the Patriarchal times -- & which certainly existed in the last century in England. On the contrary, there is scarcely a person in the world so much criticized as a husband by his wife, a father by his son, a mother by her daughter. And yet there is a constant effort to act a lie, if not to say one, about them. It is all a "muz" and a maze -- the eternal vagueness of the present day. It is just like Review-writing & reading. People make no effort to "form a real estimate of" the book -- But they criticize it all the more severely & admire it all the more indiscreetly because they know nothing of it but the review. Now, it is not criticism that is here recommended of the husband's & parents' character. It is a true estimate. Nothing else will ever make the life of families endurable. Nothing else will ever prevent that willing martyrdom
which does no good to the person who accepts it but only harm --
The martyr sacrifices herself (for I can only himself in a few instances at this moment of its being a "he") entirely in vain. Or rather not in vain for she or he makes the selfish more selfish, the lazy more lazy, the narrow narrower --
Now all this would be saved if the martyrs could but see that it was right, it was a duty, to form a "real estimate" of the characters of those they live with.
The martyrs are often paralysed by those they sacrifice to. Almost always they deteriorate & are deteriorated. Often their martyrdom is only "acting a lie". They have a kind of dim conviction some where that the others would be much better without them. [I should be sorry to say in how many instances this has been only openly expressed to me.] Now this always deteriorates -- Because nothing ennobles martyrdom but a strong
conviction that it is for some noble purpose.
    The other is only like the poor little weak
fag who allows the big boys to run {illeg. first?}
into him because he can't help himself.

    No less would the Devourers be saved than
the Devoured, if they did but form a "real
estimate" of character. For it was often not
thro' selfishness, it is from a lack of knowledge
of the true value of a human being that
they accept the sacrifice, which "profiteth
them nothing".

    To how many of these martyrs will the persecutor say, in
the next world "And you knew it -- and you let me do this."
It is really a wrong done to the persecutor.
I see no improvement or reform likely to
arise in this matter at all. Calas' death
opened the eyes of thousands. His death was
worth dying. But death, in this matter,
shuts people's eyes -- If they had some small
inkling of the truth before, after death it
is all to be hushed up, every body is to be
perfect, not the slightest remorse is to be
felt. And so men's eyes are to be blinded
for ever & ever.
1. I think the main difference between the character of Christ & any other teacher is that he is always referring us to God -- to what God says -- (His "word") -- to what God "thinks." [You probably call this the "mystical" side (?)]

the entire absence of any system of theology, of doctrine, in him is the more remarkable, because the systems, the doctrines, which have been founded on him, are, I suppose, more "final", definite & numerous than those which have been founded on Bouddha or any other teacher whatever.

2. I think the "ironical" side of Christ has never been dwelt upon at all. (Christ was so witty.) If it had, how many stumbling blocks which his sayings, evidently only ironical, have created, would have been taken away.

Suppose we were to take au pied de la lettre as we have done Christ's ironical sayings, those of any other great intellect --

What chance would there be of our understanding them?

Suppose Shakspeare who had the very great advantage of writing in a dramatic form

had, instead of putting some of those very deep things he says into the mouths of his personages, which has saved our stupidity from falling foul of him, written them straight on as coming from himself, & that we had interpreted them all as being verbally inspired (I suppose there was something of this kind in the Greek tragedies) how we should have missed the truth of Shakspeare!
3. I think many of the things which have been said of Christ in Scripture, which have so shocked the "Liberals", & which the Orthodox so strongly insist upon, so far from being either "shocking" or "orthodox," may be said of many a good man, altho' less strongly appropriate than in the case of Christ. `Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world.'

I am sure I have known one or two men of whom I could say that, if I were to see them "passing by" -- only for "the world" substituting the name of the place of their work --

[And again]

ff185-85v NOTES ON SOCRATES PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN [late 1860s]
R.N. 292

f185

[Socrates] F.N. [3:176] (WRITTEN BY FN:)
And his life is one of sorrow not for himself; but the whole of human suffering & evil seems to weigh upon him -- unlike Socrates retaining his youth into age, the sorrows of age seem to press him down in youth. For instead of dying the happiest & calmest of deaths surrounded by his friends in peaceful conversation he dies alone after a great & terrible internal struggle & by a protracted & lingering death. he seemed always to be in immediate union with God, doing his will, living his life
For Socrates too is alone in the world, & he has all the world against him, & he has a deep & profound sense of the feebleness of man sunk not in vice & evil so much as in ignorance x x x he too forsakes all earthly interests they hardly seem to exist for him in comparison of the work
which the God has assigned to him he alone, in the Greek or Roman world had the Christian idea of a divine mission for the good of other men [end 3:176]

NOTES ON GOD PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

God is love, because there is evil, would not be far from the truth. "until you have first made out this mystery"

NOTES ON COMTE, SOCRATES, GOETHE & KANT PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

R.N. 292 (WRITTEN BY FN:)

II. 7.

Comte says that the "construction of the world" is "altogether" imperfect -- & that he (Comte) could have made the world much better than God. I don't think it at all follows because the construction of the world may not be perfect that God has failed in "adapting means to ends". It does not at all follow that His "end" was to make a perfect world. As far as we know, His "end" was to make a world which should make mankind "perfect" -- And this certainly could not have been done except by making mankind work hard -- tho', as Mr. Milnes says, that is "a bore".

Certainly, as Ld Macaulay said, mankind is lowest where the fruits of the earth grow with least trouble.

But are you not too kind to the Moderns, again? For they do now just what Socrates deprecates.

I think, again, you are unfair to the ancients & too kind to the moderns. For they do now just what Socrates deprecates.

The modern theories about finding out the beginning & the end are just the same
as what Socrates warns us against
No one thinks about finding out the
character of God -- which "is entirely within
the sphere of human", not "consciousness"
perhaps but "human" enquiry, investigation,
discovery, experience.

If I were you, I would write a Sermon
drawing; not a contrast but a parallel
between the idea of Socrates that this is
foundation of life, to "Know thyself" -- &
the idea of the Evangelist -- that this is
eternal life, to "know God" (in which I
agree with him, more than any Church
can)
The earliest Christians (by whom I mean
the writers of the N.T.) made an immense
step beginning by declaring this -- that "this was
eternal life, to know God". And they made

an immense step by declaring farther that
God is love.
But I don't think they ever went much
farther -- And we have not gone farther
at all -- We have rather retrograded.
[For certainly Christ would not have
killed John Huss -- would not have
excommunicated Bishop Colenso --
would not have burnt Servetus --]
No one has ever shewn what a God of love is --
what He would do -- how God is a God of love -- how this is
consistent with the state of the world
as it is -- with His having His world in such a state.
I think it so natural of Christ to say, (what
Strauss thinks so offensive,) that he would
shew them in his own acts what God was --
that he was the way -- he could not
teach them in any other way that God
was a God of love -- in any other way to
know God --
But no one has ever even tried to show how
the love of God being love is an explanation
of the horrible state of the world -- as it is
George Fox explains it by saying God did
not create the Devil -- [And tho' he was persecuted himself, he seems ready to have persecuted the "ranting woman" who drew away his followers on this point.]

Goethe says He did -- that God did create the Devil. And we ought to be very much obliged to Goethe, who certainly did not trouble himself much about God, for having, by the force of his surpassing genius, insisted so much upon this. There was certainly as wide a gap between Job (& his follower Goethe who understood that God did not hate the Devil & that mankind was very much in want of him to stir them up --) & the whole Evangelical, R. Catholic & High Church twaddle upon this subject as there is between "Aristotle & a little boy". When Mephistopheles says that he is a part of that force which always wills evil & always does good -- he seems to me to have hit the "mystery" exactly. But then you must acknowledge that God made the Devil. [I would even go farther & acknowledge that God made the "Times":] tho' that may be going too far.
God is love, because there is evil -- is the "mystery" we ought to find out. And "until you have first made out this mystery", don't puzzle yourselves about beginnings & ends -- "That is a knowledge which is the condition of all other knowledge & which can never be exhausted or come to an end."

"He is pious who knows how to please the Gods". Then you must 'know God' in order to know how to please Him.

If God is a perfect God, it is quite true that Right is in pleasing Him is religion right -- But not at all, But if He is not, then it cannot be right to please Him

Now certainly Christians have never gone about finding out what a perfect God is, tho' the N.T. did do so much for the knowing of God -- But as certainly they were only the founders of the knowledge of God as you say Socrates was of moral philosophy. And as certainly we are just as much in the infancy of the knowledge of God as you say Socrates was in the infancy of Moral philosophy, altho' the father of it.

If, e.g. I believed in Calvin's God, by whose "good pleasure" so many are "predestined to eternal damnation", I certainly would not love Him or try to please Him. Therefore it would be no use recalling to me that the N.T, says: God is love.

I would try, partly to defy Him & partly to think of something else -- But I would never try to conciliate him.

Evangelical Christianity, so far from making out that how God is love, has oftener made Him out to be worse than the worst of human ruffians -- tyrants & murderers --
I think Kant is a sophist -- a prince among sophists -- but still a sophist
"Man is the measure" may be found in Kant
And it is not true what he says about our making God after our own image.
Certainly we can only judge of what God is by our own faculties & efforts --
So, we can best judge of the moon, only by what we see thro' the telescope --
But he might just as well say that we make the moon after our own telescope --
We do no such thing We know very well that there is a great deal to see in the moon which we don't see -- that what we do see we see only imperfectly -- & that the existence of the moon does not depend at all upon what we see (spite of Berkeley)
Socrates the founder of moral philosophy as the Hind India of metaphysics

7.(4) "the life which is unproven is not to be endured by man -- Try & see what thine own mind acknowledges to be right & then see whether thy actions conform to this rule?"
   Do you act up to what you know.
11.(3) "the human mind" is still "all but a slave" in medicine "awake to the light of fact & experience" just as necessary in this as it ever was in Bacon's time wise as unwise to try to see the colours of flowers when there is no light or when the light is in the wrong direction as to force virtue without knowledge in the way people do now --

The earliest 
Xtians (by whom I mean the writers of the N.T.) certainly did more than any one have done for the knowing God. But as certainly they were only the founders of the knowledge of God as you say Socrates was of moral philosophy
And as certain we are just as much in the infancy of the knowledge of God as you say Socrates was in the infancy altho the father of moral philosophy

If eg. I believe in Calvin's God, I certainly would not love Him -- therefore it would be no use recalling to me that the N.T. says God is love. I would try partly to think of something else & partly to defy Him. I would not try to conciliate Him

Tho' If there is a God at all, "moral philosophy" is knowledge of His government.

The "forms of religion"

I would not say "religion" -- I would use some other word --

If God is a perfect God, then the only true "religion" is morality.
And the only true "morality" is religion.
Would not you put in here "He had taught the lesson not of the D. oracle "Know thyself" but "know God" and "come unto me" &c

But did he teach that the Gods "would" certainly "give us that which was best for us" -- That is what I want to know --

A great many people do pray "that a throw of the dice should turn up in their favour"

I don't think that (no Gods) different ideas of God.

"Conscience" does not "reveal any truth to us: it only says: don't do wrong. It never tells us anything or to do anything Conscience such a coward.

Socrates' young politician "And I will tell you just what comes into my head"

"I will do my best to learn by trying an experiment on you."

"to whom God has given a diviner & lowlier destiny"

& there he holds "the little wretch shaking over a precipice" while he endeavours to make him understand the philosophy of law
Zamolxis the divine physician said [Zamolcis?]
that you could not cure the body without first
curing the mind.

attempt to give a serious meaning to the tales of ancient
poets

a charming occupation if life were only long enough

utility: appeal to an external standard independent of
feeling & instinct & also independent of authority" --
Socrates' utility simply "means towards ends" --
"virtue is knowledge" -- a great deal sounder than
those who make resolutions as if thereby they could
become virtuous.

If you look at the ordinary method of reclaiming
(say) a drunkard by rousing in him strong emotions
the same in Penitentiaries -- wisdom is the thing -- not
this.

"He is pious who knows how to please the Gods" --
Then you must know God in order to please Him
Medical just as bad
diseases like dogs & cats

Comte
theories about finding out beginning & end just the same.
No one thinks finding out about the character of God.
which is entirely "within the sphere of human consciousness"
& the most important thing of all, one would
think for us to know.
"Know thyself" -- "what art thou? what is man?
what is the rule of thy life? Do not seek for wisdom
in water & fire & winds & vapours, until you have
first made out the mystery of human nature" --
I should say & just as much as the Evangelist
says in --

Know God -- (for this is eternal life) & tell he
(John) made an immense beginning -- he said "He is
love" -- But no one, no one has shewn what a God of
love is -- how God is a God of love -- how this is
consistent with the state of the world as it is --
G. Fox explains it by saying God did not create the
devil -- Goethe says He did -- & we ought to be very much obliged to Goethe who certainly did not trouble himself much about God for having by the force of his surpassing genius discovered this

This is the "mystery" we ought to find out
And "till until you have first made out this mystery" don't puzzle yourself about beginnings & ends. "That is a knowledge which is the condition of all other knowledge & which can never be exhausted or come to an end".

X x

Xtianity made an immense step in declaring God to be love -- but has never shewn how He can be love -- On the contrary, Xtianity has often made Him out to be worse than the worst tyrant & murderer --

9(4) I think Kant is a sophist "Man is the measure". the prince of sophists but still a sophist

8 "Modern induction: process which discovers truth by means of experiment & observation" "extending our knowledge of the laws of nature by the examination & combination of facts"

7(2) Comte says that he could have made the world much better than God. But I don't think it is at all follows that God's world construction is not perfect because He failed in adapting means to ends. What was His end? Not to make a perfect world
"forms of religion"
I would not say "religion". I would use some other word.
If God is a perfect God, then the only true "religion" is "morality", as you call it.
And the only true "morality" is religion.
But I think I should like, if I were a philosopher, to shew how "morality", "religion",
moral philosophy & politics are all, if not one & the same, at least branches different forms of the same
"Morality" is bringing down heaven to earth or "bringing down" God's will "from heaven to earth."
Religion is bringing earth up to heaven.
Moral philosophy is the government of God over His worlds --
Politics are His administration of this world or "bringing down" God's government "from heaven to earth"
[Goethe, I think it is who says somewhere, that it is very easy to get up to heaven but very difficult to get down again. I think that is quite true. It is very easy to be religious, if religion is only the getting up to God (mysticism). But it is very difficult to get down again be religious in the sense of incarnating Him upon earth -- either in "morality" or in politics or in any other practical embodiment of His laws.
God [made manifest in the] flesh. I feel as great a "mystery" as any Theologian does.
That's not quite fair.
What "F.N." said or meant to say was that the strongest argument for an immortality is the worthlessness of life here to so many myriads of God's creatures -- that is supposing that you believe in a perfect God --
Now the worthless life is the bad life that therefore the world's wickedness is the strongest argument for its immortality.
"F.N." believes that there is no argument but a moral one, the existence of a moral God, for a continued existence.
It is often said that the wish is the father to the thought.
"F.N." replies that she is quite sure she does not wish it (for herself) -- & she believes there are many more in this age who do not wish it for themselves. She wishes it only to prove there is a good God.
People say this is arguing in a circle -- And so it is. You cannot prove the existence of a good God without an immortality -- And your only proof for an immortality
is that there is a good God.

But there are numberless transactions in the world's business in which you practically act on this kind of reasoning -- in Commerce, politics, nearly every species Expedition of undertaking Discovery &c &c in fact in every Discovery that is not made by accident

Then I admit that there is no proof of either: either immortality or a perfect God. But there is strong & ever increasing evidence: from the almost apparently unlimited improvability of mankind. If to this you add an immortality, you have a perfect God. If to it you add a perfect God, you have immortality.

If there is an eternity for improvement, then we cannot conceive of any other scheme which a perfect God would have made.

If there is a perfect God, then He must have made an eternity to improve us in.

And He never could have called into this world a multitude of beings whose lives are entirely worthless (i.e. the bad) & let their lives end here.

[It is not the "suffering poor" but the bad which seems to me to constitute the only argument for an Immortality.

And it is not that because I "want" an Immortality
(for these) but that because God "wants" it -- i.e. if He is perfect, which is what I meant to say\]

F. Newman says somewhere: -- what right have we to claim an Immortality from God?
It is not we who "claim" it -- it is, as it were, His own perfection which "claims" it from Himself.

But I do believe that there is no human being who was ever so insulted, despised, malign, calumniated, as God. We sometimes hear it said of some wretched creature who has bit his mother to death, or who has starved and ill-treated a child, before the Police Magistrate: he did not appear to have common feeling -- or he scarcely seemed to have the attribute of humanity. I am sure we might say this of God. For while everybody calls him good, we always speak of Him as if He had not "common feeling". No savage tribe ever committed the acts of cruelty we attribute to God

N.B. It appears to me that Channing's argument for immortality is quite worthless.
With regard to the Resurrection: --
I don't think any body believes it.
And, if they did, I think it would be an argument against our Immortality.
If they really believed it, can you conceive any thing like the intensity of expectation with which we should watch to see whether our Beloved became alive again on the Monday who had died on the Saturday -- the agony of hope?
And when he did not, we should say:
Christ may have risen again on the third day -- But we are not good enough to do so.
If we don't rise again on the third day as He did, how can His resurrection be a proof of ours?
Some one says that the Resurrection is the Semitic way of putting immortality --
But that is only putting words into other words.
But do you think any body really believes the Resurrection?
I can't so much as conceive of my meeting Sidney Herbert again & taking him for the Gardener -- or of my going a walk with him of many miles & not knowing him till after he was gone -- [It is such a poor tale so evidently put together afterwards
I know there is scarcely a Christian in all Christendom who would not be shocked if he were told he did not believe in the Resurrection of Christ.

And I believe that there is really scarcely a Christian in all Christendom who really believes it -- so as in any measure to rest his belief in an Immortality upon it -- if he does believe in an immortality.

But very few, I dare say, do.

As for me, tho' I do not wish for it, for myself I can truly say that I think of little else. It occupies a far larger portion of my thoughts than any thing in this world. I mean, nothing that I do, I should do, if I did not believe in an immortality continued existence, not for myself but for all the world -- It would not be worth while... (INSERTED FROM f199:)

And this not because on account of any expectation of rewards or punishments, either for myself or others -- nor because I am too lazy to secure a small material good for any body -- but from a conviction which underlies every thing I do that unless there is a good God (which is impossible if there is no continued existence) it is no use to try to do any thing. (BACK TO f198v:)

That is all "F.N." meant.

I am sure I should not take the trouble to keep myself alive -- which is a very great trouble to me -- if I did not believe there was a perfect God. I should just let myself starve -- And then I should get dead.
But there is nothing very inspiring in denying the Resurrection or any other "miracle". That is, I think, the mistake of all the "Liberals" -- The inspiring thing is to show what the character of God is: in giving us immortality & in all His plans.

Leibnitz on Eternal punishments

Far from feeling about of Leibnitz as of the G. Councils `I don't want to hear what they say, I want very much to hear what Leibnitz says' -- Perhaps Leibnitz & Spinoza & Ld Bacon & Plato are among the greatest benefactors of the human race, even to millions who have never heard their names, don't know who they were & would not care if they did. But I entirely differ with Lessing: Why should we want to be sharper/cleverer then Leibnitz & more philanthropic than Socrates? -- It is just because we don't want that half the mischief of this world is done. It is just because every body looks upon religion from the historical or the critical side, & never from the practical or the constructive side, that there is no religion at all or hardly any. Exactly in proportion as there was greatness in Leibnitz & in Socrates would they/Leibnitz & Socrates have urged us to do greater things than they.

The greatest highest of all said And greater things than these shall ye do -- But this the whole world always forgets. If people would leave the things that are behind (except as a scaffolding) & press on to the things that are before, they would find the meaning of this. Not however as Swedenborg did who seems to draw upon his imagination only for his heaven & hell. We can reason about either only from analogy & from what evidence there is of the
Moral character of God. As for heaven, there will be no heaven till we make it; that is certain. And we have no reason for thinking that the way of making it differs materially from the way God has appointed for making it here. As for hell, this world is hell.

I. There is no objection, if people will have their "eternal hell", to look upon it in this way: -- that, for in any sense in which we can conceive eternity, there may be an eternal hell. Every body may have to pass thro' hell. But nobody will have to stay in it. As the succession of human beings may be eternal (in the only sense in which the word has any meaning to us) so you may have an eternal hell, if you like it.

I would try most carefully to distinguish ideas which we never can define, while we are human -- such as 'beginning', 'end', 'eternity', 'infinity'. E.g. there can be no 'eternal hell' in any sense, if everybody is to become perfect.

Buddhists lose themselves in perplexity because they don't know what to do with their human beings when they are perfect. Are they 'absorbed'? Or do they come back again to imperfection?

Leibnitz does the same about 'beginnings'. The same reasoning which makes us suppose, we have no end, will do to prove we have no beginning. But when we have proved it, what do we understand a bit the more for that?

Neither 'beginning' nor 'eternity' do/can we understand. For practical purposes, I would distinguish the difficulties of religion under 3 heads
1. such questions as: what is eternity? beginning? the nature of God? how does God act? what is He about now?
& set them aside at least till we have solved the more practical ones, such as
2. the character of God -- of His moral government upon these hardly anything is known -- & upon these mankind must labour incessantly, at least till something is known.
But mankind has written creeds upon creeds, about the nature & person of God, -- when we don't know even our own nature or principle of life. Mankind has attempted to define, pantheistically & anti-pantheistically, the relation of God to the external world, whether He is "immanent" or creative -- when we don't even know how our own lives (souls) are put into our own bodies while the greatest & most vital of all questions, one would think, viz God's character, what His plans are for us -- is left almost untouched. Yet if we believe in a God at all, it must be more important to know what He is like than to enquire the character of any human being, even of a husband or wife.

It is as if saying to a wife: "be very careful to study in your husband, the relation of his soul to his body, how the principle of life resides in the brain. It is indifferent to study his character, his plans, how you can be his fellow worker.

3. I would settle & have done for ever with such questions as the pretended difficulty of not being able to reconcile Foreknowledge with Free-will -- of (confounding Free-will with Power) of the existence of evil with the existence of a Perfect God -- which are perfectly easy to understand, if people were not too lazy. I would leave off quoting Milton -- & would teach people these things like grammar -- e.g. not to call
III. Certainly much of God's scheme could be demonstrated like a mathematical proposition e.g. that God cannot be God without his creating other beings for perfection (happiness) but, if he created them Gods at once, then there would be more Gods than one, which is a contradiction and, if he were to create beings not to work out their own perfection, these would be animals he must therefore create other beings to work out their own perfection and how can perfection be worked out by the human being's own will, without evil & without sin? So it could be shewn, as that a triangle cannot be without angles, so God's perfection cannot be without evil & thus that the existence of Evil is not only not inconsistent with but necessarily co-existent with the existence of a perfect God. (by `necessity' meaning `must without a contradiction') But whom would one convert by such propositions? One had much better be cleaning out the drain. But I see no sense at all in illustrating perfection by the "rectangle" or the "triangle".
things good in God, which would be bad in man --
also what are the elements of a perfect God according to our human powers of finding out
Kant surely did immense harm in saying we could not find out.

Education does not do so little
Few people would have found out for themselves that the earth moves round the sun. But having been taught it, they accept it.
But if Cop. & Gal. had spent their lives in commenting what Ptolemy said, they never would have found out. Tho' if Ptolemy had never been, Cop. & Gal. would never have been.

II. I think it quite true to say that the world now, as in the future (as in the beginning, so now & ever shall be) as God's scheme, is perfect even tho' every individual in it is as yet, as imperfect as possible. Just as it might be quite exact to say that a Professor's school is perfect, even while not one of the scholars, as yet, could state an element correctly.
I would apply this to the proof that the existence of Evil is not only not inconsistent with but the necessary concomitant of, the existence of a perfect God.
Politics
Should not you go a little farther in answering "Noodle" & say what Politics are?
Some one says that politics are ephemeral only for the moment -- temporary. Then I would alter the word.
But take "politics" as the realizing the eternal idea of God's administration of His world in the particular time & place of a nation __ __ __
then there can be nothing with which a clergyman has so much "to do" as with politics. Nothing, except education -- and the education of statesmen is the highest of all -- because statesmen have the education of the world -- (to educate the nation)

Goethe says that nature s God realized -- [it was certainly an immense step to have discovered that]

But politics (which by the way Goethe entirely declined) are certainly God realized in a much higher sense --
And this is true, notwithstanding all the cruel falls, disappointments, mistakes involving evil apparently interminable, which any earnest man must make in politics.

That is God descending into hell. x

A "Saint" can't become a "politician" without being degraded--You can't inform the earthly with the divine -- without the earthly dirtying the divine.

And yet what is the good of the "Saint" unless he is a "politician"?

I say -- go down into hell bravely, as Christ did. You must often sacrifice heaven to hell -- All practical men must. And if they are not practical, they might just as well have staid in heaven, for any good they will do.

The politician, who accomplishes the least little practical good, is much more of God really than the greatest Saint, who never would sacrifice the "superior" to the "inferior" -- or heaven to hell.

x "It is easy to raise oneself up to God but very difficult to come down again".
Politics are an attempt to inform with the spirit of God the administration of His world.

Of course people will say that, if in any sense politics are God realized, it is in a very different sense from nature being God realized -- just as they put in opposition the two philosophies -- that of the (wrongly called) Pantheistic (Spinoza's) religion -- & that of the (wrongly called) responsible (free-will) religion.

There is no real opposition between these two religions.

And there is no real difference between the two senses of God realized in nature & in politics. But people are beginning to find out that the laws of nature are the laws of God -- But they still shut Him out from the Houses of Parliament. He has no business there, except while the Chaplain reads prayers -- The Sovereign Crown is God the rest of the time.

However, people will say, there is one great difference -- the laws of Nature are inalterable -- in government man can do according to his own free will.

It is true we cannot make the sun rise a minute earlier -- But we can alter the face of the world, even the very climate, almost as we will, by observing the laws of God. And we can do no more in government.
But to return --

The only real evidence, that I can see, which we have of your No 1 -- a "moral God" -- i.e a righteous Ruler -- is your No 3 -- provided you will let me "draw upon another life" -- & "assume" the "endlessness" -- endless progress --

And, on the other hand, the only real evidence we have that there will be an eternity of progress for each is: -- that there is a "moral God."

The capability of unlimited progress -- progress perfectly realized in none -- -- not at all in some, who deteriorate -- while all are cut short in all when only a very few steps have been made whether forwards or backwards --

[must we not say of most people that it would be better if they had never been at all?] considering these things, I should call would make this world a nonsense, instead of a proof of "Design", if we may not "draw upon another life" -- if this life is all --

Either there is no will or purpose in

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE:}
a "moral God" at all -- Or -- [but there does appear purpose of Education

(unlimited Education) in the Laws which we can see -- in the things which we do see -- And] the only thing consistent with these which we can infer is that there purpose of a "moral God" is unlimited progress --

for Eternity.
And surely the only "Design" worthy of a "moral God" is the education of Mankind to improve in his reading. Now, he scarcely even knows even three of his letters -- much less his Alphabet.

I do not think -- do you? -- that there is the least interest in going into proofs of "Design" which are only evidence of Power in God --

Comte says too that the Astronomical organization of the Planetary system is very badly made -- & he could have made a much better one himself. I don't think there is any evidence reason to think at all that God meant to make a perfect world -- but one in which he meant to educate Mankind to perfection.

[I am continually terrified, lest you should say: "assuming knowledge you do not possess". But may we not ask: -- of what can the human mind be absolutely certain? what can it produce proof for? can we prove anything? --]

x Mill says: Design is the best argument for a God & uses the example of the Eye -- exactly as if God were no better than an optician making a Telescope.

People dwell on the proof of "Design" in the structure of the eye. But I am sure, if there is nothing to be seen better then [than] there is in this world, my eye does not tell me of a "moral God" but of a very immoral one -- i.e. unless this world is for our "endless" Education -- that makes all the difference.
Now I will make two observations -- (both beside the mark) --:
1. Expediency, when it is incarnating the eternal idea into the earthly form, is a very fine thing, altho' of course the eternal idea suffers from the narrowness of its body --
   But I think there is a kind of expediency (which particularly distinguishes the present generation) which is a very dangerous thing. It is that fatal facility, either 1. of finding a moral reason for doing what you like, the female type of this kind of thing -- or 2. of finding arguments not to discover the truth but to support some fore-gone conclusion, which will be carried out, whether any one be convinced of its reasonableness or not -- & whatever the adversary, even if it be strictly his own business, may advance, all that he can advance is listened to merely to find reasons for the other side by the other side --
   or (thirdly) of which Mr. Gladstone is the
type, is, as has often been said of him, an inexhaustible readiness in reasons for his fancy of the moment & for his opposite fancy of to-morrow
an immensity so much writing about the "Eternal" idea -- But no one ever seems to have thought even of realizing it in politics, which is the finest field of all -- at least not since the Christian era --
"the main central principle, that of considering not the visible but the invisible but as the truly Existent, not this life but the future" (why does he not say the eternal, instead of the future? -- making surely "this life" is part of the eternal) "as the true Life" he will "always find reasons for any line of action which "it may suit him to adopt with regard to any public "question whatever"
"this inventiveness of reasons" "so terrible"
"they do not know what he may be able to persuade himself "of at any given moment of his life.

"has so much connection with Xtianity" "that we cannot but recognize (in this principle) a preparation for it, or of mankind for it, on the part of the Greeks"
But "Xtianity" has not recognized this "principle" as far as politics go -- And Plato did, did he not? And Spinoza did, did he not?
There seems to me a very deep meaning in what Schleiermacher said, speaking of Spinoza, making the "Holy Spirit" (Holy Ghost) & the "Spirit of the World" the same thing. Surely they are -- And surely this is the truth.
And surely this world is as much a part of the "Eternal World" as any "future" world
On Influence [3:602-03]

1. There is the difference between real & apparent influence -- between the influence which tells only on the present & tells most on the future like Christ's, St. Paul's, both of whom thought their work destroyed in the present -- & Aristotle, Confucius -- both of whom were misunderstood.

2. There is the deepest meaning in the legend about of God made man -- Only so can real lasting influence for good be obtained -- There is a story of the Middle Ages belonging to Cologne where the Devil comes to confess in the Cathedral -- The priest is appalled when he finds out the name of the Penitent. But the Penitent is willing to undergo a punishment of 60000 years, if only he can be pardoned at last. The priest desires him instead to kiss the feet of the Child
in an image of Virgin & Child hanging near -- `Who, I? -- exclaims Satan -- what, adore a God who degraded himself to be man, while I aspired to be God! Never -- And he vanishes.

Now the only way of acquiring real influence to leave its impress on the world, acknowledged or unacknowledged is for the God to make himself Man -- to do as you are doing at Oxford -- not to do as D'Israeli is doing -- or as the First Napoleon did.

Perhaps the most perfect influence is that whose external traces least remain as certainly the most perfect teaching is. Because the pupil is so influenced transformed that he mounts upon the
shoulders of his teaching
which disappears while
he creates a new science,
a new policy, a new
organization.

4. But it is a great mistake
for persons with the
qualities for influence
to remain in a milieu
which cannot be influenced.

Suppose Luther had
remained in his Order a monk --
would he have reformed
that Order? his monastery? --
And every day how often
you see Suppose Christ had
remained at Nazareth,
would he have converted
Nazareth? -- A man's
foes are they of his own
household. You
sometimes see one
exerting an almost
unlimited influence,
colouring the spirit of
his age -- yet absolutely
without influence in his
own family, College, Office or Society.
this not because of anything in himself but because of the nature of the recipients --
In estimating comparative influence & means of influence, you must take into account the recipient. A man may be among recipients who have positively no power of receiving.

Do you expect to influence your Senior Tutor? __

Do you think Mill influenced the India Office much? --

Yet would you say, therefore, that Mill has no influence?

Moses always seems the most extraordinary instance in history of a man founding a polity among slaves who appeared to be actually without power of being recipients.

If the making one's life is an Art, let not a man beat the air by remaining/trying to influence among those over/among whom he can have no influence.

{WRITTEN TO THE RIGHT OF THE ABOVE:}

Essayists can never have much influence if they remain Essayists

Better make a trial of something real & make a mistake & fail than remain an Essayist --

Miss Garrett -- Cobbe Stephen

Oh let us Pray -- not to beat the air.
1870

To Mr. Jowett --

Life & Letters of Faraday
by Bence Jones.

of B.J. to F.N. July 12 1870

(PENCIL, WRITTEN BY FN:)

Dear Master,

May it be given me to say what I want to say! [how often I put up that prayer!]

I have only read the Life of Faraday in Extracts. I have now sent for it & will read it thoroughly --

What I am going to say is therefore quite general -- on your letter & not on the Life.

Do not you think that it was the truth in Sandemanianism which "exerted" the "influence" over Faraday -- & not the part which is, as you say, "absolutely irreconcilable with his philosophy"?

Do not you think that it is the truth -- & not the untruth -- in "Methodism
"Evangelicalism &c" which has the "elevation & idealism" which, as you well say, "we cannot afford to dispense with for the common people", or for any people? --

[I will come back to this]

Do not you think that it is the "truth" -- & not the untruth -- in R. Catholic doctrine which, as you once told me, enabled your sister to bear the blow of her Mother's death?

vide large sheet 35 {THIS LINE IN PEN}

[I have often seen that myself in R. Catholics]

We are such martinets about the truth of words. We think so little, as it appears to me, of the truth of feeling or of ideas.

Some know God much better than they love Him.

Of course there is a want of truth of feeling there.

Some love God much better than they know Him.

Yet, altho' they have the truth of feeling, yet, because they have not the Liberal phraseology of the present day, the rejecting Genesis, xx the disbelieving in the Resurrection &c &c, we cannot conceive that they have any truth in religion at all.

Some call the goodness of God by some other name -- as, e.g. Evangelicalism calls it the Saviour, R. Catholicism the Virgin &c &c

xx There is perhaps a greater and therefore truer conception of the whole scheme of God's creation & redemption in Michael Angelo's frescoes of the Sistine Chapel than exists anywhere up to now. Yet the whole
of these are taken from much-reviled Genesis & from the prophecies of the Messiah & the belief in the Last Judgment. [I am quite unversed in metaphysical words. But I really do not see that there is anything more true or more untrue in the dividing the attributes of God into the Trinity; as we do in the Gloria Patri, or as the Germans do into the Absolute passing into the Finite, or as the Egyptians did into the various attributes—in-active or in-passive—operation represented under symbols -- or, as the R. Catholics do, under the images of the Virgin & various Saints -- or in the thousand and one other religious philosophies.] The truth is: to believe in the goodness of God -- That is the truth of feeling -- of infinitely more consequence than the truth of words. Tho' it is probable that the Virgin never lived at all, at least
or certainly not as she is represented at the beginning of two Gospels --
Yet there is a deeper truth in those to whom she stands as the goodness of God & who find their best assurance of God being more than father, more than mother to us in that than there is in those who call her by I know not what disagreeable words as Kingsley does.

[Also: there can be no doubt for all history all society shews it us that there is a profound truth in the idea of the Virgin Mother -- since it is not people's own fathers & mothers who influence them --
But that is beside the mark.]

One of the best & ablest & not only that but the most enlightened woman I ever knew who exercised a great influence over me once, a nun of the Sacré Coeur at Rome, -- she was "maitresse des pauvres" -- a French lady -- & her lessons to her poor classes were the best I ever heard -- believed in the Virgin as we believe (or don't believe) in the goodness of God, & it was the inspiring comfort of her life. She was not orthodox -- & would have been "brûlée vive", if her opinions had been known, as she said herself.]

I do not at all agree with you that Faraday &c "rob one of the belief" that truth is one.

Is it not rather that what there is of true in Faraday's beliefs, in the
Methodist's, the Evangelical's, the R. Catholics's, the ancient Greek's, the ancient Indian's, is one -- that truth is one in all these & that where these religions do elevate & idealize, it is not from the mixture of error but from the infusion of the One Truth in them.

I have often thought when I lived in Greece that there was more truth in the ancient Greek's religion of the River God, the fountain Nymph spreading plenty wherever he or she goes, & being thankful to him or to her than in the Calvinist's idea of God.

I think, tho' this is a point of minor importance (the point of real importance being -- what should be the mental education to fit men's minds to enquire into the character of God & our relations to Him with the success with which we enquire into His material works --)

I think that there is quite enough in Faraday's own character to account for his being so wrong in matters of fact in religion.

He was absolutely without imagination. Bence Jones says he was remarkable for imagination -- but he means by imagination that insight of genius into the scientific thing to be discovered which he sought to establish by his experiments -- just as Newton imagined or guessed at the law of gravitation & then instituted experiments & calculations which decided his guess to be right.
But in the imagination or conception which assimilates the higher spiritual or art impressions, Faraday was absolutely deficient. In Rome he finds nothing better to tell you of than the Horse-race in the Corso. His journals from Switzerland would disgrace a boy of 12 years old -- He was quite deficient in the power of conceiving or assimilating the impressions of other Religions, other times, other arts, other natures, other methods of expressing the highest feelings.

His preaching (as a Sandemanian elder) was, it is said, as different from, as inferior to his eloquent lecturing as -- - - - - - one would expect --

It was little more than a string of texts out of the Bible --
This being the case, I think it explains all -- just as it does in the other extreme,

that of the R. Catholic -- [M. Mohl, who is truly a learned man, says that the Jesuits are truly learned men. Why are their conclusions then "fossil", not living, conclusions? -- Because their first principle is that all we have to do is to learn what passes thro' the mind of the Church. All is said, all is done, when we have said this: -- if the mind of the Church is God's mind, & nothing else is God's mind, of course we have nothing to do but to study this mind we have no business to have any other mind -- there is no other mind, in fact.]

So with Faraday. The Bible & the Bible alone was God's mind to him.-- of course he had nothing else to do but to quote, to study the Bible. On his system, he says truly that it is 'impious', 'blasphemous', to bring any methods of human inquiry into this.
It all returns to the same thing: -- is not study of the most important thing -- viz. Religion -- the only study for which our Education is entirely neglected -- the only study for which no training of mental processes is considered in the least necessary -- It would truly seem as if we took literally the beautiful words about 'the spirit of a child' -- & thought that the education & the mental powers of a child of 4 years old were all that was necessary to comprehend the Highest, the most difficult, the most important, the most universal, the most unexplored branch of knowledge that exists. You say that Faraday's mistake was, that he made all this to be of the domain of faith -- the rest to be of the domain of knowledge -- That is true

But 'faith' is a word so prostituted. What I want to find out is whether there is a good God -- if so, He will have a plan for bringing every one to perfection -- what are the details of this plan that we may second them? You, I think, do not feel very certain that there is any such thing -- yet think it a pity that we should be without such influences of Religion as we can get. You wrote to me, about 4 years ago, (I dare say it was in answer to one of my interminable letters on this subject) that our 'attitude' (towards God) ought to be one of 'faith & hope' -- I think so too -- But Faraday means by faith thinking that right which would be wrong if we
looked at it with our well-cultivated human powers -- I mean in God -- theoretically -- For practically the Christ's teaching was perfect -- And if every one really did act without question on the practice & maxims of Christ, probably we might do without Moral Philosophy or Theodikè altogether --

But it all comes back to the same thing
Are we not to have a Mental Education for the highest of all inquiries, Religion, -- if we had & if we made it a subject of enquiry, i.e. how to make man perfect in accordance with the plan of God to make him perfect, should we not make as great discoveries -- in abolishing pauperism, in reforming criminals, in creating mankind as we have made in the last 30 years in

Mechanical philosophy?
You say -- we can't make these discoveries -- discoveries in as to the evidence for God's character,

for man's perfecting -- by the same methods as we make find evidence for mechanical discoveries --

No --
and faith, in the meaning of the evidence for things unseen,: is a very good word to use here --
As for hope, if it means trust, it will do. But hope is a foolish virtue.
You say -- how extraordinary it is that Faraday should have been so right in his Science, so wrong in his Religion -- That is true.

But is it not still much more extraordinary that men of the present day, Liberals, who make it a principle to be "free-thinkers" on all subjects should not think out a Religion?

To me it is the most extraordinary & at the same time despairing phenomenon of the present day.

And that is what makes me say -- we have scarcely made the first step in Religion -- instead of there being nothing to say, there is every thing to say. We have to begin at the beginning -- to think out the Perfect God -- & what our relation to Him (our religion) is --

If I were an Educator like you, I would begin at the beginning, & teach my boys from the first what Religion is --

There is nothing I should like better than to preach -- but then it must be a Course of Sermons.

You say, but I should shock them --

I would leave all about Miracles alone. I would leave all about Resurrection alone -- [I want neither to shock nor to unshock them.] There is nothing very inspiring in denying the Miracles -- there is nothing very inspiring in denying the Resurrection. Let all that settle itself afterwards. Let us teach first the Perfect God -- & all these things will be added unto us -- i.e. (will drop off or) will be made plain of themselves.
I think that that is so true which Faraday says, when he finds out the utter folly of minds about Table-turning -- only I should say it about Religion -- It was applicable to Faraday himself.

What people can believe (in RELIGION) is so extraordinary -- the 'uneducated judgment' comes to such utterly false & foolish conclusions (in RELIGION) that the very first thing to be desired or done (at BALLiol) is to educate the judgment (in Religion). For at present a well-disposed dog is superior in his instincts of reverence & affection (in that which he reveres & loves) to man.

The 'system of education' (I am still following Faraday) which can leave, the mental condition of man generally in the beliefs & non-beliefs (as to RELIGION) must be utterly deficient in some very important principle --

But is there any principle at all? -- Have we not to find out & to teach the first principle in Religion?

I cannot say that it seems to me in the least extraordinary that Faraday did not apply his unequalled powers in Experimental Philosophy to Religion --

He had been brought up to look upon it as a subject into which we were not to enquire -- quite as much as the R. Catholic, the Jesuit (whom he abuses) are --

If he had been brought up to consider it 'impious', 'blasphemous' (I think he uses these words somewhere) to look into
the nature of matter, or inertia, or the magnetization of light -- would he ever have enquired into these? -- I doubt --
I think it is impossible to over-rate the gigantic effort of mind which it takes to make a Luther -- who enquires into that which he has been brought up to think it 'blasphemous', 'impious' to enquire into --
Faraday would never have made a Luther --
I do not however quite see that it is fair to Faraday to say that Hume might have turned the tables upon him about the Resurrection as he did upon Hume about Table turning --
Probably, if the Resurrection had happened in Faraday's day, he would have looked into it & rejected the evidence

the evidence just as he does about Table-turning
But is it not now the first business of an Educator not to apply himself to this detail Interpretation or that Miracle Translation but to try to educate the mind so as that it shall not be deficient in the very first most important principle of Religion: -- is there a God whom we can love? [I am sure that I should hate, not love, the Evangelical, the Calvinistic God, if I believed in him] If so, what is His plan towards us? what is our service, or our relation, towards Him?
Is it not most extraordinary that, whereas the forces of England, the forces of Germany are almost arrayed on two sides with regard to questions of interpretation,
& questions of translation & questions of history & questions of Church, this one would think all important, vital, essential question, is never thought out at all -- 
You do say & teach, the Bible must be interpreted like any other book -- 
Will you not say & teach the mind must be educated to look into Religion (I will not say like but) before any other subject -- 
Or there will be no Religion.

I think too that Faraday's idea of friendship is very high: "one who will serve his companion next to his God" -- And when one thinks that most, nay almost all people have no idea of friendship at all except pleasant juxtaposition, it strikes one with admiration -- 
Yet is Faraday's idea not mine. My idea of a friend is: one who will & can join with you in work the sole purpose of which is to serve God. Two in one, and one in God -- It almost exactly answers Jesus Christ's words -- And so extraordinarily blessed have I been that I have had 3 such friends. 
I can truly say that, during the 5 years that I worked with Sidney Herbert every day & nearly all day, from the moment he came into the
room, no other idea came in but that
of doing the work, with the best of our
powers, in the service of God --
[And this though he was a man of
the most varied & brilliant conversational
genius I have ever known -- (far beyond
Macaulay, whom I also knew)]
This is heaven!
& This is what makes me say: I have
had my heaven.
My other friend you knew: A.H.C.
All these 3 were taken away in less
than 3 months -- 2 by death --
The third who was a woman (20 years older
than myself) whom I had looked upon
almost as God ever since I was 6 years old,
-- then when, as it were, God Himself turned (in her)
into a passionate unjust old woman --
there are things worse than death.  [end 3:486]
To Mr. Jowett
just became Master of Balliol --

Serene Highness

Is it your Archbishop or your cook that you are looking after now?

Ah Revo Sir it's the poor old fogey, me, who's thrown overboard now by the Master who consorts with Archbishops in purple & fine linen, & Dukes, & teaches the sheep to laugh at Socrates, & goes to church on week-days --

Nevertheless, you asked me to write -- And I, obedient, write -- tho' I've small stomach for it.

On this day, 16 years ago, I landed at Scutari -- God be thanked! --

Who would have thought that I should have lived to see the horrors of a war compared with which those were mere child's play?
But it is not the actual sufferings, frightful, ghastly as they are -- as who can know like me? -- of this War which so possess one's mind as it is: -- what will come of it? -- what but a tyranny, a Chaos, more frightful still? --
The Almighty created, it is written, the world, the light, & man out of darkness & Chaos --
Ah but that was only a Chaos of warring elements, of earth quakes, hurricanes, fire & storm -- mild & tame compared with the Chaos of men's warring passions -- their passion for tyranny & cruelty -- for fighting a barbarous conflict, even as wild beasts fight.
Can the Almighty Himself make a world, create man out of this Chaos? --

La Prusse les a le lendemain de ses victoires trouvées à ses pieds (les grandes puissances de l'Europe) ou elles ne prévoient rien -- ou bien elles n'ont pas le courage de leur prévoyance
He has not as yet made one man
(to be called a man) out of it.
What one man has been created, out of
all this Chaos, compared with whom
a blind hurricane, an earth quake, a
fire, is not a beneficent Institution?
Is it not quite unknown in history
that a philosophical, a deep-thinking,
the most highly & widely educated
nation of Europe, these Germans,
should plunge, head foremost,
into this gulf & abyss, called
Military despotism --
that they should not see that
"German Unity" means now only
Prussia's aggrandizement --
that Prussia, under Bismark, is a
trampling on all civil freedom, on

all constitutional rights, on all political
progress -- every bit as much as
Russia is --
that the real Devil, the true Mephistopheles,
is: Bismark -- who has besotted not
one stupid Faust -- not one drinking,
half=savage population, like the Russian &
Tartar peasantry = "plunging them into hell" --
but a whole Central Continent of the
most philosophical & civilized
peoples of the earth.
Is any ruin like this? --
is the ruin of poor, torn & trampled
France herself -- is it anything like this?
Whether Spain is to be "excused" the consequences of the Queen's misgovernment.

In what manner God 'judges' the Queen may be a curious question of Moral Physiology -- to what degree her immorality & her unprincipled falsehood in government is to be attributed to her Mother's ditto ditto ditto --

[I heard [illegible] Olozaga say to Lord Palmerston -- 'the Mother & the daughter never once told me the same story of any one single act of their common lives]

may be a curious question of Moral Physiology --

[and mark too how practically true is the dogma of "Original Sin" & how practically inconsistent with the other dogma: 'God is the a Judge" -- as religionists put the two dogmas --

What I mean is: while such then, is God's 'judging' to let the
criminal go scot free, because her mother was bad & her "intentions" were good -- & to visit her deeds upon the country she has misgoverned --
That is the "rummest" method of "judging" I ever heard of --
It is as if a man had beaten his wife -- and the Police Magistrate were to say to the man: `I have nothing to say to you, because your "intentions" were not bad -- your father was drunk before you, & taught you, to drink -- and when you're drunk you beat your wife -- but she is to be beaten every day for the rest of her life, & her children & her grand-children after her.'
That is really "notwithstanding all "appearances to the contrary" the theory of the government of God held by religionists. And what I
mean is, while such absolute ignorance of the character of God exists [I believe there is absolutely no foundation for supposing that He exists in the character of "a Judge" -- at all -- If in the matter of this poor Spain, God's business is to "judge" how much this poor Queen is to be "made allowances for" -- if Christ's business is to "intercede for" her -- why, God had better not exist at all -- Christ had better not exist at all -- Is that God's only idea of the exercising any His moral government over the affairs of Spain?]
while such absolute misconception of the character of God exists, notwithstanding all "appearances to the contrary" notwithstanding all the facts of history staring us in the face -- [do people believe
that God leaves Spain to govern itself at random, while He is weighing the Queen's adulteries?]
while such daily misconception of God exists, I don't think the thing to say is: -- that it is difficult to find out the character of God but that Mankind had better begin to day, this afternoon to find out whether they can't find out anything about it not "amid appearances to the "contrary" -- but amid appearances to reveal it -- "To-day if ye will hear my voice", [I think scarcely any words in the Liturgy more impressive than these] and this is "Revelation".
And 2. on the character of God & what it is I admit rests the whole argument for a future state --

I don't think the arguments derived from the "nature of the thinking faculty" (in man) --the "aspirations in the soul of man after a future state" convinced any body --

Jowett letter to FN Oxford Feb 28/71, on theology, notion of divine perfection, pol ec, tracts for the poor
Aug 7/71

Dear Mr. Jowett

I am overjoyed that you are going to write an Essay on the "religions of the world", & "then make applications of them to ourselves" -- You ask me what I have to "say about it" -- And as I am naturally a patient & obedient beast, (I do not look into your face for fear of seeing that you don't agree on this point), this is what I have to say: --

1. Let what comes out of them all be: the search after a Perfect God. i.e. how far the search after Him comes out of each.

2. Let what comes out of them all be: the search after Truth -- that is, that there is a truth, & we
are to find it -- not that we are
"speculating" or "criticizing" or
exercising our "private judgment"
or being "liberal" or illiberal --
or "Pantheistic" or "Deistic" --
but that, if there is a God at all,
He is an existence outside of us,
(perhaps the only real existence
there is) -- & we have to find Him
out -- an absolute Truth, not
depending upon 'Church' or
"private judgment' either --
upon what 'I think', or upon
what 'you think' -- But there He
is, if He is there, & we have to find Him out.

How far does the search after Truth come out of
each religion? --
[You know we established a system
of Sanitary reporting throughout India
-- a great many of these reports
come to me. I have often to say:

In reading almost all Theological
Essays of the present day, I feel
constantly inclined to say: -- there
is everything in this Theology,
except God -- there is every thing
except the belief that there is
a Truth, & we have to find it out.
As to a search after a Perfect God,
there is nothing.
[Your man, M. Pattison, actually
defines Theology to be: "a speculative
habit" ... And you lie quiet in the
same book with him! Theology
is, I suppose, the knowledge of God.
If it is, I can't conceive any infidelity,
not that of the lowest blasphemy,
like that of defining Theology to be
a "speculative habit"!
[Really, my dear soul, when you want to praise Pattison the Dean of Ch: Ch:, or Lord Overstone, you must go & whisper it in a corn field.]

Mind, it is not Ld Overstone's metal Political Economy that I object to, but his living Political Economy --

Then, that poor man who is just dead, Mansel: his Bampton Lectures seemed to me to have nothing in them that they ought to have -- & every thing in them that they ought not to have -- And the "Times" calls him: 'one of the most successful leaders of original thought.'

But to return: --

1. the search after the Perfect God.
   If He is perfect, He has a plan for bringing us all to perfection.
   [I would not look upon Him so much as the Creator, but also as the Law-giver --]
   If there is a plan for bringing us
all to perfection, surely the most momentous study of Theology is, to discover what this is & of Religion, to second it. But of this study: 'keine Spur' -- (no trace) in Theology -- 'Der Johanniter -- keine Spur' was the German War Doctors' cry when at Pont à Mousson &c they had 9000 Wounded on their hands & no stores or anything essential.] In short, the one thing which your Theologians have to study is: the character & plan of God -- The materials for study they have always before them: in this Earth & ourselves -- What we are, God has made us -- Was it worth making us? For any thing the world has done yet, would it not have been much better not to have made us? -- what can have been God's plan in making such a miserable world? -- Yet these materials, always before us, are the only ones the Theologians don't use -- Yet this study, the main study of Theology, the character & plan of God, is the only study the Theologians never make. The metaphysical nature of God which they never can fathom, they prose about -- the moral character of God which we can know & must know, they never enquire about. [By the way, you never answered my 3 questions -- I shall send them to you again. Here they are: -- I will presume that
1. is the condition, present, past & future (as far as we can make it out) of mankind, consistent with any idea of Right in its Creator's mind -- if it had a Creator -- i.e. is the history, the state, the end & aim or destination of the moral & intelligent world (of human beings) satisfactory to our moral sense -- taking all we can learn, by exerting all our powers to the utmost, of what has been, what is, what is to be -- is it such as we can reconcile with a high conception of Right -- of Right in the mind of a Perfect Being?

2. (the moral or practical question) what is it possible for man to do towards making human existence right, towards making the state of the moral world satisfactory to any moral sense -- any idea of the Perfect?

   what can he do to co-operate with the plan of a Perfect Creator, supposing it is discovered that there is a Perfect plan? --

   [Qy -- if Mankind were to set itself to regenerate Mankind?]
3. is there evidence that there is a
   Perfect Being who, thro' those
   conditions which it is not possible
   for man to change, as thro' those
   conditions which it is possible for
   man to change, is working out
   a moral world that shall be
   satisfactory to a moral sense? --
   that, if this world is imperfect,
   a Perfect Being has created
   the Imperfect to become Perfect?
   Surely these three are the fundamental
   questions of a real Theology (or
   Theodikê).
   But at this moment they are not put
   here except that for this reason: --
   if I were writing an account of the
   religions of the world, I would
   keep steadily in view these, or
   something like these, or whatever
   are the fundamental questions
   of Theology, & see how far the
   religions of the world have
   answered or even entertained them.
   [Dean Stanley says, quoting somebody,
   that the geography of Palestine
   is a fifth Gospel --
(I read his Dean Stanley's speech at the Centenary-- & like him much better on Walter Scott than on Jesus Christ --)

Is it possible that a man, the ecclesiastical head of the greatest religious establishment in the most important Metropolis of the world, who has, within 1/4 hour of his establishment, a population to be numbered by hundreds of thousands, ground down by vice & sin & pauperism & misery & physical deterioration -- so that, to use the words of one pauper, 'we have nothing but misery in this world & those -- clergy tell us we have nothing to look to but misery in the next' --

Is it possible that this ecclesiastical head looks to the historical & geographical criticism of Palestine as being the 'Gospel' which is to bring 'good news' to this wretched mass who, if they are not seething in hell already -- where are they? -- what is this but hell? --

I know you will throw a stone at me for quoting Dean Stanley in this way--

But I duck my head & do it all the same for this reason: --

if people do not carry constantly in their heads some great landmark, ideal or principle of what Religion is, they get led aside & drawn away on all sides till literally the best of men come to consider it merely a matter of historical or geographical criticism -- & not a thing at all which is to rouse the world -- which we are to live & die for.

Of the "regeneration of Mankind" no trace.
There is of course the Moral Philosophy view of Question 2 --
one which always presses upon me because when I write Sermons
(yes Serene Highness scoffing, I write Sermons)
I always feel: -- 'but any one can answer me that, according to my
own view (which is that the Moral Laws of Nature are as
unchangeable as the Material Laws,)
-- that nothing can be other than it is
-- that no one can be worse or better
than he is --'
but then comes in the 'Eternity' part of the Question.
And I would bear in mind something of the following in studying religions, (i.e. whether it is to be found in them): --
[but how little Moral Philosophy there is in Religions!]
e.g.
1. the existence of successive communities of human beings, each one of whom has capability under certain conditions to attain the progress which the Laws of nature tend
to induce Man to desire -- those
conditions being attainable by man
if he has the knowledge & will
whereby to attain them

2. The Laws of Nature induce &
afford means to a portion of
Mankind to attain this will &
knowledge.
   But -- the Laws of Nature,
being what they are -- to another
portion the attainment of such
will & knowledge is impossible

3. In those who do attain such
progress, its attainment in
human existence is closed by
death

4. the means & inducement
by which such progress is
brought about are: the sins
& sufferings as well as the
virtues & enjoyments of human
beings.

   [I must say I owe a grudge
to that man who invented the story
of Eve & the Apple -- for, if he had
had the least Moral Philosophy
about him -- or even the least
moral experience, he would have known that the consequence of Eve's apple was: not 'damnation' of the greater part of the human race, & expulsion from Paradise -- but just the reverse -- its consequence was salvation: -- its was the only way (viz. labour, struggle, mistakes) by which could be secured Paradise -- i.e. real progress towards real perfection to man.

It is true that, owing to Eve's sin, Shoreditch & Westminster & St. James' Street and the East End of London and -- the greater part of the human race are, at this moment, in a state of 'damnation', for what hell can be worse than their condition? --

But then Eve's historian xx was a goose -- for he made the hell future -- whereas it is just the reverse: the hell is present, the progress towards perfection future.

xx or rather Commentator, whose name is Legion
I do not think my four heads unpractical for enquiry. And it would not be difficult to show, I think, that a frame of mind which should be in accordance with such convictions would be the highest state of morality possible to human nature -- higher even than could result from a logical certainty (which never can be) of conditions which we can only infer from such facts as are within our ken or experience. [end 3:536]

really attach no meaning -- while questions so easy to answer, so essential to answer as the character of Him upon whom we all & absolutely depend are left untouched.

And even you throw stones at me --

We have as yet no correct notion, indeed no notion at all of God's character -- His plan -- His work -- what He is about -- what He thinks about us all -- tho' here He is working under our very eyes -- & we will neither judge Him by the work He does nor even trouble ourselves to observe what it is -- If we would condescend to look carefully at His work, we should know a great deal more about Him than we do now -- And when we do, it will surely be time enough to "speculate" (and here "speculation" is a word which your M. Pattison may use) about God's nature, origins, beginnings & ends &c properties of matter &c of mind &c
time enough to make out that
God is not what He is --
or is what He is not --
to speculate about Trinities,
Incarnations, substances, persons, &c &c -- which
we can words phrases about
which we can know nothing,
& do not even understand
the words we use even when applied
to human beings we see -- much less
when applied to God we don't see.

But -- to return.
The Laws of Mind, of the Moral
World are words now in every
one's mouth -- especially in
Positivists' mouths.
These we do acknowledge we
can discover --
What have we done to discover
them? --
Have we discovered one
more than in Aristotle's time?
Do we know more than
that "habit makes things easy"
& some few laws, half moral, half
metaphysical, material, such as that we must not marry our sisters, or our blood relations (& even this that extraordinary animal, the Briton, has parodied into: we must not marry our sisters-in-law —) [end 3:537]

Of course, had we investigated & did we know these Metaphysical or Moral Laws, we should (for each of these have discovered) have discovered a characteristic, an essential quality of the character of God.

Not we —

That would be too sensible —

We prefer to chatter about what can never be anything but a form of words to us ("substances" & "persons" & the "inscrutable" fact of the presence of "evil". Take the evil away — & it will cease to be "inscrutable".)
II. Your second Question

"Whence do we get our knowledge of God? -- 1st answer -- from Nature & this leads to the recognition of fixed laws -- & tends to Sanitary improvement.

Certainly -- but to a great many other "improvements" too. The laws which are half moral, half material, must be endless. But, except by stumbling upon them by accident, we have scarcely discovered one -- Such are the laws which govern (I mean which represent, which give a formula to) every thing which has to do with the progress or deterioration of races, with de-pauperization, education, legislation, criminal reformation.

We now know that suicides, street accidents, the number of letters that are put into the Post Office without directions,
&c &c &c &c are so far the subject of Law that we can calculate even the most incalculable, Man's carelessness.

People have left off being so absurd as to say: -- then God has ordained that so many men shall cut their throats in a year -- so many not address their letters &c.

But I don't see that people have in the least gone on to discover & apply the laws by which there shall be no more e.g. Suicides, idiots, lunatics -- tho' we have discovered (but not applied) the laws by which there shall be no more Cholera -- [We do not say now: -- what a mystery it is that God should permit that dreadful plague, Cholera.]
Here should come in, if I had time to write a proper Essay: -- what would contribute an essential characteristic of the character of God --

5. viz. there have been enough, tho' alas! how few, examples of complete success at e.g. de-pauperization, made by individuals stumbling almost upon the plan by accident, to enable us to say with distinct certainty, -- there is a plan of God's, & we are to find it out, by which such & such evil may completely disappear.

While Poor Law Boards have been pauperizing with their Workhouse Tests & their Unproductive-Labour Tests & their Union Schools, & have contentedly or discontentedly sate down with the truism: -- the same names will always appear in successive generations on the same Workhouse books,
there are a few, but enough, examples in colonizing, in boarding-out pauper children to warrant us in saying -- these will names will never appear again in Workhouse or Poor Law Books. There have been similar successful experiments in curing idiots, lunatics, criminals, drunkards &c. Would it not be more logical, as well as more practical, if we followed up the laws, which make these failures & thes successes, if we said: -- it is a plan of God, (the character of God) to do away with pauperism, lunacy &c &c &c & & there shall be no more pauperism, crime &c &c than to do as we do & wonder over the "origin of Evil" & how a good God can make such a bad world -- [But let me just put in here that all Churches with their doctrines of "forgiveness", "desperately wicked" &c are directly against any such discovery or plan.]
[Note. [illeg De Pressensé?] says that all Churches springing from the Reformation (why does he not add Döllinger's Church?) are now engaged in a "serious crisis". And he or somebody adds that the English Church is now passing through such a Crisis -- But what Crisis?
I ask myself: -- do they really call all this contemptible shallow Theology all this Magazine-y criticism a "crisis"?
What is a Crisis?
I have seen a Crisis in a campaign -- when 30000 men were dying like flies for want of necessaries of life And it was not known whether to-morrow this exhausted host would not be like the Assyrians all "dead men" -- & not from the stroke of the enemy.
We saw a "Crisis" last year in the Siege of Paris -- & again in the reign of the Commune --
In illness we call it a "Crisis" when all the powers of life array
themselves in a life-or-death struggle
to drive out the powers of death --
And you sit & watch breathless,
knowing that to-morrow the
sick man will be dead, if not
recovering.

But what is this "Crisis"?
Where God only is concerned, no
one seems to care --
A "Crisis" means a judgment, I
suppose -- a decision -- a turning --
point of awful import --
Is God a Perfect Ruler, bringing
each one of his miserable children
to perfection?
Or is he an old woman?

Or is there no God?
Here is a Crisis indeed.
One would think that all
educated mankind would join
in the search "with groanings
that cannot be uttered".

For surely no inquiry that can
occupy us is so tremendous, of
such transcendent importance.

[An old Spanish writer says that
communion with God was, in his
times, only "a play -- a game". People
go over in their `memory', he says, `2 or 3 points', & then think they have `prayed well' -- whereas, in other times, the Spirit of God himself seemed to plead in them with "groanings that cannot be uttered" -- What would he say of our times if he lived now? [end 3:538]

It is a "Crisis", we are told.
i.e. God Himself is coming to judge us.
We are going to judge Him -- He is going to determine, we are going to determine what He is.

What do we find?
I take up the Programme of the "Church Congress of 1871" -- a Congress summoned no doubt for this awful Crisis. The List of subjects is as follows: --

Christian Evidences
Free & open Churches
Church & State
Foreign Missions
Coast of Africa: slave=trade
Parochial Councils
Promotion of unity among Christians
Dissolution of Concordats: dogma of Infallibility
Clerical Education
Origin of Church Endowments
Hymnology
Duty of Church to Moral State of Society
(an odd expression where if Religion is Morality)
Deepening of the Spiritual Life "and" (I do not invent the "and")
Church Patronage
And is this all?
Can Anglicanism do no more for us in this rough sea, this "Crisis"?
Yes: there is one more subject "Education" a most important one.
But how we are to educate -- in what knowledge of God & His laws whether what we say to God in our "Churches" is the right things to say to God -- of that no trace.
Surely there are quite other questions to be asked in these times of "Crisis" than these -- questions which can neither be answered by enquiring
into what there is of true or false
in Roman Catholicism, nor in
Protestantism, nor in Calvinism,
nor in the Fathers, nor in
the Reformation, nor in any
other professed form of belief
which has arisen since the
publication of the writings
Nearly 800 years ago, St. Anselm
told us that he was "faith in
search of understanding".
That expression is worthy of a
Crisis -- Yet even that fine
expression is scarcely worthy
of the present Crisis -- which
is: man in search of God --
man with all his faculties of
'faith' & of understanding
enquiring: what is the
character of God? --
[We say: the present Crisis is man
in search of God --
Alas! what man is in search of God?]
We refer to human `experience'. But what human experience is there now on this subject? -- I ought rather to say `what will become human experience'. Who now feels human experience of God's world & of God grievous & repugnant, if estimated only according to what we see here? Who asks with any earnestness, is there evidence of that we cannot prove which may help us to live? -- Why does not man seek it now? -- If he does not seek it now, why should he in time to come? --- Whether he will or not seems to me to depend very much upon {illeg. what y?} Master of Balliol does now as far as England is concerned. Döllinger will come to nothing. M. Mohl who is at Munich now, says: `It will yet make a noise but an empty one'.

[3:538]
Dear (tho' Perfidious) Professor,

I only write a word to say that I am glad you are going to make a speech, tho' I dare say it is "not pleasant" to you.

[As it is just half a week's post from Pitlochry here, I have only just had your letter -- therefore this will reach Glasgow a day after the fair. But this is all the better, as I have not the vaguest idea what to say "about Bursaries".]

What I feel about all these things, family life, social life, University life, political life, -- but quite generally (I am like Ministers who thrust the great Government Offices into the power of one man after another who knows nothing at all about it -- I know nothing at all about this.) is that: --

1. Sermons, speeches, articles, religious women
seem always made for happy people, at least for tolerably successful people who have not to construct or alter their lives -- sometimes to begin again life "right from the bottom" -- but only to make themselves & others as happy as possible in their lives. It is taken for granted that life is to be as it is -- in families, in Institutions, in Schools, Colleges & Universities, among the "masses"; as they are called. [Edward Denison excepted -- I would quote him.]

We are never preached to or lectured about the study of anything else in the weak, wishy-washy, womanish terms that we are preached to about life. [And this is thought Christian: as if Christ had not been the boldest preacher of all, about re-forming or re-constituting life.]

2. You say very truly: freedom is self-control. Freedom is indeed not doing as we like. It is self-control plus a control or command of your subject, which gives "freedom" -- But a person who has no control over any subject or free use of
any faculties, cannot have freedom --
It all comes to the same thing --
viz. the necessity of doing what we
do well, of what we do being what
is well to do, if we are to attain
what is commonly called 'humility' --
i.e. disregard of self -- useful care
for others -- efficient service of God
& of our brethren.

3. There is no public opinion -- it
has to be created -- as to not
committing blunders for want of
knowledge -- Good intentions are
enough, it seems to be thought.
Yet blunders, organized blunders,
do more mischief than crimes.
Carelessness, indifference, want of
thought, when it is organized
indifference, as in a family, as in a
College or University, as in an
Institution, as in a great Govt
office, -- organized carelessness is
far more hurtful than even actual
sin, as we may have occasion
every day to find out.

To study how to do good work
as a matter of life & death, to "agonize" so as to obtain practical wisdom to do it, -- there is little or no public opinion enforcing this -- condemning the want of it.

Until you can create such a public opinion, little good will be done, except by accidents or accidental individuals.

But when we have such a public opinion, we shall not be far from a kingdom of heaven "externally in this world."

A kingdom of heaven within & not without is: the good intention without the wisdom, the labour, the "agonizing" to create it without.

4. "Myself is so different from myself" under different circumstances -- we must make these circumstances, for others & for ourselves.

It is no use preaching about 'the kingdom of heaven within', while your College, like Ch. Ch:, is a seat of carelessness, idleness, conviviality, practical jokes, even if nothing worse. So of homes. So of Parliament.
5. I think there is great danger that we may run altogether into (a). universal toleration (b.) universal criticism -- And tho' this seems a paradox, I don't think it is one. For (a) in the wish for charity Eclecticism, people lose discrimination -- discrimination of truth, of character, discrimination between the merits of various ways of life, discrimination between what is mere criticism & what is creation.

There are some who see no difference between Sidney Herbert & Mr. Cardwell.

There are some who see no difference between St. Paul and a Saturday Reviewer.

There are some who see no difference between Ch: Ch: & Balliol -- Or, if they do, they think indifference & carelessness better than what they are pleased to call a "hot-bed of rationalism & infidelity".

There are some who see no difference between the mutual flattery of clever men of a College -- & real honest sympathy & co-operation in the real, honest search after truth.
[Such is the want of discrimination now that people scarcely can speak of others except by speaking evil of them -- so that those who are rightly disgusted by this are obliged not to let others be spoken of at all in their presence. There is scarcely anything between stupid praise or speaking evil -- there is no discrimination as to the ideal of each man's character. Yet there must be an ideal in God's mind for each man]

(b.) Create & don't criticize. Goethe's idea of a Devil -- 'der Geist der stets verneint' -- was: the spirit of Criticism without earnestness -- which is always negative, never creates -- which neither hates what is bad nor loves what is good. Criticism without results.

And Hofmann in the German tale would seem to indicate the same, when he it shows the Student rising by earnest effort to a certain height -- then -- what comes to kill the enthusiasm which bore him up --? Criticism without depth. He becomes a stupid clever
common place critic of the conception that
towards which he had struggled
upwards so earnestly

6. Perfection = Eternity -- That is,
the idea of perfection, of progress
towards perfection includes the
idea of eternity -- is the same, in
fact. We cannot think God would
let us make a little progress, just
to cut us short. As St. Anselm & Descartes
made a formula for the existence of God, so there might
almost be a formula for Eternity out of the fact of Progress.

7. Do not think, when you have
stripped or cured Astronomy,
Science, History, above all Religion,
of its superstitions, errors, vain
traditions, excrescences that
that is all. Criticism is not
Creation. Sometimes, it had
almost been better, if you could
not go on to the discovery of truth,
that you had let feeling, tho'
mixed with error, alone -- True
Truth must always inspire a higher
feeling than error. But then
truth must be found.
On August 11, 1999, at 2 p.m., the next total Solar Eclipse is to occur, we are told. What will this world be on August 11, 1999? What we have made it. Will Crime, will Pauperism, will the Established Churches, will the views of Religion, of God's moral government be the same then as now? What shall we then wish to have been doing now? -- is it reading or writing in Magazines & daily papers -- is it criticism, the most trifling criticism of the most important of all subjects, religion, God --?-- Or is it working, solving by real personal work the great questions or rather problems which, as they are solved or unsolved, will make 1999 what it will be? -- such as de-pauperization, colonization, education, reformation, legislation, making religion & God a real personal presence among us -- not a belief in a Creed -- a going to a Church for "what we call our prayers."
LETTER ON THE CHARACTER OF GOD

PEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN,
pale blue paper, black-edged

Lea Hurst
Matlock
Aug 17/71

O Perfidious and Serene
As I shall show, you are always throwing stones at me.
But I duck my head -- indeed my two xx heads -- -- and persevere.
[You ought to be practising poenitential performances in dust & ashes for your conduct to me & the treaty -- & instead of that, you are -- perfidious & serene -- But I shall treat of this farther on]
I don't at all plead guilty to your accusation that I "speak of the character of God, without "coming to the point".
In one sense of course I can never "come to the point" -- because xx There is a rival of mine now in London -- the "two= headed Nightingale" -- who opens my letters.
to ask me alone to write a view
of the present character of every point
of the inhabited Globe would
be nothing compared to asking
me alone to answer your question
'what is the character of God?'
-- when nobody else is studying it --
For, to know the character of God,
we must know the history, past,
present & future of the Universe.
All mankind must contribute to
it -- And what part of
mankind is contributing to it?
We are told by the Publishers that
more religious & theological
publications appear than any
other -- i.e. that religion is
more published about than any
other subject --
That sounds encouraging.
And, amid all this paper & print,
about religion, I expect to find
something about God.
Not at all.
There are: --
in Germany volumes upon volumes
of profound & admirable criticism,
philological, historical & comparative,
upon the documents we call
'Scriptural' -- upon the documents
of other religions, not 'Christian',
call 'Scriptural' --
there are, all over Europe, but
especially in England, enormous
masses of superficial controversy
between Roman Catholicism,
Protestantism & even the minor
sects of Protestantism -- but
without the most remote
approach even to a question
concerning who God is --
then there is all the ecclesiastical
controversy --
all the Pope=Infallibility controversy --
-- the 'geography of Palestine' = the
'fifth Gospel'
-- then there is an extraordinary mass, even in matter-of-fact Scotland & England, but what it is in Roman Catholic countries you can have scarcely an idea -- published of mere emotions & fancies, so to speak, "Passing Thoughts' on Religion, (as if any thing were good enough for God) things which do not profess even to have the least thought in them & which are far more baseless fabrics, entire fictions than Walter Scott's, for he did study his historical characters. But why trouble myself to enumerate? You know this much better than I do --

And in this sense it is quite true that any one person thinking & speaking alone, of the `character of God' must think & speak "without coming to the point", (as H.S.H. the Master of Balliol so well observes.)
But in another sense it is "extremely not so". [A.H.C.'s phrase.]
I think one can come extremely "to the point" about the character of God. One can say most distinctly & definitely:
He is not so --
He is so

[But then you stop me & say:
'All you can say about this is that it is an impression -- you cannot prove it' --
And there is enough truth in the assertion for me to say:
No, there is no proof, but there is increasing evidence -- evidence already much greater than what Positivists reckon found their doctrines upon, (who expressly decline founding anything except upon absolute proof, --) greater than what all Mankind act upon in determining what they call 'the Laws of Nature' -- but whether it will be increasing evidence depends upon whether Mankind will increase it -- contribute to it -- Whether it ever will be logical
certainty. I think is doubtful --
But what logical certainty have we outside Mathematical Science?
But when I say this then you say you don't understand what I mean by 'Mankind' -- 'Mankind must study God' -- 'Mankind must increase the evidence &c' --
And as I have been so good as to admit that I can't do it by myself, I feel, not like M. Thiers, who can sit on two stools, but as if you had knocked me off both my stools, -- & then you say: I go on "without coming to the point" -- After this apology, let us then "come to the point", & without professing logical certainty, or proof, or anything but increasing evidence, -- evidence which it is for Mankind to increase, -- say what seem to be a few of the characteristics of God, taught perhaps by no ecclesiastic organization, tho' to be traced in every thing --
And first our only evidence for Eternity
that is, for individual Eternity, for
  a future life for each & all of us,
is: moral evidence, the character of
  God.
`What is the character of God'? you say
  1. Not to create a world in order
      to forgive it --
      or to damn it --
      or to save it by a Church
      or by the Sacraments theory
      or by the Atonement theory
      or by prayer
  or &c &c &c
      or to be indifferent about it
      (the 'happiness enough' theory)
      the Magazine-y theory of the present day
but to create a world according to
  a certain, definite plan by which
  each & every one of us is on the
  way to progress towards perfection,
i.e. happiness
[What the end is, the end to the "Way" to "Perfection", we
  know so little that the Buddhists have actually
  invented a Word "Nirvana" for it. But, if you
  translate that word "Nirvana" to mean "annihilation" or the
  like, I really must "annihilate" you.
{(illeg) (illeg) that this is an exceedingly
{(illeg) proposition indeed & one
  exceedingly (illeg). For, if true, it is
  in more or less direct contradiction to every
{(illeg} {(illeg})}
2. But it is a matter of fact & not of theory that
   (a.) a very large portion of mankind are not on their way to progress at all & cannot be -- the laws of Nature i.e. of God, being what they are --
   (b) the few that are are cut short by death.

   'What is the character of God'?

   [This state of things is shocking to the moral sense -- so shocking that, if we did really recognise & feel the vice, sin & misery of one square mile in London or Peking, we could think of nothing else.

   Yet all Ecclesiastical organizations -- & what is extraordinary all the 'liberal' thinkers of the present day say: we should sit down satisfied with this conception of God --
   'there is happiness enough', they say -- or -- they say -- 'it is mankind's own fault -- & God is just' -- or
   "Eve's fault" -- & the Devil's or &c

   [Edward Denison, who did go into the East End of London to see, no to feel for himself, uses the phrase you find fault with me for using ('Mankind must create
mankind') in this sense: he says
"The people create their destitution &
their disease" --

[He did not stop short there,
as F. Newman & Saturday Reviewers do,
(I need not say,) but goes on to show
very clearly how good legislation,
compulsory education, & "gratuitous
individual exertion", will mend, &
how far only it will mend, this state of
things.

But religious and and religions & Magazine-writers say: --
`it's the people's own fault -- it's not
God's' -- an odd apology for God.]

But -- what is the character of God?
I recapitulate: --
(a) a very large portion of mankind
are "creating" not only "their
destitution & their disease"
but their vice, their own
"complete indifference" to every
thing "beyond the daily bread &
beer".

(b) the few that are not are
cut short by death.
God's character is
Not to create an Eternity of
which he alone is to be the
spectator -- merely for his own amuse-
ment, as it were --
but an Eternity in which each
one will be on the way thro' his
Laws to progress towards perfection
the means & inducements by
which such progress is brought
about being the sins & sufferings
as well as the virtues & enjoyments
of human beings -- the sinners and
sufferers being also (it is
needless to put in) on their
way to perfection -- being,
in fact, the pioneers.

{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE LEFT SIDE OF PAGE:}
De-pauperization
attempts &c
3. What is the character of God?
   3. Not to look to good intentions
      without requiring practical
      wisdom --
      to allow blunders their full
      consequences in evil, as well
      as sins --
      to require, that is, the same
      search, study, earnest & wise
      endeavour, patient investiga-
      tion of laws in discovering
      & reforming in the moral
      world as in the material

[All that cant jargon about "forgiveness",
  salvation -- & the reverse -- is as
  much cant jargon in the moral &
  spiritual world as it would
  be in the Material, where
  people now have too much
  experience to use it.

But, tho' `experiences' is a word
  or rather was a word always
  on the lips of Methodist Christians,
  yet no one has the least idea
  of gaining experience by observation

(The `kingdom of God' cometh by observation)
in moral & spiritual things, as in material --
And the consequence is that we still believe (or believe that we believe) things in the moral & spiritual world in direct contradiction to universal, every-day experience --
We are `saved', when we are `saved' -- not by belief in this or that, -- in this Church or Sacrament or in that Atonement -- but by the same patient investigation -- & successful discovery of the laws which `save' us -- as is made when a ship is `saved' or lost by recognition or ignorance of her `ultimate stability' laws &c
In neither case do `good intentions' receive, or blunders escape, success or failure, according to the law of consequences.
But this is a thing so altogether overlooked -- there is so absolutely no public opinion about it -- that, even if you could get people to examine the question at all of
what is the character of God, they would tell you: it is the very reverse of this: 'God looks to the heart', God makes 'allowances' &c &c &c -- all which is perfectly true in one sense, but the reverse of true in our sense --

Men who would shudder at giving their opinion as to the strength of a beam, or the quality of a Medicine without years of professional experience -- saying very truly that hundreds of lives may depend on what they say -- But they will give you their opinion about the 'Origin of Evil', God's plans of moral government if He has any (what I should call, His 'character') without an hour's, a week's, a day's, an hour's earnest reflection, and in direct contradiction to universal, every day reflection experience, -- if it were but gathered up.
"What is the character of God?"

I continue from your letter: --

"2nd Answer -- from the human reason & conscience. But what do we definitely learn of him from these -- & on what grounds do we believe their anticipations? "And how is the God revealed in nature to be reconciled with the god in reason & conscience?"

I do not admit the word "reconcile", if it means that truth, that His plan is not one.

But if it means that while "nature" shews us a world which can in no sense as it is be "reconciled" with any sense of right in the Creator, while "reason & conscience" (I have a little to say about Madam Conscience by & bye) make us xx "anticipate" a Perfect God, then that is exactly what I try to ask in a different form in my, Three Questions -- (the Questions I have proposed to you.)

Also: I would not limit at all to xx "anticipate" -- I like the word.
"Reason" & "Conscience" the office of searching out God. [I don't like the words "intuition", "inward witness", "aspiration", "intellect" &c &c at all.] Because all, all our faculties must be employed, exerted to their utmost in searching out God. [But this I have often deaved you about before. ] & will not now repeat.]

Some one very truly says: -- the true source of ("high Literary excellence" -- I want to alter the word) is a full emotional experience -- The secret of ("good writing" -- again I want to alter the word) is true knowing -- The cause of true knowing is hearty feeling. Mutatis mutandis, I say with all my might, one of the essential sources of any true understanding of the character of God is a full experience of human feelings & affections -- Without this there can be no true knowledge of God.
I conceive that the great cause of the enormous mistakes into which Hume, the Stephens, the F. Newmans, the Gregs (& other Magazine-y writers of the present day) have fallen as to the plan of God, -- that we must not "claim" from Him a future state, (such a word!), -- as to there being "happiness enough" in this world for us to believe in a good God -- is -- not a defect of intellect -- but a total defect of all the real experience of feeling -- of any idea of what 'happiness' really is -- of any sympathy with or insight into the awful sufferings, the low miserable mean or standard, the dull uniform viciousness of the mass of mankind.

[But I am sure I have often worried you about this before.]

I must therefore have a great many more faculties besides "Reason" & "Conscience" in play to "reconcile" me with God -- or to enable me, rather, to understand God.
These the faculties I want in play for the enquiry, are quite different according as the object of the enquiry is: Science or Moral Science -- Intellect is enough to help us to enquire into Science (tho' I do think Darwinianism would never have been betrayed into its enormous mistakes, if it had the smallest inkling or insight into the difference between the happiness of man & the happiness of brutes -- tho' at present I am quite inclined to think that brutes are generally higher than man -- & agree with a friend of mine who said of her groom & horses "The animals which men would slander by calling them brutes" --) Intellect may be enough for the pursuit of Science the "God revealed in Nature" -- But for the pursuit of Moral Science, as, e.g. the knowledge of the character of God -- all, all our faculties, intellectual, moral, emotional, (or affectional) & spiritual are wanting -- are essential.
Art thou a master in Israel &
knowest not these things? --
If I had leisure & strength, there
are many more character=istics
or essentials of the character of
God which could be enumerated
even with our present knowledge.
And please observe, these are all
distinct "definite" characteristics -- I mean
it is a matter of absolute truth
whether it is this way or that way
-- whether God is so or whether
He is as the Churches teach --
I should think no greater harm
(in confusing thought which was
just being born) was ever done
than by Kant in saying that we
create God after our own image.
We have done so, no doubt. But
Kant implies that we must always do so -- that there are no
other means of knowing God --
I can't see the philosophy of that
at all. We can only discover God
or apprehend God
by the intense use of our own
faculties, moral & intellectual --
But we may say that just the same
of any other recognition of
character -- (A bad man or a
stupid man or a rich & idle man
can hardly recognize the excellence
or the intellect or the struggles
of others) But that is quite
a different thing from Kant's
proposition, as usually understood
Milton's proposition that we may
reason & that the Devil does reason about "fate, foreknowledge"
&c "& find no end in wandering
mazes lost" is one which has
done almost equal harm.
These "mazes" are in fact not
mazes at all -- but very plain
& indispensable questions, very
easy to solve, if we would
but solve them.
"Solvitur ambulando"
And meanwhile there are "mazes" in
which we lose ourselves every day,
such as the nature of God, the
origin or beginning of Creation,
the beginning & end of Eternity
or Perfection, to which we can
"What is the character of God?"

Dear Mr. Jowett

My letter of Aug 17 was to have gone on with
4. ("What is the character of God?")

4. Not to create man in order to protect him from the consequences of his own Acts -- (as man so often desires) but to order such a Moral plan (Welt-Ordnung -- Moral Laws of Nature) as that there shall be inducement & means to bring man in eternity to think right, to will right, to act right -- there being no such thing as eternal consequences for evil to anything poor, weak, ignorant `we' can do -- which would be a vengeance unworthy of, impossible to, a Perfect God.

But every consequence being is exactly calculated in His order or plan to bring man at last to good.

But I have not time to sh work this out -- or even to state this properly --

So I go on: --
It is no more possible for a man
to apprehend the character of
God who thinks that there
is "happiness enough" in this
world, than it would be for a
man who had never seen
anything but butterflies, gin-
drinkers & pigs -- & did not
know that anything higher
could be created.

Sir Jas: Stephen himself (who ought
to have known better) "reasons"
somewhere in this way that
we must not put suppose our feelings
& wants to be those of the
poor old Workhouse pauper --
or of the man & his wife who
occupy the 8th part of a cellar
in St. Giles' -- We are happy &
they are happy "in their way".

If it were not for the absurd,
the idiotic want of insight that
this shows in a very good man
but who knew nothing but Clapham,
the Colonial Office & his books,
one would call this: simple brutality.
Hume, you will remember, falls into a similar nonsense about -- 'happiness'.

It is impossible that such a man could ever make the least enquiry into the plan of God, the character of God, what is a Perfect God, &c.

And I do think & repeat, however paradoxical it may seem, that one must be deeply (and personally) impressed with the misery & evil of this world to entertain the idea of a Perfect God at all -- to enquire at all into what a Perfect God would do.

And therefore I say that it requires a great deal, besides "Reason", (or "Reason & Conscience") to learn the character of God.

[But I am sure I have said all this before -- so will not bore you with it now.]
"But what do we definitely learn of him from these?"
Very little, at present. Because hardly any body is trying to "learn" about him at all; "definitely" or indefinitely.
Still there are some things which we do learn with extraordinary tremendous definite-ness. "Conscience" (and here I would say that Conscience's dictates have told Mankind such very different things at different times that experience, experience of God's work, would be a truer word). "Conscience", e.g. told the Ptolemies to marry their sisters -- Now it is a crime we must not ever speak of.
We have "definitely" learnt, with the most emphatic distinctness that human experience is capable of, that it is part of the plan of God, of the character of God that we shall not marry our sisters -- And thereby hangs a good deal more.
[Of this we may perhaps say that we
could only learn it from experience. It does not appear to be an intuitive matter (for remorse). Or do we also only learn that truth it is part of the plan of God for us to speak the truth from experience of the effects of false-speaking? Does God love Right, because it is Right? Or is it Right, because God loves it? -- Does God make Right? -- Or is God Right? -- Or are there different sorts of Right? by which a healthy, sinless child would know e.g. that he must not kill or hurt another child his sister, but would not know e.g. that he must not marry his sister or speak falsely?)

Of course what we ought "definitely to learn" "of Him", of His character & plans "from these", i.e. from "Reason" & "Conscience" & all our faculties, is: -- all the laws of the Moral Government of the world, which are: so many traits of the character of God.
[N.B. I think that what you call "Reason & Conscience" is what I call the "sense of Right" when I ask my 3 questions -- e.g. when I say that the present state of the world is repugnant to any "sense of right" -- And in that way I don't object! to "Reason & Conscience" -- only I think that the cultivated, mature "sense of right" is compounded of a good many other faculties, as we have said, besides "Reason & Conscience".

You see with such men as the Stephens & Gregs, the state of the world is not repugnant to their "sense of right" -- But then their "sense of right" is tremendously imperfect -- & quite destitute of any true or hearty feeling.

So nearly all the `schemes' of Christian Churches are quite repugnant to any cultivated "sense of right".]

Still there are things that we "definitely learn of Him" -- I say that
my first three propositions as to "what is the character of God" are quite "definite".

Mr. Martineau teaches that it is "Conscience" which reveals to us God. Why should Mr. Martineau or Mr. Newman, or the German School, or the intellectual school, expect the Reason & Conscience School, expect to find religion revealed by one faculty, or by two faculties, independent of others?

If I wish to understand you rightly, I do not say: my Conscience reveals to me Mr. Jowett -- or my reason & conscience -- All my faculties are wanted. How much more must this be the case with God? -- when we wish to understand God -- to be really having intercourse with God? Besides this, Conscience is a singularly blind guide by itself. It does not tell us what is right & what is wrong? Or rather it has told different nations & different ages

[9a]
entirely different things.

Without all the faculties which go to make up, to gather what we call experience, Conscience is nothing -- It tells us now to consider crimes what it told other periods to consider duties. Conscience told the old Romans to kill themselves. Conscience let the patriarchs have many wives & many concubines. Conscience told Calvin to burn Servetus -- Conscience told Luther to marry a nun -- a pretty nun --
"And on what grounds do we believe their anticipations?"
How do we act with the impressions of our senses?
We test their conclusions by comparing them with those of mankind.
But do we act thus with regard to the conclusions of faith, with regard to the "anticipations" (I like the word) the "anticipations" of the "reason & conscience"? --
On the contrary --
We, i.e. one portion of us, compare them with those of two or three who lived 2000 years ago nearly, at a time when printing, science, & in that part of the world Philosophy were unknown -- when men had but little knowledge of each other or of (in other ages & in other nations) & scarcely any of the laws of God --
Another portion of us compare their conclusions with those of a Church -- an ecclesiastical organization -- a sect -- (go on, please, to page 11)
It seems to me that there are three essentials for assuring ourselves that our reason, feeling, conscience, all our moral nature, tells us true -- is tending to unity in truth --

1. comparing their conclusions with those of Mankind -- of experience, or what will become human experience. For what I refer to human experience is not in any large sense human experience now. Scarcey any body is gaining experience of this kind now.

Peradventure he is pursing, that is the grouse, or the House of Commons, or money -- Or much more likely he is criticizing, Magazine-ing -- Or peradventure he is asleep.

2. taking care to keep our moral means of belief, our moral sources of information in a healthy, active state.

We do this with as to our eyes & ears. We invent all kinds of instruments
What is unity? --

Men have the strangest longings after unity -- the strangest ideas as to what unity is. Men have the strangest longings after what they call the right of "private judgment" or individual opinion -- the strangest ideas as to what "private judgment" is for.

There can be no unity unless there is something in us higher than the craving for the mere right of exercising "private judgment" which every body does exercise after all, whether in submitting to authority, which is only somebody else's "private judgment" or in isolating himself in his own "private judgment". [I will only observe that the greatest, most earnest & daring seekers after Truth have never used the any words like "private judgment" at all. They have rather thought of themselves if at all as inspired by Truth, inspired by
God.] And "private judgment"
as to truth is a rather absurdexpression. There is Truth,-- and we have to find it out.

Men have had recourse to thestrangest shifts to get out ofthe difficulty -- they have gone toauthority to secure unity.

One of these shifts we see now --the imposing the authority of a"private judgment" on "privatejudgment". The reasoning seems to be no better than this: --
the Pope is infallible, because he
says so --
And we are to believe it, becausehe is infallible who says so --
[Other Popes have not said so --& Popes will come again, if Popes there be at all, who will not say so.]

But there must be a greaterauthority among us than "privatejudgment" or individual opinion-- men are right in saying this --xx
And that greater authoritymust be God -- the search afterTruth with all our faculties --comparing what we thereby gainourselves with what is gainedby all the faculties of all mankind.
And "private judgment" (avery bad phrase!) or individualeffort in searching after Truth,must only be limited or rather
xx I know how vague all this must appear.
But action (in thought) wd render it clear.
In no other science except Religion -- noteven in Moral Science -- have men thisconfusion about "private judgment" & Truth.
Men do not say, We shall exercise our "privatejudgments" about the motion of the Earth --or -- about the morality of marriage --They try to find out: -- how it is.
enlarged (or rather strengthened
or confirmed) in its exercise
by this higher unity or bond
of union or authority -- which
is; -- Truth, God, the search after
Truth with all by all.
Servile bowing down to authority
(even could it be sincere) is only
a false unity -- a dead Unity.
And unity in ignorance is
not Unity.
There can be no living Unity but
in Truth.
How can unity be living, not
dead -- progressive, not stationary
or retrograde -- that is the question.
How can "private judgment"
be really used in search of
Truth without being a mere mass

of crude & conflicting opinion or criticism
-- destroying not only Unity
but progress towards Truth -- that
is the question -- xx
For Unity, unless it is Unity
in Truth, is, of course absurd.
It seems that there are
three essentials (go on to p. 16)
xx Note. Unity is not Unity which is merely
that Men don't like to be alone in
the dark -- Or -- if they don't care
to be in the dark, if only provided they
may exercise "private judgment".
-- that is not progress towards Truth
to assist & strengthen their powers. We know that if eye or ear is diseased, we shall not see or hear correctly.

So is it with our moral eye. "If thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light". But who thinks of this? -- xx

3. testing our conclusions by practice -- "If any man shall do His will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God" or not. If you will carry your belief into you practice you will soon find out whether it is true ——8

With regard to these 3 ways ——A.H.C. did. And he did not, like Bishop Blougram, believe only when incidental circumstances heightened religious sentiment. Latterly he had arrived at a state of mind in which he uniformly "felt it true".

I have heard it said of him that {CONTINUED ON £274v}
by him "reasoning was not felt to be necessary" -- I doubt this -- But I think he laid unusual but not undue stress on being in the state of mind when we can feel a Perfect God.

[Alas! for the last 2 or 3 years I believe he felt & even exaggerated to himself his inability from illness for severe thought.]

I need scarcely add that of course if I want my intellect in conversing with A.H.C. or with you -- I want it a great deal more in conversing with God.

But we must converse with all our faculties if we would converse aright -- whether with God or with man.

We must have sympathy with God, if we would understand Him -- just as we cannot understand a man rightly, if we cannot sympathize with him.

And we must be in a condition to have sympathy with God.

The mystics are right about this.

The R.C.s say we must have sympathy with Christ's passion.

What is Christ's to God's Passion?
P.P.S. [I must again just revert to the matter that the above 3 ways, first of the above 3 ways, viz. testing our conclusions by those of mankind -- [for which purpose, I beg leave to say, Mankind must have conclusions -- "the Spanish fleet thou canst not see -- Because -- it is not yet in sight"] is all I mean by the expression you have so often snubbed me for. -- viz. Mankind must discover the character of God -- Mankind must find out God -- I cannot by myself find out God -- Mankind must create Mankind --
You said to me last year -- 'I don't know what you mean by Mankind &c' -- This is all I mean: -- viz. that human (Mankind's) experience must come to be the "grounds on which we believe the "anticipations" of our "Reason & Conscience" --
And mighty little we have as yet of that experience! -- with all our Criticism.
Lea Hurst
Matlock          Oct 3/71

Dear Mr. Jowett

Epidemic Small-pox is at
Oxford, notwithstanding vaccination.
You have done all you can at
present; but take good care
that all the College rooms are
thoroughly aired by open windows
as much as the weather will
permit. This epidemic
is a new warning to the University
to press forwards their
Sanitary works.

There is no reason for "keeping
down the Colleges."

I was due in London to-day --
but have been kept here for the
last 6 weeks & shall be for
a few days more by doing
some most harassing & painful
business (looking into things
which had gone very wrong)
for my father & mother -- (which
    has taken more out of me
    than 2 years of real Crimean
    work.) Do not mention this,
    please.
    Nor is there any chance of
any one being here on "Oct 25."
    I only mention this, because
you are good enough to say
    that you will "look in" here on
your way to Manchester.
    I will look over gladly the
Children's Bible as soon as I
can as well as I can -- But it
is so difficult to "curtail" Genesis.
    I should cut out half the nasty
worldly stories -- But if I were
to 'even' such a thing, you would
    say that I was spoiling 'Scripture
History' -- However I will do
my best, if there is no hurry.
    I must answer the charges
& objections in your letters. I
would have begun to write an 
answer like the gravest Essay. 
But at this moment it is 
absolutely impossible to me to write. And if 
I delay you will be gone 
back to Oxford -- and it will 
be absolutely impossible for 
you to read. I therefore 
take the mean course (Peel's) 
of sending you my jotting down, 
day by day -- done in the hour a day 
to which you condemn me & which 
I religiously observe.  

{LINE DRAWN FROM Please send it me back PARAGRAPH (BELOW) TO [3:542-43] 
I will look over gladly PARAGRAPH (IN f1v):}  

Please send it me back, read 
or unread, for I do mean to 
write a grave Essay upon it -- 
as I think your objections 
answerable, and indeed I think 
that you think some of them 
hardly serious -- You do it to try 
me. 
For return I enclose 6d in stamps (2d for 
postage drink) -- Because I am sure 
my `works' are not worth even 
a four penny stamp to you. 
Adieu, O maker of `resolutions'!  

ever yours gratefully  
F. Nightingale  

ff3-20 LETTER ON MARRIAGE, HEREDITY AND MORAL RIGHT PEN & PENCIL 
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE  

f3 (PEN:) 1871  
Nightingale, Florence  

Notes by F.N. on "Marriage & 
heredity", addressed to 
"My dear child" --  

= Jowett 
in answer to his 
letter of Sept 29
Please return to F.N.  Oct 3/71

{PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

My dear child, I am quite scandalized at you, at your Materialism & Sensualism --
Is it for an old maid, like me, to be preaching on this subject of Love & "Children", to you a Master in Israel? -- [You an Idealist?, like you? I'm quite ashamed of you --

[I shall shut up you & Plato for a hundred years in punishment in another world, not in a spiked barrel but in a Turkish bath, till you have both obtained clearer views on the subject of Materialism & Idealism --]

It's quite indecent.

What's this? (quoting from a celebrated author)
"For we cannot deny that physical good is sometimes at variance with moral -- e.g. in marriage the sole or chief principle &c &c &c

My dear child, am I to preach to you about this? -- don't you know that even "on physical principles", there are essential points in marriage (to 'turn out' the best order of children,) which, being absent, the perfection of "health & strength" in both parents is of no avail even for the physical part of the children? And might I just ask wd one small question: Whether you consider man has a little soul? -- If he has, ever such a little one, you can scarcely consider him as a simple body, an animal, or even as a twin, the soul being one twin & the body the other -- but as all one, the soul & the body -- making one
being, (altho' only in this sense).
If you do, not, at all events God does not -- And consequently He makes a great many more things enter into the "physical" constitution even (of the children) than the mere "health & strength" of the parents.

[My son, really Plato talked nonsense about this]
One of these is: love on both sides --

God is so improper, do you know?, that illegitimate children, where there is love in the parents, are of a higher stamp than the children of marriage, where there is little or no love even with "health" on both sides.

Then there are so many other conditions besides "health & strength" in the parents for producing a fine race. Marrying blood relations, marrying in & in, even with the finest physical specimens to begin with, invariably produces a degenerate race -- especially degenerate in passionate immorality while intermarrying between different races, even with much inferior specimens to begin with, produces the finest descendants we know of --

Besides, we must know what you mean by "the laws of physical improvement" -- "Physical improvement" does not consist only in unbroken health, great physical strength &c -- but there is harmony of character, harmony of faculties &c &c in the child to be considered and these not-to-be-despised ingredients depend, we know, on quite other "laws" in the parents than
mere "health & strength" --
But we know so very little of these laws at present that all we can say is in producing a human being which is a moral as well as a physical animal quite other laws are concerned than or besides merely physical laws --
And these we have to find out.
Take a much more material thing than the producing of a bad or degenerate family or race -- Take a Rail-way accident: -- what are the "laws" therein concerned? you have by no means only to consider the "physical" laws, the strength of iron, the speed of steam, the smoothness of rails, the friction &c &c -- But you have to consider the state of mind of Directors, whether they care only for their dividends, so that the 'plant' is allowed to go bad, the Rail way servants to be over worked or under paid &c &c
Now, take again the child-man -- a much more intricate piece of mechanism than any engine -- It is well known that a mother's state of mind before her child's birth exercises a much more direct influence upon its constitution, even to producing idiotcy -- than the Directors' state of mind exercises over the constitution of the 'plant' -- [tho' I am sure I know some people, Directors & others, & especially in the Govr Offices & in some families -- who would soon make me an idiot produce idiotcy in me if I consorted much with them.]

There are myriads of laws of this kind -- some which we do know -- & many, many more which we don't know -- but may know --  
[Plato, for once in thy life, thou wast a fool]
You quote Huxley.

Now Huxley, tho' a man of Science (& even that he is only ☞ when keeping within Science -- (when he begins to write upon 'protoplasms', germs & Darwinianism, he is the very reverse of a man of Science) is the very last man who could teach us anything in this -- Huxley is undoubtedly one of the prime educators of the age -- but he makes a profound mistake when he says to Mankind: objects of sense are more worthy of your attention than your inferences & imaginations -- You can't see the battle of Thermopylae take place -- what you can see is more worth your attention.

On the contrary.

The finest powers Man is gifted with are those which enable him to infer from what he sees what he can't see. They lift him into truth of far higher import than that which he learns from the senses alone --

Insert {IN PENCIL}

Please, I will say something more about this by & bye [I will only say now why I introduce it here.]

It is because it seems to me that it is character which the Laws of Nature tend, or are established
to "improve" --

I have not an idea what the Idealists mean, (for even the Idealists talk of "the laws of physical improvement," ) as if they could separate the character of man from his physical constitution -- as if these were two distinct entities, like two parallel rivers -- to be improved by created filled from, to flow from different sources.

1. For one thing, I believe it is just as absurd as if you were to talk about "improving" the race in all its physical organs, except one: the brain. And I believe it to be just as impossible to separate (in your objects of "improvement" for the "Laws") the character or mental & moral constitution from the physical constitution as to separate the head from the trunk -- when you make a man.

2. For another thing, I believe that the Laws of Nature all tend to improve the whole, moral & physical -- that you must consider man, as a whole that is no real improvement in the physical which does not affect the moral -- that one of these Laws cannot be neglected without influencing that which you would class under another -- in short, that it is a reductio ad absurdum to consider Man either as a body to be "improved" or as a soul to be "improved" separately.

As to the "laws of physical improvement "requiring that we should get rid of sickly & "deformed infants &c" -- the "laws of physical improvement" require that we should prevent them
or improve them --
not that we should kill them --

That would be to get rid of some of the finest
intellectual & moral specimens of our human
nature that have ever existed.

And, even were this not the case, the heroism,
the patience, the wisdom of our race have been
more called forth by dealing with these & the
like forms of evil than by almost anything
else.

Also: we know that some of the finest
physical specimens of the human race
have been some of the weakest & wickedest
of men, but more especially of women.

It all comes to this: -- God has created man
a composite animal, moral, intellectual & physical.
And he won't let you separate these, if you would.
The object of His Laws, which you Laws we can't alter,

I find much truth in what the Positivists say,
tho' strongly differing from their conclusions: -- A man
at the Brit: Ass: says: "Treating man as the head
of the Zoological series argues that his dominion
over animals is now a moral dominion & concludes
that only in so far as nature is used by Man
for moral ends is it rightly used -- & that the
intellect finds its true work in directing his
affective nature to moral purposes & relationships".
I only quote this here, because it seems to me to state strongly what I wish to say -- about man being essentially a moral, not a physical animal -- & because if marriage is not a moral "relationship" "with a moral purpose" -- [I don't mean by this: standing before a man in a white tie performing a ceremony] it is found to affect the whole constitution of the offspring, especially in its harmony -- in a way which all Plato's selection of parents "for health & strength" would not remedy --

[Like the "modern Prometheus", who created Frankenstein, you & Plato seem to have left out the soul]

The `positivist' language generally is dull & repulsive -- But they have grasped some of the greatest truths more firmly than most thinkers. They so distinctly recognize that what we call Moral Right is our Ruler -- the good of man in its most enlarged sense our right object -- & systematically they would set about finding out how most we can bring it about.

Now -- the good of man in its highest sense can't be attained by neglecting one set of Laws or one aspect of man's nature & cultivating another -- Each set of Laws is directed to man's whole nature. One part of it can't be done justice to, while another is stunted -- The One part of it can't be injured without injuring all -- The "laws of physical improvement" in fact mean nothing when dealing
Add Mss 45784

fllv (PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:)

with a composite creature, like man -- by themselves. As in sanitary things, dirt breeds disease, -- disease destitution & drunkenness -- destitution vice, -- physical & moral deterioration go together -- And so on -- And vice versa.

{PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

So is it with the "laws of physical improvement" -- You can't attain the good of man in its highest sense, nor even the good of "physical improvement" by the "laws of physical improvement" alone -- Indeed, are there any such? You can't breed a man as you would a horse [blue] or cat -- Morality in its highest sense, must have a part in even his physical improvement.

If you did "kill off" the "sickly & deformed infants", that would lower the moral standard, or shew so low a standard, of moral improvement, that it would check even the physical improvement.

It cuts both ways.

[It is like the 400 heroes who stood firm `as on parade' when the "Birkenhead" went down, in order to save the lives of a few wretched women -- People said: -- what a waste! the heroes ought to have been saved. Yes, but if the heroes had thought of saving their own lives & let the women be drowned, they would not have been heroes -- & would have not been worth saving --] {PENCIL, IN A HAND OTHER THAN FN'S:} Suppose those heroes calculating that the women had better be "killed off"!

{PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

So is it, if you seek only the "laws of physical improvement", you will not make heroes -- And "physical improvement" itself will suffer.
Does not all we learn of the Laws of Nature shew God's thought to be: one man to one woman, two in one, for all time? the bond between them to be that those two can do the work of God better together than they each could do it alone?

And if this be the case so, is it not nonsense to talk about coupling the man & the woman together as you do the bull & the cow -- for the mere purpose of breeding?

If it be so, is it not nonsense to expect a man with a brain & heart & moral nature to be bred out of such an union like a calf -- & to expect that in such a complex creature as a child should come the highest results from such `breeding' as you do in your calves, when you have chosen a first-rate bull for your `Duchess' herd?

I entirely therefore agree -- quoting from the same author: -- that "you must take man as a whole".

But this seems at variance with his very next sentence: --
"& make morality & the mind the limit of physical improvement -- But it is not easy to see what this limit is" --
I never can understand the word "limit" used in this sense --
For if I were writing, I should use a word signifying the exact reverse: "expansion" "enlargement" "multiplication" "master" or the like "whole", instead of "limit" -- "informing spirit" instead of "limit".

[My dear child you are quite corrupted by Plato's `idealism'--a pervert of Plato's [blue]--We must really pray for your conversion.] {IN PENCIL:} As Plato says: the mind informs the body: owns the body: the body is the servant of the mind. How can the owner & the Master be the "limit"?
{IN PEN:}
The man is not "limited" by his "mind" or soul or whatever you call it -- he is `informed' or enlarged (over the beast). His 'whole' is greater than the beast's 'whole'. Human "morality" does not limit -- it expands & multiplies -- the laws of necessary for [blue] "physical improvement" -- In other words, it takes a great deal more, brings in many other laws occur [blue] which we have to consider, to produce the highest results in a man than in a beast.

(I must express this better when I can) [blue]
"and, altho' we may form ideals, we have to descend from them in practice" -- Certainly -- And it is just that which forms in each man's life his teaching, his experience -- viz. to find out [blue] what is right relative to his own time, his own being, his own knowledge of truth &c.

What is right in regard to one consideration is not always right in regard to another. It is right to attend to the laws of physical health, it is right to attend to the laws of moral health -- yet right in some cases to go to a physical or moral Cayenne.

The exercise of all our powers -- not all which every man has but all which tend to the improvement of mankind -- is right in one sense -- But it may be the right for the time being -- indeed one can do nothing without so doing -- to leave some unexercised -- to over-exercise some as relates to others temporarily even to crush ourselves, to crush ? others.

This is what we call making the Ideal become Actual. This of course it is which constitutes the lesson we have to learn in all time. [When Christ said that he was our `meat', did he not mean that he was giving a body to the Ideal, flesh to the spirit?]
Here comes in the word "ought". This is the whole question, in fact, of "ought": -- how ought we to proceed, how may the relative "best" be in harmony with the absolute, be carrying out as far as in us lies the "absolute" -- how may the Spirit of God in man be the same as far as is possible with the Spirit of God -- in the march of time as a part of eternity? Or in other words how may parts be in relation to the whole? E.g. what is benevolent? Here come in large modifications with regard to all time, all being, all knowledge of truth. Benevolent is: willing the "well" to others. Our knowledge of what is the "well" to others, must of course be limited -- must of course 'vary' with (or rather progress with) [blue] experience -- only God knows absolutely what is this "well" -- Only in His mind can it exist be known with perfect definiteness. We have to find out how to partake His consciousness -- All this we may describe as the Ideal becoming Actual -- the Spirit made flesh -- the 'Word' made flesh --
I continue quoting: --
"men's conceptions of morality vary" [I would rather say: progress with knowledge]
"if you reconstruct the world on a physical basis, you have to go to war with received principles of morality". [This I doubt -- I believe on the contrary, as said before, that the highest principles of morality" are necessary to "reconstruct" even physically mankind.

E.g.
That the race deteriorates & dies out under polygamy is now so well known that in nations where it is extensively practised, children have to be adopted, absolutely imported, & wives imported from Monogamist nations.
This & many other facts tend to show what was above said about the `one man' & the `one woman' & what should be their bond of `union'.

Then you say: -- "how do you distinguish between the true & false witness of nature?" --

It is a "moral sense" which is to show us this -- or a "religious sense" -- or conscience? Is it not rather educated or experienced Feeling: made up from/compounded of the various rights, so to speak. {IN PENCIL:} Thus does not `Law' become `Feeling'? till `Law' is no more wanted. Must not all {IN PEN:}
our faculties unite to settle what is the moral (right)
witness/how they all must be modified into the right? -- Whatever is, properly speaking natural to us is right. "Follow nature" would be right, but for these compounds of what is `natural' to us
It is natural to eat when we are hungry -- therefore right, unless there is another right which modifies -- in other words something to say: 'don't eat, tho' you are hungry' -- And conscience or the 'moral sense' or 'intuition' is this struggling perplexed perception or consciousness of the various rights making the right. "Follow nature", if the time comes when all men are following human nature, will probably be a simple straight forward road. But now, to those of true & large views, who must mainly be struggling alone & against the stream, to "follow nature" in the highest sense must be a battle -- and, ignorant as we are, a battle in the dark.

All words recognizing actual or possible goodness in human nature shew a true feeling of it. e.g. "follow nature", "humane", "humanity". [It was necessary to create a Devil wherever we gave up this recognition.]

"Moral sense" I should like to define or describe as his endeavour to recognize what we can of the right, by reference to God's character, to what our character is to become, to various beings, various truth, in all times as parts of eternity.
What is moral right, then? --

Is Right Right because God wills it so?

Might, e.g. this Supreme Being, this Power have made it right to take pleasure in the pain of others? No, not this Power, not power of this nature character. "Right expresses what the Gods are".

With regard to what is absolutely right & what is wrong it is true that large modifications must come in with regard to all time, all being, all knowledge of truth. This is not to say that Truth is not One, that Right is not One -- as some people think -- It is only to say, that, as we learn more & more of truth, as we learn more & more of what is right, we come to the knowledge of truth -- not that it "varies" -- [It is the farthest possible thing from saying, as some do, that one person or one race may think one thing, another another -- that each may take what suits his own mind -- the "private judgment" theory, in opposition to the "truth theory" -- which is that truth is one, & we have to find it -- but we can only act, think or feel right for the time being according to the measure of truth we have obtained]

This is the whole question in fact of `ought' remains in this: how ought we to proceed, how may the relative "best" be in harmony with the absolute, in the march of time as
a part of eternity, of parts in relation to the whole? This is what we call the Ideal becoming Actual. Truth, Right can therefore be absolutely only the consciousness only of One, the source of all being, the source of the history of all being through time, through eternity -- whose consciousness is what we call truth, or rather what we call Truth is His consciousness.

Righteousness is our God, if we can but find Him. Shew us ever so many undeniable miracles, we will have no other God. Shew us the wonders of science, of the stars, we will have no God that does not include with these 'moral right'. Shew us a God who grants heaven & gives hell, we will have no selfish or intellectual questions on religious subjects, except pursued in connection with moral right, answered as they regard truth & righteousness.

But then what is right? -- how are we to know it when we see it? --

When we say righteousness is our God, we find reason to believe that this Perfect Being Power feels, thinks, purposes, destines -- not sometimes this, sometimes that, but -- something definite -- something -- what? [orange] -- and this we call or name right. We describe right, then, as the consciousness of a being we call God, who, as revealed by Law, we have find reason to think a Perfect Being. What Law? What Law? What Law? What Law? What "definite"? [orange]

There is so much that we cannot define, we can
only describe -- We cannot define the character of God, we can only describe it. We cannot define Truth, we can only describe it. We do not attempt to define right, because we cannot. We have no evidence to tell us how to define right, but we can describe right. But only a few of us--some "enjoy others' tortures"

When we say that righteousness is our God, we know, that is, we feel sure, that certain feelings & qualities are right -- benevolence, justice, sympathy & the like -- Why do we say so? -- Some (Sedgwick & his school) say that* "intuition" teaches it. Some experience teaches it. Some (Mill & his school) say experience of what is man's well-being teaches it. But why do we wish for man's well-being? Why -- -- -- &c

Why do we want happiness for others, why not enjoy their tortures, as some do? -- It ends in this: -- there is a Power whose feeling is what we call benevolence, justice, sympathy, (so we learn from Law)/{PENCIL: What Law?} -- and this Power wills that it shall be brought about that we shall feel so.

[red] but only a few of us -- some "enjoy others' torture"

What Law? [red]
ff21-31v NOTES ON THE CHARACTER OF GOD PEN & PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN [3:96-102]

Please return to FN|

Oct 4/71

You "doubt the expression": "character of God" --
I am not wedded to the expression -- & would gladly
find another to which you would like.

But I entirely, object to the expression: nature of
God which expresses the reverse of is not what I mean.

We never have formed -- we never can at form the least
conception of the nature, of the mode of existence
of an Infinite, Perfect Being Spirit, without a body --
We never have gained, it is true, but we always can be
gaining some idea of His character.

Dogmas which threaten us with eternal damnation
if we do not believe that which we cannot
possibly conceive of strike me as so absurd
that, e.g. in the Athanasian Creed it is not the
cruelty which revolts me, it is the folly, which
remains if all the damnatory clauses were
struck out.

The dogmatic form of the Trinity which Churches force upon
us -- its moral form, (viz. the Father, the Son (man)
& the Spirit of God in man) is neglected --
Nay, if I were to say that I believe in the Incarnation
of God in all men, I should be told that that
is blasphemy -- tho' I must believe in the Incarnation
that is, of God in one man -- the one being just
as impossible to conceive in a dogmatic form as
the other.

But I do not agree that "the plan of God for improving
man would do as a substitute for: "the character of God" --

Dogmas have been so forced upon us by Churches, let us not say by Scriptures -- for there is scarcely a dogma in our Scriptures from beginning to end -- dogmas about 'persons' -- 'substances' -- & phrases which we do not understand:/can attach no meaning to: even when applied to men whom we do see --

that it seems to me thinkers of the present day, even those who believe in a Law-Giver God deny to Him the existence as an Intelligence, an intelligent consciousness, a Conscious Intelligence --

Now this seems to me quite as unreasonable as the other.

The 'plan' is not the 'character' -- any more than the plan of a campaign is the General who conceives it--or than Balliol College is Mr. Jowett's mind/character. It is the result of Mr. Jowett's: mind/: character -- But it is not his: mind/: character itself -- [see note on page 4b -- 2ND side]

Thinkers of the present day are so afraid of dogmatizing on the existence of God that they will not even assert it.

Yet we I have a great deal more evidence of the existence of God than I have of yours --

I do not see you, that is, your Mind, that is your feeling, your thought, your Will -- any more than I see God's --

I see only at the most & that only occasionally (& when you don't write to me which constitutes the greater
portion indeed of the cycle of time, I see nothing at all) at most I see only the results of you -- of your mind --
And this is exactly what I see of God -- only that I see this, these results, every where & always -- But I could not call the `plan of God' His `character' -- any more than I could call the plan of Balliol College your character.  
  The result of a mind is not the mind itself -- in any sense in which we accurately use language -- [You might as well say that Wyld's Map is Wyld.]
  While carefully refraining from `declining to dogmatize where we cannot demonstrate', that is, about the mode of existence, the nature of the Infinite Spirit, if He exists,  
  I think we may assert (by the same evidence or induction that we assert in human things Government where we see Laws that they are the result of Feeling, Thought, Will, or what we vaguely call Mind, in a Law-giver whom we call a man) that the Laws of Nature are the result of Thought, Will, Feeling, Intention, of the same kind tho' not of the same degree, in a Law-giver, a Conscious Intelligence, who does that which it is obviously impossible for man to do, which it is certainly impossible for man to alter --  
  This is what I call/all that I mean by the "character" of God -(observe, I assert nothing about His `nature', essence, `person') --
-- preferring the word `character' to `Mind', because Mind is vaguely taken sometimes to mean only intellectual Mind -- whereas, if we had to choose between the two phrases, I am sure that it would be more correct or comprehensive to say: the Heart of God than the Mind of God -- For Mind scarcely includes in common parlance the great characteristic: Love (a word I should substitute for `Feeling' -- if I dared.)

I will most gladly accept any other word for `character', if you will give me one --

Or, if you leave me the word: I will put a note at the bottom (as I have saved the word `Creation' by a similar note) explaining what I mean to be (as above) that the Laws of Nature, including those of Moral Nature, indicate, are in fact the expression of a Will, induced by Feeling (Love) to realize its Thought -- the Thought of a Conscious Intelligence -- [and this I call, for want of a better word, the `character' of God.]

xx If these Laws are not operating in consequence of a Conscious Intelligence willing them to be so, it is in direct contradiction to all our other experience -- this the greatest experience we have -- they would be the exception to everything else in human knowledge -- the only facts without a fact-maker -- for Law is not a power, it is only a formula, registering facts.

Indeed, to state a Law is stating the existence of a Law-Giver -- (instead of, as some think, accounting for the absence of a Law-Giver) --

What are the Laws of Moral Nature? [orange]
Of the existence of such a Will we have, it can scarcely be denied, the most comprehensive human experience which is within our reach for anything/existence, even if only we would only gather it up. Those who hold that This is, I believe, not denied, even by those who hold that if a God exists we have no faculties whereby to recognize Him -- [This error, [This opinion I think, does but proceeds from the very confusion of ideas I have been referring to, viz. about His nature -- it is quite true that we have no faculties whereby to recognize this His nature -- but in recognizing His laws, are we not recognizing Himself, His 'character'?]

You would not say that, because a wife could not recognize her husband's mode of being, the beginning of man, the way in which man's soul is put into his body, therefore she could not recognize her husband, his character.]

what facts? [orange]
The most comprehensive human experience is within our reach as to what facts, what laws are produced by the Thought, Feeling, Will of a Supreme Power -- The most comprehensive human experience is within our reach as to what is the Thought, Feeling, Will of the Supreme Power which produces those facts.

This is all I mean by studying the 'character' of God -- I assert nothing at all about His nature, His mode of being -- which I know I have no faculties to recognize.
The most comprehensive {evidence/indications now within our reach of what facts are produced by such a Will, of what is the Will which produces those facts -- what is it? --

- The experience of every human being or of every community of human beings, cannot be taken as a test. The most comprehensive experience within our reach is: such experience as we can now gain from past & present human experience, & from what we may infer will become human experience, in accordance with the Laws of Nature, some few of which (we must learn them all -- including those of Moral Nature) we have learnt from past experience

state what is this experience [orange]

One word more about character: -- we say of a human person that he has character, when he thinks, feels, speaks & acts all the same way -- i.e. when his actions do not belie his words nor his words his thoughts, nor his feelings his thoughts, but they are all consistent, one

and of a piece.

Prince Albert said that thinking on how he should conduct himself when married to the Queen of England, he had determined to aim at a character which should lead him through a right course of life, rather than to think much about how to conduct himself in particular instances [I understand this to mean: the state of mind at each instant which determines not only what will be his state under the actual circumstances
That is just what you are doing at Balliol -- i.e. what God is doing by the Laws of Nature -- viz. the improvement of character by wise Laws -- the enabling a man to have such a character that he can depend upon himself that the next instant shall rightly affect that which follows -- so that he shall never be surprised or betrayed into anything unworthy by any instant, or any change of circumstances, any hour or event --

This is what it seems to me that Christ meant when he said:
Shall I say, Father, save me from this hour? And immediately as it were recollecting himself: But for this cause came I unto this hour --
I am sure I have so often felt aghast at the newness of the horror of the `hour' I had come to -- tho' acknowledging immediately after -- But for this cause came I unto this hour --

To say this aright, however, one must be sure of oneself, of one's character, that it will stand any `hour' --

Christ was sure of himself -- I am not
And you are in process of making Balliol sheep sure --
I never think of `this great University the Universe' without thinking that Balliol is the most important College in it.
a man is in at the next instant, but what
would be his state of mind at the next
instant under any circumstances under which
he could exist. The p Th in other
words a unity or consistency or steadiness between
what he feels, thinks, wills, speaks & does --
The knowledge of this determinate & inevitable
effect of the present on the successive <Insert
instant will induce a man to try that
the next instant shall rightly affect that
which follows.] This is what you are trying to do with
the sheep at Balliol -- and succeeding. <Insert
This is what we mean by human
"character" --
{THIS LINE IN PENCIL:} What "facts as they are" indicate this?
And we can scarcely explain facts as
they are -- otherwise than by conceiving that each
learner in "that great University the Universe"
moves from chamber to chamber at the
appointed time for the improvement of his
character (of which Balliol is a most important chamber college)
This however we must discuss elsewhere --
We are now only describing the word `character'
which is objected to --
If there is a Supreme B Power, we know
that His 'character' must be invariable &
without a shadow of turning -- It is not only our St. Francis
own Scriptures which tell us this but other, e.g. d'Assisi
the Egyptian Scriptures -- & indeed the very essential
nature of things -- His word (Logos existence is closed by) or Thought,
His Will or Action, His feeling or Love, must be
ever the same, ever in unity with each other -- How are we to
express or define this in one word? -- It is not His 'mind', or His
'plan'. It is: His character.
Myself
not my plan.
Shall I say God's self
not His character? [orange pencil]

{PENCIL, WRITTEN NORMALLY:}
[A propos to 'Scriptures', I read with great
interest in Fra Egidio, one of St. Francis of Assisi's
companions in the 13th century -- how much better
their religious writings are than ours! -- this phrase: --
"The Scriptures, when speaking of God, are like a mother
who stammers" [I don't know how to translate this word
'sammers' -- It means the pretty little noises with which a
mother caresses, encourages, controls, warns her infant]
"are like a mother who stammers with her little child
& who would be no more understood, if she expressed
herself otherwise". How unlike this to our dogmatizing
which we pretend to take out of the Scriptures!]

Note from Mill -- from page 2b 2nd side
I should say "Myself" -- not my plan -- if speaking e.g. in
your name -- Myself not my plan, made Balliol College.
May I say: God's self, if you do not like the expression,
His 'character'?
Mill says very truly: -- "Of the inmost nature of the thinking
"principle or Mind xx we are & with our present
faculties must always remain entirely in the dark --
All which we are aware of, even in our own minds,
is a certain thread of consciousness -- a series of feelings,
that is, of sensations, thoughts, emotions & volitions, more
or less numerous xx
xx There is something I call myself,
or by another form of expression my mind which I
consider as distinct from these sensations, thoughts &c.
a something which I conceive to be not the thoughts but
"the being that has the thoughts. But what that being is although it is myself I have no knowledge other than the series of its states of consciousness." And elsewhere "Mind is the mysterious something which feels & thinks" xxxx no more we have of God [orange pencil] This is almost exactly what I am always trying to say about God, & the expression 'nature of God'. If we "know nothing" of the nature of our own 'Mind', how can we know anything of the nature of God's, in any way in which we can correctly use the term? All that we can know of Him is: His Thought, Feeling, Will (I do not use the plural, thoughts, feelings &c because in Him all is one -- there is no 'series') But of His Thought, Feeling, Will I believe we can know more than of any human being's -- In speaking of a human being, we say, variously: 'His mind', his 'character', 'himself' -- I want an expression for God, the Supreme "Being that has the thought", the Supreme Being "which feels & thinks" -- I don't like the expression God's Mind -- for the reason given -- viz. it is too intellectual -- You don't like the expression His character -- May I say Himself?
Any how, this is what I want to express by say about the study of 'God's character': --
E.g. Man is ignorant of the future known to the Mind inferred, since we infer that He determines the future by His Will, -- while Man can only progressively learn to predict the future, in proportion as he learns how the so-called Laws of Nature operate, & the character of the Mind producing their operation.

E.g. we have really no evidence, no reason for expecting that the Sun will rise to-morrow, excepting the character of the Being who makes it rise.

Mill A Saturday Reviewer, (I think it is), says somewhere -- tho' he does not draw the inference -- that, because a phenomenon or series of phenomena has been ever since the world began, that is no logical or philosophical reason for concluding that it will be to-morrow.

If a farmer were asked: why he supposes the Sun will rise to-morrow -- he would say, Because it has risen every day --

But that is not the ground of our certainty --
The only real ground of our certainty is: the character of the Being who causes the sun to rise --
The only real ground man has for predicting any thing is: the character of the Being who: makes/: gives the Laws of Nature.

[Let me say something farther about 'predicting' by & bye]
From a celebrated author: -- Jowett
"does not what we mean to say amount to this
"1) that we should by the exertion of all our
faculties form the highest ideal that we can
of the nature of God
    qy -- not 'nature' -- character?)
"having a faith that this is & that this
falls short of the truth.
"2) that we should use all the means of which
we can think towards realizing this idea --
"And to this end both in speculation,
    (not 'speculation' -- that is like M. Pattison --
    "theology is a speculative habit" --
    which drives me mad --
    qy. enquiry into or study or discovery of
    the character of God)
"& practice -- we shall require all the knowledge
we can attain (would not indications or evidence be a
better word than 'knowledge'?)
in physics & morals & in history
to fill up the abstraction
    (the word 'abstraction', tho' it may be
philosophically correct, will certainly
in common parlance, -- even the common
parlance of modern metaphysics, --
convey, the idea too much of a mere
creation of one's own mind. Now
this is the great fault of the age. It even
was Kant's fault --
Now I would carefully keep in view
that we are not imagining a Perfect God
-- we are seeking by such {evidence/indications as we
can collect to find out whether there
is a Perfect God.

It is true that we must conceive of,
enquire, think out what a Perfect God
would do, if there exists one,

[In this all Churches have absolutely
failed] altho' they deal so very much in imaginative
theology]

If, then, we find in the "living
|||certainties" of G the Moral & Physical
|||Worlds in the accumulating mass of
human {evidence/indications, facts that that is done
which we should suppose a Perfect

God would do, (& certainly it is true we must
help ourselves enquiry by this supposition,
hypothesis or conception) we come

near to evidence/indications, not proof, that there
is a Perfect God -- But I would not
call this an "abstraction" --
"and to supply the means of action" --
call it `abstraction' [WRITTEN TO THE LEFT OF hypothesis ABOVE]
if you will ] {WRITTEN TO THE LEFT OF near to ABOVE}
Anthropomorphism  2 N.B.
To say The shrewd objection that love & anger & all the affections attributed to God in Scripture are human emotions, implying agitation & passiveness, is a mere confusion of spiritual principles with things that accompany their working in our lower nature. With love in us there is passive emotion, with indignation there is passive emotion: but the love, the indignation, are not themselves the emotion, but states of that higher nature in which we approach to God. This, mutatis mutandis, is exactly what I think with regard to J.S. Mill's "Emotional Feeling" phrase -- I would not apply the word to the "states" of "higher natures" among ourselves for their "affections" "are not themselves the emotion

Only in Bishop Blougram's "affections" were in themselves "emotions" -- Applied to God, whom we are supposed to be enquiring about as the Spirit of Perfection, it is repulsive not as being profane but as being so exceedingly inappropriate -- Even as a philosophical expression it is as incorrect as if we were to call a Mother's love to her babe: a Mother's giving the breast.
Add Mss 45784

£36 {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:} [2c] {PAGE NUMBER IN PENCIL}

{THIS SECTION CROSSED OUT:}
Dear Mr. Jowett I should so very much like
to think this out seriously (that you may not
suppose your pains wasted upon me)
But I have not now time --
And I therefore send my rough thought
asking you to be so good as to return this to
me, that I may work it out.
{END OF CROSSED OUT SECTION}
I believe we mean substantially the same
thing -- But I am unused to philosophical
terms, such as "abstraction" -- And I am
also sure that they betray common thinkers
who look upon e.g. these very terms ("abstraction")
("speculation") as the "ne plus ultra" of intangible
thought, imagination -- (the phrase "mere abstraction"
is become almost a word to express a visionary thought)
- whereas what I want to press the thing most needed now is that we
should find out God by evidence/indications, facts, research,
discovery -- [Please don't make me use
the word "abstraction" -- even if it is, as I
dare say it is, philosophically correct]
Then please let me put 2.) before 1).
May I not have it thus --
|| 1. that we should by the exertion of all
|| our faculties search out evidence/indications, facts in
|| physics, in morals, & in history as to the
|| ? character (the Thought, Feeling, Will) of the
Being from whom all the Laws of Nature, & (physics) & Morals emanate -- whose Will is history --

(this of course might be put in various ways)

2. that we should, by the exertion of all our faculties -- & using all the means we can think of -- conceive the highest ideal that we can conceive of what a Perfect Supreme Being would be, would do, would create -- always bearing in mind that this ideal MUST fall short of the truth

3. that we should by comparing the facts which the Thought, Feeling, Will (character) of the Supreme Being does produce & the experience of what Thought, Feeling, Will would produce those facts -- with our highest ideal of what the Moral & Physical Government of a Perfect Being would be --

Come, as far as we can, to realize the {evidence/indications that there is a Perfect God (if there is one) -- -- to realize the ideal of a Perfect God in matters beyond our ken --

that is, to infer (from what we see) what we don't see -- & what we can have no evidence for -- e.g. that man will have successive educations in successive, lives `of this great University, the Universe' -- without which successive education there can be no Perfect God -- yet for which we never can have any evidence,

{WRITTEN IN PENCIL, DIAGONALLY TO THE LEFT OF that is, to infer (ABOVE):} what do we see?
Add Mss 45784

£38 {PEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

[3c]
-- other, I mean, than moral evidence or indications from
the character of God -- i.e. such part of His
character as we can find out -- & which
This induces us to say, if there are successive
lives of education for each & every human
being, there is a Perfect God -- if not,
there can be no Perfect God x -- But then
we cannot explain the Moral Laws (& or
traces of Laws) we do see here, all tending to make
us believe that there is a plan, an education
for conducting us all to progress towards
perfection -- we cannot explain these traces unless we infer an
education proceeding

further 'beyond the grave' -- what traces? [orange]

{WRITTEN IN PENCIL, DIAGONALLY TO THE LEFT OF we cannot explain (ABOVE):}
What are these
Moral Laws? [orange]
{END OF COLUMN COMMENT}
4. that for practice we should obtain all
   the knowledge & search out all the experience
   we can attain & find in physics & morals
   & in history to supply ourselves with
   means of action for carrying out the plans
   of this omnipotent Being -- plainly visible
   in part -- for educating ignorance, forming
   character, reforming character &c &c &c
   -- to supply ourselves with means of action
   for being in fact fellow-workers with the
   Perfect Being (if there is be one) --
x [And I am glad I am not to live on under him]
say what plans are plainly visible?
This is in the rudest form & written in the greatest hurry (& amid interruptions even at 7.30 a.m.)
What I think that "we mean to say" --
But I should like to think this out most carefully -- to put it, if I can, into better words --
And I am deeply grateful to you for helping me.

Please return this
[N.B. I would just add that I should have no objection to the phrase: character of the `intelligent principle of Law & Order in the Universe, embracing equally `man & nature' -- Only you see, it is rather long.
{IN PENCIL:}
(Also, it is rather long to say: -- what facts `Emotional Feeling, Thought & Will &c will produce', instead of: what a Perfect God would create.
{IN PEN:}
[It is rather like changing the name of `Avenue de l'Impératrice' (at Paris) to `Avenue de la Femme du Chef du Pouvoir Exécutif' --]
Also: if the first "principles" are: "1. that God "is true -- 2. that God is good." [I am still borrowing from a celebrated author) which they ARE -- this does not tally, in common parlance & with common thinkers with phrases like `God = an abstraction' -- `Theology = a speculation' --
And practically this is a matter of the very highest importance, because, as the same author goes on to say: `could religious education be bound up with truth & virtue' ---IF "God is true", (or rather is truth) -- if "God is good" (or rather is goodness) then is it not `truth & virtue'? -- is not religion `truth & virtue'? (not `bound up with truth & virtue' but Truth & Virtue themselves? --

This has been the awful mistake of all Churches, separating `truth &
virtue' from religion & `religious education'.

May I repeat that, could M.S. put down on these few rough pages where she differs -- WHERE it says what she does not "mean to say" -- how it is not what she means to say -- then something might be put together in the vulgar tongue of to say what we do "mean to say" & to common thinkers.

[If this is said in terms which we are wholly unused to, it is like thinking in a language we scarcely know or in a dead language -- As real comprehension is impossible to uneducated persons spelling it out with difficulty, so real thought is impossible in a language we know imperfectly.

M. Mohl says that the best Latinists now never write a Latin Essay with thoughts worth having -- because modern thought does not admit of expression in ye cumbrous pedantic, tho' beautiful forms of old Latin]

ff41-42 on bronzes FN gave to BJ for Balliol
These Lectures on Boswell seem to me like the
`tour de force' of a great man -- as if St. Paul
had delivered a lecture on Tents, or St. John
written a General Epistle on fishing.
While so many vital philosophical questions remain
unsolved, while almost all vital religious
questions remain untouched, I can hardly
understand this interest in Boswell, except
as the historical relaxation of an overstrained thought.
[Also: England is running to seed not only in Reviews
but in Reviews of Reviews, & Between ourselves
Macaulay's Review of Boswell is not worth reviewing]
Surely, if Goethe in one direction put
chains on Germany's legs, Johnson's Dictionary
did more than any thing else for half a
century prevent England's development in
religious & philosophical thought.
Take his definition of Religion:
Religion is virtue founded on a fear of future
punishment & hope of future reward --
(I have not a copy of his Dictionary by me
And he quotes Milton, South & somebody else (I
forget whom) in support of his opinion.
Is not this absolutely misleading people?
Might I not just as well say:
under 'Philosophy' --
Philosophy is Study of Aristotle & Herbert Spencer
founded on emulation to be in the First
Class at Final Examinations.
Nay: I think my definition of Philosophy is
(or would have been without a certain
Master of Balliol)
Much more correct than Johnson's of Religion
-- which might do just as well for Irreligion --
You, I suppose, reply that Johnson's Dictionary
is not a work of enquiry but of definition --
He gives simply the meaning of words in the
English language up to his time --
But, supposing that you & I were engaged on an
English 'Scott & Liddell', (which God forbid --
there are two things which would be indeed the
'fear of future punishment': one is to be a Dean,
the other, to write a Dictionary)
do you not think that we should have hit

upon a very different definition of 'Religion'
and do not you think we should have found
plenty of authors (& previous to Johnson's time)
to quote from in our support.
[If I am not mistaken there is a well known
collection of Letters & Biographies, not of
Essays & Reviews, called the New Testament,
which bears me out.
But the whole body of Mystical Theology
& even of other Theology of the 16th century
is far ahead of Johnson.]
Must we not admit that there is scarcely
any, if any work which has so arrested the progress
of all higher philosophical thought, of all
'comprehensive enquiry after truth' (I quote the
M. of B.) including the highest of all
philosophies, religion: the enquiry after who God
is -- as Johnson's Dictionary?
You speak of his common sense -- But in the
higher things, the higher kinds of truth: Philosophy
& Religion, had he any `sense' at all?
Plato, I think, gives quite a different definition
Add Mss 45784

of common sense.
What I can understand is this: --
in the follies & unphilosophical, -- unthoughtful
you may say -- absurdities of Ritualism, in the
almost as great absurdities of Liberalism -- among the
in the nameless confusions of Church theories &
Creed controversies -- & the idiotcies of pinning
one's faith upon a historical point, upon
what an Athanasius or a Paulinus said -- or a parcel of
rascals like the Church Councils thought --
there is something healthy in Johnson's
manly, robust independence & hatred of
cant & humbug which is like a good
breeze from the sea blowing away Oxford
gogs.

But I should be very sorry to have no other
food than that breeze --

{PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}
philosophy = comprehensive enquiry after truth
logical = enquiring into premises as well as correctly drawing inferences
from them
(always within the conditions of his own mind) {Johnson's dinner with
Wilkes (Dill's [?])
{ " 1st meeting " Boswell
Boswell's {death of Catherine Chambers
Johnson {Johnson's last illness
{penance at Ultocater

{IN PEN:}
N.B. -- or rather: don't N.B. --
You quote two lines from 'Vanity of Human Wishes', as if the
they poem were not generally known -- In my youth we all learnt it by
heart -- & I dare say I could say it now -- & great part
of Rasselas -- Also: the Rambler -- But we none of us
read Boswell. [I used to read the Dictionary for my amusement]
I suppose it is just the contrary now. People read
only Boswell.
In February 1872 Jowett returned with criticisms F.N's paper on "What is the Evidence that there is a Perfect God?" This seems to be F.N's criticisms on his criticisms.

On Feb 25

Oxford Student

Is this fact? --

There are scarcely any human beings in the world who use such "physical exertion" as Oxford, Cambridge, Eton. They are the best rowers, athletics &c in the world -- & could earn their bread in navigation, &c &c requiring much bodily strength.

Also many & an increasing number actually do "maintain" themselves by winning scholarships &c --

And these & not the 'Lords' are the 'first class' men.

'Bread-fruit tree'

It has never been said that I know of that hot climates prevent "workers" --

On the contrary -- Egypt & India have always been

pr evidence of the hypothesis named -- viz. that exertion in procuring food, shelter, clothing, the necessaries of life, is requisite to raise the race -- but not only physical but mental exertion -- ingenuity -- for in Egypt & India no food can be had without irrigation, public works &c &c. This is a What has been asserted & justly
Add Mss 45784

**f47v** {PENCIL, HANDWRITTEN BY FN:}

I believe is that in countries where food grows without the necessity even of cooking it like the bread fruit tree, the race is always low & not only "early" but late "civilization" is never found.

*Antipodes*

"This island does not carry civilization to its Antipodes".

O but it does -- what nation more so? America -- Austra. N. Zealand

And at this very moment there is a quarrel between Ld Kimberley & the N.S.W. Govt about annexing Fijis -- who shall annex it -- because it is quite certain it must be brought under English laws & "civilization" to save it from itself.

**ff48-49v** NOTES ON LAWS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE [3:543]

**f48**

March 2

I entirely concur as you know that in the conviction that we know enough of the Law Giver to "infer" the never-ending progress of each & all of us from the "consistency" of His Laws --

But to others the flaw in our reasoning I take it would be this: --

we admit in every line that the "lessons" of our "school-master" have reached but "few" --

that while a few are rising, others are falling --

that whole masses seem quite incapable of helping themselves --

(altho' relative numbers do not seem to me to affect the question --

let us say half & half --

Or indeed if one is not on the road to never --

ending progress, it affects the character of the Law=Giver who made him so --)

But the failure in our Logic will seem (to others) to be this: --

we state that (say) half are raised by these Laws i.e. that good is produced in (say) half that evil is produced in (say) half by these Laws
Add Mss 45784

\textit{f49v}

we then immediately `infer' from the `path which is seen' to that which is `unseen'
that the Laws must be \textit{in process of} `producing good' for the other `half', the \textit{bad} half.
Here is the flaw -- 
People will answer: -- the `inference', if any is this
that the bad go on getting bad
the good " " good
[Indeed in a sort of vulgar, hap-hazard way 
this \textit{has} been the `inference' of all Xtian,
(not Oriental) Churches --
religions
a future heaven for the good
" hell " " bad]

\textit{ff50-51} NOTES ON CHARACTER PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

\textit{f50} \{PENCIL\} Notes for Mr. Jowett 1872? \{HANDWRITTEN BY FN:\}

March 4 [1]
"The mistakes we make concerning other characters"
Yes & because (most of all because) we are hindered by fancying a casual word, forgotten the next moment, to be the result of a settled conviction -- And we take equally their bad & their good too much au serieux -- instead of disregarding their bad & working out their good -- if possible --
"Insect's wing" (little (?) cat) [orange] mistake of my whole life
Now "we have not this hindrance" as regards God.
Because we do know each "word" of his to be the true (settled) manifestation of His character, if we can but interpret it -- being the (settled) manifestation of Law
March 4 [2]

? But the Devil might have one uniformity of Thought -- and God another
With regard to the "band", it is very certain we have not found them yet --
Would it not be a more profitable speculation for us to write about what we can find out than to write about a "band" which does not exist? which is neither an "imagination" nor a "fact"?

Our writing about things may cause it to exist but not our writing about "bands" -- while we have as yet nothing for them to do --

Agm I have got together something of a "band" for Nursing -- But I should not have done this by talking about "Stuff" nor indeed about "Nursing", if I had not had something to give teach them to do --

"Agnes Jones" was not in the least of our way of thinking -- She did her work without "Stuff"
Saviours March 7

Yes in that sense -- I have no objection --
For in that sense every good School-mistress,
Tutor, Head of an Institution, of a Government,
of a Board of Guardians, is a Saviour --
But I would put down how the Saviour works --
In many cases, in most cases, this is not difficult

[And this is what I presume we mean by "paths"]

1. "The Ways of the Line" -- In this case a
single lady (I believe a young one) reformed,
'saved', half the navvies on a Welsh line on whom
'Mission Clergy' worked in vain --
She spoke to them in a language they could
understand -- She taught them in their own
way -- She made them pay for their books,
work for their learning -- She always spoke the
truth to them -- She ran in & stopped their fights.
While with them she was of them
'peg your head to wa' --
She respected something even in the worst

2. Miss Octavia Hill

Why does she raise these people while other Lady Visitors only pauperize them?
She does not remove them out of their surroundings.
She requires their rents to be paid regularly --
goes round & collects them herself -- helps them
to work thro' other ladies -- gives Tea=Meetings
Decayed coachman = undertaker
She never, I believe, gives a penny --
She herself has to work for her own bread.
They see she does not come among them as
a lazy Lady Bountiful giving odd moments
from her own luxuries
[My luxuries -- Cannes ladies]
3. Miss Torrance

(like Dr Arnold at Rugby educating
his Preceptors)
She tries to develop each of our Nurses into a
Ward Mistress -- to give her the whole responsibility
of the Ward -- to act only thro' her -- to make each
of them a little Matron -- make her responsible for the moral as well as physical progress of the Patients -- & for this purpose She educates each to her utmost capability both in feeling & power --
4. Prussian system of War
   educates every Officer to individual responsibility & power down to the Corporal -- takes the detail work off the head

5. Wesley
   It was just because he did not wait for "Saviours" that he was so successful --
   He took the people as they were -- taking a 'class-leader' out of themselves, a little better than they -- & educated them to religious feeling (I don't know that we can say to more)
   [Wesley one of the main causes of the resurrection of the Church -- part of the resurrection of England from corruption at the end of the last century] M. Mohl

6. Miss Rye
   another sort of education
   takes the little paupers out of Liverpool where nobody wants them & places them in Canadian families (not in Institutions) where people snatch at them -- one in each family

7. St. Francis of Assisi's Tertiary Order
8. Mr. Jowett
   Balliol College
Wesley

he said: to "believe" in Christ
but he did not know what he meant --
what he meant was much higher
it was to feel Christ
to feel love & gratitude for Christ
to feel horror for one's own sin
at the same time with love for a
Perfect Being.

Excitements
The young lady who has been at the Ball all night
as the man who has been drinking all night
how can you speak to either of God or work for man
you can call out no feeling -- for it has all
been used up in something else.

Wesley

Do not you think that is what a Perfect Being
would do -- die on the Cross to save sinners.
It seems to me the Evangelical has hit the
right nail on the head? --
And the Perfect Father giving up His only son for this
March 13

But are men "in their agony surveying the sins & sufferings of men"? They seem to me to be doing just the reverse [There is only one Edward Denison in 30 millions --] What men are saying is either mere superficial Criticism or it is saying: there is happiness enough --

A.H.C. Angels & devils in one world
Greg & Co. All men are alike -- Free Trade Accumulation of Wealth -- Evangelical "Need of a Saviour" -- No need now -- Commerce is our Saviour -- Gladstone Lowe --[orange]

I would be very careful while always keeping in view the Eternal Possible never to work for it alone but keep the Immediate Possible rigorously in the fore-ground -- not prophesying that "wants" will come unless we can in some measure supply the present wants --

I above all dread being like Mazzini who yet has had an enormous share in revolutionizing Europe or like Garibaldi [-- Mr. Jowett --]

If we do not, as Italy was made without Mazzini or in spite of him, so the new Theodikè will be made without us or in spite of us prophecy instead of demonstration a poor thing
You ask: if Scepticism is not on the increase?  
Whether do you mean by Scepticism the criticizing of others' opinions for the mere purpose of intellectual amusement with the spice of destructiveness, as children pull off fly's legs -- associating with this all sorts of aesthetic follies, love of ceremonial, "friars", art.  
I think this is amazingly on the increase --  
If you mean the real 'doubting conscientiously enquiring spirit for the purpose of real investigation search, after truth, I think it is absolutely on the decrease:  
choked by criticism --  
I think scientific morality, morality in enquiring, much deteriorated even in my day --  
Anything will do for a Magazine Goldstrücker -- said that books were allowed to pass now, nay, were quoted & praised which formerly would have been at once condemned.  
He did not know enough to write. But every one else knows enough to write about it  
The hundreds of days, the legions of Periodicals, now consumed in discussing & criticizing personal beliefs pure unmitigated waste  
To put ordinary superficial criticism [orange] in a clever way -- for mere intellectual amusement the staple commodity now of conversation & magazines not for [orange] enquiry

I believe there is direct communication with God.
ff61-62v NOTES ON LAWS, LANGUAGES & THE SEEN VS. UNSEEN PATHS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f61
March 14 [1]

But this is not shewing how Law brings us
to have good "attractions"?
Was not that the question?

But you have not said what "all experience
of what facts proceed from what Will" is
How can you say what is "a contradiction"
to -- -- blank?

I am afraid as said before that the whole "Habitual Criminals" Act entirely
contradicts this assumption that men
"would rather not be dishonest" &c
-- & the whole Poor Law besides contradicts
that "those on the wrong road" &c
I thought we had admitted this.

f62v
March 14 [2]

"flogging" -- very much gone out
for boys

But surely English & German & French
can "put into language many more thoughts
than" Latin, Greek & Sanscrit -- with
their ponderous grammatical forms &
pedantic unbending flow --
I thought that was the very reason of these
new languages --
M. Mohl -- Latin for Essays -- impossible
to put modern thought into that armour

2nd half
I am afraid all this is open & tenfold to the same
answer:
we have not shown that the "seen path" is good --
almost the reverse --
& then by a most startling corollary we say
but if we are granted an "unseen path" the "seen
path" becomes better directly -- nay "perfect"!!!!
Many will say: it becomes worse -- it makes it worse
{WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE:}
as 2 bad lives (paths) are worse than one
"Vantage-ground"

But that is just the thing.

Don't write: about "getting a sufficient number on a vantage-ground".

But write: what are the "vantage-grounds" --
how to "get" upon them --
how the Laws raise us or some of us upon them or some of them.

If one were to write the sheet of questions (of March 17) 1,000,000 of times, how would that further our knowledge one step? --

It is not writing of/on a thing, it is writing merely about a thing "putting the question".

And it is only writing about of on a thing & NOT about a thing question which ever instructs us the least.

Suppose Dalton had written about the "vantage-ground" of Chemistry, instead of writing of or on Chemistry, what would that have availed us?

To put {a question} in 1000 different ways does not advance the {or a "hope"} answer one bit
March 17

Well then don't let us "hope" but say what the "religion" is which "increasing knowledge cannot overthrow"?

Of all virtues, "hoping" is the stupidest

Who dragged whom round the walls of what? [orange]

What information does that give to any one? --

Our questions are like this -- I would not have 3 unknown quantities in one question, at all events

"To try to think, feel right --
tell us what is "right" to "think" --

Quetelet gives two most remarkable charges in "right"-thinking

The fact about the French seems to be that they have never been able to reconcile polite authority & liberty in politics or religion, but their industry, frugality, economy, arts, social life are far beyond ours --

And there is no workman in artistic things who approaches the French workman --

nor is there any centre of literature in England or Germany like Paris --

[end 7:764]

NOTES ON BELIEF IN A FUTURE LIFE BY JEWS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY FN

March 18/72

M. de Kuenen says that the belief in a future life came into Jew-dom when the Jew began to think not only on his national relation with God but on his individual, personal relation also with God ie. in the 2nd Captivity --

Persian also becoming infused into Jewish belief. I think this is suggestive --

While you think most of your national existence you think only of the progress of races -- generations [Positivists]

But when you get further it is impossible that any one thinking of his individual relation with God will think that God cares only for the race & not for the individual
March 19
An argument is no use unless both sides wish
to find out the truth, the facts --
not to argue but to find out from
the lights of both sides.
FN
who has been so great a Benefactress to
(may we not say?) to the whole world
in these matters [7:338-39]
Mazzini
whatever influence was left to him he was certain to exert in a way
unfavourable to the true interests of his country
purposeless
if purpose = implies a due relation between means & end
Vatican 3000 persons
12000 rooms
14 Courts
C'est le seul Italian qui a bon coeur = malgré lui
Pius IX of V. Emmanuel
his school girl inanities
rendered more inane by his assumption of
intellectual power & originality
Mazzini
nothing has come out of his movements for 20 years
his best work his Essays in English & Italian
He made Italian success & unity impossible in
1848-9
Practical bearings lost in ideal forms of
perfect social organization
like a Dr angry with his Patient for getting
well without his medicines
was Mazzini with Italy
Cavour the real maker of Italy into a kingdom of 26 million
No sooner had Austrian supremacy withdrawn in 1859 xx
than all the petty despotic Govts of Italy fell before the
indignation of their own subjects.
Cavour made Piedmont the model & standard
of Italian political progress -- the strong hold of
political liberty
xx Cavour having invited L. Napoleon III in against them

March 20/72
I think what I wanted to say was this:
we agree that it is saying nothing, to (not even
correctly a formula,) to say: `if life is continuous,
all is harmony' --
But you propose to substitute or add: --
if there is progress (for each of us thro'
Eternity) `then all contradictions & confusions
are unravelled', `then all is harmony'
But is not this merely saying:
IF THERE IS PROGRESS, THEN THERE IS PROGRESS
It appears to me that it is not even a formula,
it is only a truism --
No one will doubt that, if there is progress
(for each of us thro' Eternity), then all is right
But this is the very `begging the question', is
it not? It is merely assertion that there is.
T.O.
You say: with this `if' "undisproved", you are all right.
But is not that merely saying: --
if there is a righteous Governor, ("undisproved")
then this world is righteously governed.
I am not sure:
should like (as always)
to hear what you say.

Do not you think it curious that this about the "organization" of Charity should be so cleverly put --
& yet the writer not go one step further & say
but the "actual contact of giver & receiver"
is the only true Charity --
only it must be exercised wisely i.e. not money must be "given" but the influence & training to enable even drunkards & imbeciles to help themselves
And this can only be done by personal "contact", influence, feeling wise feeling acting upon the "receiver" from the "giver" --
No "Society", no "organized Charity" can do this Without this, however, "charity" is nothing
Miss T.
the Home for drinking laundresses
to go farther, to do something more than not "giving"

Society has given Vagrants
the habit of not working
shapeless formless formula
unintelligible -- unintelligent
I cannot but think it is waste of time to enquire
after a formula which as you say yourself
men will not accept unless they believed it
already & which makes no impression either
on those who do or don't accept it --
The formula you are seeking after appears to be:
-- Law is leading every individual to never ending
progress -- Hence infer character of Law-Giver --
Well then leave searching for the formula for the
present -- which is at present quite formless
-- & shew the "facts" that Law is leading &c -- or
the "paths" by which Law will lead &c
Give details -- the smallest most unimportant
(apparently) detail is better than the perpetual
re-iteration of a Question.
Leave searching for the formula for the present
A formula is utterly valueless except as a
registration of facts, facts previously made known to &
acknowledged by those who are to accept the formula.

Where all the facts are acknowledged,
formula may be then made & is useful.
But to make a formula before your facts,
is really putting the cart before the horse --
It is exactly what all dogmatic Religionists have
done --
It is what Darwinianism has done --
It is like putting down figures which
represent no quantity -- nothing
at least nothing known to the reader --
The "path" of the moon is represented by an
equation which fills half an 8vo page --
But if you were to put that down before a
person who knows nothing of the path of the moon,
it would tell him nothing.
So with the "paths" of Law. Unless you give some
of the "paths" of Law, the formula (even if true
as the Equation is true) tells nothing
Mr. Jowett          April 7/72
Prophecies both O. & N.T. to be taken not as predictions of facts wh: may or may not have been verified at a particular time but as visions of nations appearing in the presence of God, as the revelation of the words & works of man in the light of a higher world; as a history of the world which is a judgment of the world xx to express an eternal truth & not a particular fact xx a future which is already present & anticipated in all ages by the consciences of men passing judgement on themselves & their own times ("all they that are in the graves shall hear my voice")

Religion = communion with the justice & truth & goodness of God = seeking to enter into His mind & to do His work

The hour is coming when neither as Protestants nor as Catholics neither as Churchmen nor Dissenters shall men worship the Father

supplanted as the belief in God always is by men's belief in themselves, their Church or their race.

That which was once a shadow of good things to come is not even a shadow of them now, but a veil, a mist, an impenetrable cloud, coming between us & God.

A form of government or society or belief to which we were not consenting parties has been settled for us -- & we feel that the individual mind is powerless to alter them. In vain we desire something better & truer & more adapted to our wants.

Consciousness of man passing judgement on themselves & their own times ("all they that are in the graves shall hear my voice").

Religion = communion with the justice & truth & goodness of God = searching to enter His mind & to do His work.

The hour is coming when neither as Protestants nor as Catholics neither as Churchmen nor Dissenters shall men worship the Father.
We cannot trust the opinions of men; they come & go & are phases only -- shadows of the past which revive from time to time, & are followed by reaction to catch the epidemic of religion which happens to be in the air Aye & so are no good divinity if I were on a desert island, could I not worship him still, & perhaps more truly, for then he would be my only hope

F.N.

ecclesiastical (& critical) disputes so infinitely small in comparison with the greater interests of religion xx & we wonder how the human mind can have been absorbed by them.

we must provide for the religion of the next generation as well as of the present, for our whole lives & not merely for the phase of opinion which prevails at the present moment

Difficulties may surround our path But if there is no difficulty in ourselves they may generally be overcome by common prudence. We may create that which we seek after.

xx [The "greater interests of R" are I suppose what is God's character -- what He is doing with us -- by what paths He is leading us -- including the unseen paths beyond the grave what are our relations to Him & His to us -- what light is thrown upon these by discrepancies in the Acts. It is mistaking criticism for religion]
A great work it is for a man to build up his own life with all the helps of companionship & common worship under the guidance & authority of the past. But there may also be a more difficult work reserved to some of us that we should build up our lives looking not to the past but to the future thinking of the world which will be 20 or 30 years hence when many opinions which are now new will have become old -- as did the Jewish prophets.

[But we may be]
propounding to ourselves some distant ends & never thinking of the means.
The way to the future lies along the present & we can only act upon another generation by thoroughly understanding our own. What we can do for others depends upon what we are or make ourselves.

xx Dreams of Xtian or social improvement are easy but if we do not try to realize them they will be positive hindrances in the way (of our own improvement)

20 or 30 years hence: -- what would he have wished to be doing now if his life is extended into the next generation? x x x

The calm résumé of one's present life in the light of 25 years hence would have a sobering & strengthening influence on one. He wd make a plan for many years instead of living from year to year. He wd think more of its permanent & less of its transient element. He cd not be very
He cd not be very much the slave of party or prejudices
for he wd acknowledge that the same parties or prejudices
wd hardly exist 25 years hence.
(he wd) carefully consider what one year might add to another
There is no higher faith in this world than to live for posterity.
the hope to promise of the future not only in the life wh: is to
come but also IN THAT WH: NOW IS.
(when) we & our actions & our worldly or religious interests
will have passed out of the memory of man into the
presence of God -- let us try to think of men & things as
they will then be regarded by us xx -- let us try to think
of our own lives as they will appear before Him
when the fashions & opinions of this world are nothing
to us & we measure ourselves not by the opinions
of men but by the just judgement of God. For the opinions
of men are changing (the grass withereth &c) but the
truth of God shall stand for ever. [end 3:607]
Add Mss 45784

xx when theological controversies have no longer any meaning to us

Mr. Jowett

in a half civilized state of society men might {PAGE TORN}
in a larger mould with less of self-deception & {PAGE TORN}
of rude passion, & greater vices & greater virtues
might coexist or alternate with each other
in the same individual

ordinary life led in an extraordinary manner [3:607]

ordinary good men

In former ages men have spoken of the blessing & example of religious poverty; perhaps in our own day a higher lesson & example might be gathered from the true use of riches x x `Men of the highest honour & character' implying that they had a different standard of right & wrong of truth & falsehood from other men:

We cannot suppose that God is pleased at the inefficiency or at the stupidity of mankind, or that {PAGE TORN}
will save us from the consequences of our own folly (but all `folly' & all `consequences' are the effect of Law FN) or that he is tolerant (`merciful', `indulgent' FN) of a man teaching what he does not know or practising a profession which he does not attempt to master -- The greatest injusts {PAGE TORN} & miseries flow from these neglects of ours. [end 3:607] And therefore {PAGE TORN}
Consider that the greatest part to God & man must consist in the right of that which is their main business, their daily occupation, their delights to see them doing the works which He has assigned to them, with an intelligent devotion, with a religious accuracy as unto the Lord & not unto men.

x + x p.5 afflicted extraordinary good men

to show what has hardly ever been shown in the history of the world -- how the greatest zeal may be combined with perfect good sense. There is no strength like that which is given by a faith that God is working with us & that we are doing His work. xx Learn to know clearly what you are aiming at & whether you are equal to such an effort, & then take the means & find your only happiness in doing the will of God carrying out His work on earth.

extraordinary good men

Hearts cannot be satisfied with any earthly affection or any ordinary calling & are wholly filled with the love of God & man.

They show us how the will of man may be simplified into the will of God.
Do not suppose that law & medicine require regular education but that any body may be schoolmaster or a clergyman. He may call himself so, but he will never really be anything unless he has a knowledge of business & of human nature & has fixed in his mind some lessons or truths which he is able to impart to others. who prayed `that he might not die through the `chillness of age, but be burnt up with the fire `of divine love'
O for a spirit like his -- (Bishop Pattison's) perhaps to work nearer home to shed a light on some dark spot in our peopled cities -- to take up some cause of the helpless or afflicted -- to show it is very easy to drown oneself in bustle & throw ourselves increasingly upon the secular duties to which we are also called -- but for the right discharge of which a diligent care of our own spiritual condition is the only guarantee
Do you know I want to have done with the word 'evidence'? Shall we say the enquiry is:

What are the things, the indications which shew that there are Laws (path) of Nature (God) leading each of us to perfection?

You see the Positivists have the advantage of us there — they can say (we know enough of history to say) here is generation after generation who may improve —

We can't say (we never can have 'evidence' to say) here is future state after future state leading each of us to Perfection —

[It is] Have you ever thought what is to become of all these people if all are to live for ever? — It is cutting up Infinity into such little shares — It is like the perpetual subdivision of land in France

But then: are there such indications of Laws leading each of us to perfection as ultimately to preclude the possibility that the key stone of the arch (successive lives of education for each) is wanting?

This is the enquiry — must not be too abstract — what are the facts, the things? —
Prussian: skirmishing -- new infantry order -- rifled cannon -- breech loaders --
Positivists Gregs & Stephens (satisfied with the world's happenings we must skirmish too --)
Jowetts
D. of Somerset
Mrs. Sutherland

---
It is of such enormous importance to know what the character of God is --
Because no one will deny -- at our last hour we are so completely in His hands/power -- we depend absolutely on what His character is --
Yet no one thinks of it --
One wd expect we shd think of nothing else --
You say: you wd go about killing people --
But I say: (not like the Positivists -- you cannot know that there is a future state) you cannot know that there is not a future state

I think we needlessly expose our flank to the enemy when we say: if there is no future state, there is no good God --
Because they answer: I never said there was a good God -- I never said there was any --
But if we say: there are such & such indications --
Laws regulating Individuality --
" leading to improvement &c &c
state what is there not an America (successive educating lives) at the end of them?
this is not begging any principle --
ff83-84v NOTES ON A NEW MORAL WORLD PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f83

Mr. Jowett

fill up & illustrate your thoughts
too abstract -- turns too much upon the
use of certain words which have a
meaning to yourself but not equally
to others
We want to form an idea of a Millennium
(not like the Millennium of interpreters
of prophecy) which shall represent to us
the working out of the will of God upon earth
& THE PATHS which lead thither (v. "Feb 20")

To realize this we must take the better
mind of man, the highest conceptions which
we can form of righteousness & holiness &
the like -- & see how far in the past history
of the world we can find recognitions of
them or tendencies towards them -- In some
(M.S.)

f84v

"respects this new moral world must be
different from the highest morality
which men have at present, especially
in the religious importance attached to
"the consequences of actions.
(FN God's character not to "look at good intentions",
"and in the positive as well as negative
goodness which morality will require
e.g. whether not doing good is not
"equivalent to doing evil --
(M.S. If we don't progress, we deteriorate --
F.N. Evangelical: to be forbearing at home --)
"Neither is it synonymous with care of health
or with Sanitary improvement (that's a hit at me)
"A new system of morality should begin by
clearing away those figments of Necessity,
the origin of evil & the like, which throw
one powerless into the hands of the priests."
the superficial criticism of discrepancies
in facts in the Scriptures is no
collection to RELIGIOUS enquiry nor even to the
way to Religious enquiry.
I cannot see how the D. of Somerset's
criticisms on the Acts give us the least
more insight into the character of God,
the wisdom, goodness, truth of God,
communion with which is: "Religion",
And I am quite sure that nobody will
take God or the D. of Somerset's word [on the Duke?] wh: word is nevertheless all the D. gives
us for Him.
Nor do I see that the D.'s word is better
than what is usually called "God's word"
You say: No, but it is the way to something
better go to p. 2. x x
****
D. of Somerset says all at once that "faith in
God" (what God? -- if not the God of the Acts,
what God?) is an "impregnable fortress"
without giving us any thing but his own `word' for it.
I think that, in seeing the present decline of administrative power in British Govt Offices -- which is, I believe, acknowledged by very many besides me -- & also in the present state of things seeing that the large majority of statesmen & of Parl. men come out of Oxford & chiefly I suppose thro' your hands -- the subject is one of such enormous, such stupendous, such intolerable importance & so totally disregarded that I venture once more to recall it -- not that anything I can say is worth any other consideration than that because I have real experience in the matter but that you may consider it for yourself --

If what I say has any truth in it at all, you must think that the subject -- not what I say -- is of vital importance/consequence to the nation, whose destiny you have so much in your own hands -- you yourself laughed at Mr. Gladstone's sole words on the Army Bill to the man he had made a Peer to carry it: 'Glad we've got Storks into Parliament' -- Yet you said the same to me: -- 'Glad we've got Ld Lansdowne into the W.O.' -- & also that the death of Mazzini "affected" you more than Ld Mayo's.

Yet it is upon this very thing mode of thinking as one of several causes that I believe the decline of administration to depend. It does not signify what men like Mr. Gladstone & Mr. Lowe say--But it signifies very much what a man like you says: And this at a time...
when there are questions looming—questions such as this that the first step in social reform must be to break up the whole land monopoly & to enable every man to vest his savings in land if he likes—questions such as
are indicated by International Working Men's Leagues & Strikes—compared with which another type of the same thing is:

The dentist's talk about the 'Indirect Claims' business both in the newspapers & in conversation has been beyond anything I ever remember—I mean, talk such as any one can say—talk which you know your dentist has said to the 10 persons before you & will say to the 20 persons after you—Whereas all that can be truly said is that our Govt were (not 'drunk & incapable' but) honest & incapable—And if the American Govt had been equally honest & incapable, all would have sung the praise of where now they talk dentist's talk against all sing dentist's blame of Ministers. But no one says anything about the stupendous, the increasing blunders & blank incapacity of British Govt administration—except just when a Megaera is lost. And men like you who really hold have the great say in the future action of our youth in your hands suggest as a panacea against unwise "promotion" that all Govt Office Heads shall be paid alike. If there is really no other way of escape from the promotion of men to posts of which they know nothing but this, -- by all means -- It is much like saying that all Oxford Professors should be paid alike, because otherwise the temptation will be irresistible of promoting the
even if our whole Army comes to grief under Mr. Cardwell, & Prussia were to conquer England, all this would be as nothing

Geometry Professor at £300 to the Greek Professorship at £500. [I don't know respective pays & Professorships]

Nay, it is much more absurd than this: for all Oxford Professors, I suppose, do know Latin & Greek -- but a minister who has been at paupers does not know ships.

If what you say is correct, viz. that the Queen had something to do with it, does not that make my the case only the stronger? "Promotion" (to £5000) & a women's sovereign's caprice make a First Lord of the Admiralty now-a-days.

What I said on Sunday was really not prompted in the least by any desire for your "sympathy" as to my position -- which I know that no one can understand -- & which I myself care not for at all, apart from the disorganization of the W.O. [I have for 18 years made it my prayer, that I might have all the bitterness, provided the W.O. went well. But I have had the first, without the last.]

It was prompted solely & entirely by 1. interest in the Govt offices, 2. interest in Ld Lansdowne, (in whom I can see the interest Sidney Herbert would have taken, the pains he would have given to train him in every branch, had this been 11 years ago).

3. an absolute terror at seeing the decline of administrative power in Govt & at seeing men like you who almost hold the future of our youth in their hands joining in the reckless talk of men like Mr. Lowe & others. When I compare it
with the intense seriousness of men like Sir Robert Peel, & Sidney Herbert, Lord Lawrence, even Lord Palmerston (who yet was by far the most witty converser I have ever known of his day)
I am really appalled, if you will pardon me the word because it seems to me to make so plain the causes of our decadence in administration.
You say: that I think all your interest in the matter is because Ld L. is your pupil. It is just because he is your pupil that I am the more astonished. Either you do not believe a word of the state of the W.O. [And please understand that I have led too much of a man’s life to be in the least annoyed at people differing from me -- I am quite an Englishman in that -- you know it is said that a Frenchman can't bear any one to live in the world who does not agree with him] As you think it a matter of no consequence what state an Office or a College is in, provided a young man gets "promotion" in it. [I will not repeat my comparison of Dr. Scott, Mr. Woolcombe & a promising young Paravicini as Senior Tutor -- minus you -- because that makes you think that it is the W.O. being minus me which afflicts me. I assure you that it is "extremely not so"]
But all this is only personal & a Preface -- unworthy of your reading. The thing is only thing that signifies is: --
what are the causes of this administrative decline? 
and are they dependent upon the weather or the 
movements of the planets -- or are they such as 
men who like you lead public opinion can 
control?
1. The first cause no doubt is the governing by majorities. 
Now majorities are more or less fools -- At least No majority ever initiated 
reforms. No real Reformer ever began but with a 
minority, perhaps a minority of one, & worked 
it up to a majority. No Reformer could be 
a Reformer if he acted on the judgment of others, 
in obedience to a Parl\v, a press, to what is 
called public criticism. {PENCIL} No man but a man who can be of his own opinion can do anything real work \text{DENTISTS'} majorities 
the most vain & empty headed fool I suppose 
that ever was invented. 
{PEN}
Will you think what Balliol College would have 
been, if you had acted on the judgment of the 
majority in the College, or in obedience to what is 
called public criticism in Oxford -- instead of 
creating first your minority, then working it 
up into a majority?
Could you do any kind of good work, if you 
minded what the majority, i.e. what fools say? 
[This is quite a different thing from \text{educating} qualifying fools 
or educating young people from being fools to help you] 
It is the difference between leading & submitting cringing -- 
between gathering up & scattering abroad -- between 
causing your generation to make progress & allowing 
your generation to prevent your progress & its own. 
Could you do any kind of work worth doing without
Add Mss 45784

**f88v** {PEN:}

a plan of your own quite independent of any majority's notions? 
Is this not all the difference between Reformers & men who take Office for Office sake?

But as there appears not the slightest prospect that the present state of things will do anything but increase, as it appears that Parl & the Cabinet are literally to be governed by leading articles, by Magazines, & as by every one who talks leading articles & magazines, & that this is to go the material to make up upon which our minds & the minds of our Legislative & Executive are to be made up as there appears -- the next thing is, what are we, the public, whose mind is so important that the greatest men of the day are to have no opinion mind but ours, to do?

As Quetelet says: "the nation participates in & is responsible for the acts of its individual members"/(statesmen FN) --every body is a sharer in the acts (of the Cabinet FN) "necessarily resulting from the state of society which he is influential in shaping" -- "acts are products not merely of the individual who does them but of the society in which they take place" -- *passim* i.e. the Statesman's Acts are our products {LINE: IN PENCIL}

Probably Quetelet himself did not know how exactly, how literally this has come to pass be the political case in England so that the acts of Ministers have come to be not their own but ours -- not even the Acts of Parliament's as a representative body -- but of us, ours, us the vulgar public's -- us, the men, women, girls & boys, running about without ever having given a day's, an hour's,
ten minutes' thought on the subject. dentists' majorities

It certainly does behove every woman, girl, boy & man to have a considered opinion therefore -- since women, girls & boys as well as men have so large a share in making up this Public Opinion which is to be our Legislative & Executive since the man who has thought much is to yield his opinion to the man or boy who has thought nothing or little.

And this is the only reason, & not my fate at all, why I appeal to you who form so many minds -- to form the opinion which is to form the Govt & not to give in to Lowe=and=water or Gladstone=water milk

2) The other two causes for the great deterioration in public men are that every body gets up his Office policy as he would 'get up' his article for a Magazine -- the writing, not the business of Administration is his end & aim policy one would think our statesmen were clerks instead of from clerks becoming statesmen

Imagine Sir John Lawrence governing the Punjaub as he would 'get up' a Magazine Article or saving India in this way.

It is not at all the serious business that it used to be -- when a man was chosen for as the Head of an Office for his particular capacity, experience or training in that Office.

How can it be? -- It is ludicrous to suppose that Mr. Goschen was selected for the Admiralty or Mr. Cardwell for the W.O. or &c &c on any of these grounds. And therefore they are obliged to 'get up' their administration like an article officer

And the third is: the "Promotion" or place question theory or practice -- that the Office is made for the man not the man for the Office -- the 'Glad we've got Ld L. into the W.O.' the 'Glad we've got Storks into Parl' question practice

But is it possible that any firm could go on on such
principles? And is it likely that the greatest 'firm' of all, the firm of the nation, should do anything but deteriorate & come to grief on such principles?

Can there be any better plan for precipitating our mediocrity? of our Govt? of any Govt?

You are good enough to say something about what I have done And I am far from feeling any thing but grateful for the approval of a man like you -- tho' more ever than usual it is your goodness & not my own at all which makes the spirit of it good But if you knew as I do how naked I stand before God, in that nakedness which will probably soon be complete, the nakedness of the other world -- how weak I have been where I seemed most strong, -- the mistakes from wh: I have been saved by God's providence alone & not by anything of my own at all how anything I have done I have been led to, nay forced into by God alone (I ahve worked hard & that is all). you wïd see as I do that I can care for no praise other than as making me love the goodness of those who give it & that as if they were praising another person. Were it not that such a life as mine -- a sort of adventurer's life, save in its hard work -- makes one feel rather than know that one is only a little spring or wheel in the immense silent system of Goodness & Wisdom which we call God & that He is making all things right in his Eternity -- I think I should die of the feeling of failure & despair in myself. [end 5:308]
ff90-92 NOTES ON SIDNEY HERBERT, MRS. BRACEBRIDGE & GOD'S WORK PEN & PENCIL
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f90 [blue & orange pencil]
He & she have been the creators of my life and when I think of him at Scutari, the only man in all Eng: who wd have lived with willingness such a 'prying' life [blue] without the interest & responsibility which it had to me [orange] - I think that we ne'er shall look upon his like again we could have better spared a better man. He had genius. And when I think of Atherstone, of Athens, of all the places I have been in with them, of the immense influence they had in shaping my own life -- more than earthly father & mother to me -- I cannot doubt that they leave behind them having shaped many very many lives as they did mine. their mark on the century -- this century wh: has so little Ideal, at least in Eng:
   As if a God [blue] the century of good sense -- i.e. having & left his impresss [?] the sense of the common public -- good manners, good conversation, good principles -- i.e. keeping out of the Divorce Court -- getting into Parl & not into the Bankruptcy Commissioners
They were so immeasurably above any English country gentry" I have ever known --
No more of the same race than a man is of the same race as the Gorilla -- Darwin be blow'd.
sometimes I think that God takes away from me so alone so without a Counsellor. The path is sometimes I think that I am glad that when I go there will be no such heart-rending grief for me, as when two are parted who had lived for nearly half a century with each other, & for each other -- or as I felt when no one to feel for my work as I did for Sidney Herbert's when he died -- & feel every day more & more -- On Friday he will have been dead 11 years -- And I think I feel this anniversary the saddest there (more than any one that) has been yet -- not alone on account of Mrs. Bracebridge's loss. For there are things worse than death -- And the change in the Govt of India & in that of the W.O. have annihilated his Sidney Herbert's work more than did his death -- more than anything that has gone before. But let us not think of on these things: -- we know that, in the Eternal plan of Love, all is right Whatever is, is right" -- says Pope Whatever is, is wrong" -- says Chadwick And both these things are true. Because we cannot conceive of Perfection except as worked out thro' Imperfection.
made perfect thro' suffering, evil & imperfection

We can sooner conceive of the Perfect One being Himself worked thro', "it is finished" ie. being "finished" by evil & imperfection -- than we can conceive of God "working out" the "salvation" of His creatures without evil. In fact, the problem of the "Origin of Evil" in the good God's good kingdom, might be stated the other way -- viz. how could God make us "perfect as He is perfect" without Evil?

In the Apocrypha it says: "The just man if he be prevented with death". May be at rest -- because God will take care that his works or rather God's works shall be worked out -- or that he himself shall work out his works in some other "mansion" of our Father's house.

And in an old German=Latin book of the 13th century it says: that in the undecaying spring of God's eternity ("in immarcessibili aeternitatis meae vernantia"

if ever there is truth in words, it is in these:) good work will be continued & increase & grow &

"wd take the opportunity to talk of the general question & all sorts of questions -- & there wd be even less chance of a distinct impression"

"there wd be a great deal of talk -- however much we tried to say nothing -- & no impression made in the end".

Alas how true --

Only it has been true for 30 years.

I have spent years with them in "trying to say nothing" in order to get something done]

Such value was laid upon good conversation that everything absolutely ran to conversation --

So that any thing but bad conversation of course became impossible.

It seems as if he thought the world & God were made for talk!
kindly believe
simply impossible to me overwhelmed as I am with
anxious business & with exhausting illness to write one line
in London. And it seems to me when away from London the more
anxious is the business the more exhausting is the illness
so stifled in dirty anxious cares & sordid defensive
business like the maid of all work who has
to wipe her dirty hands on her dirtier apron
before she can touch clean people --

{PEN}
copy of F.N.
Draft of letter possibly to Mr. Jowett
Aug 1872

{PENCIL} copy of pencil M.S. indistinct & damaged
{PEN}
Aug.
{SINCE THE DEATH OF S. HERBERT} (11 years)

I write as soon as it is possible. [3:543-44]

You tell me to look back on the good that has been done.
I cannot.
It is not in me.
I am just as much stripped of my past life
"stand naked there" on the brink of the grave
as if it had really been done in another life.
I have not the least idea what Addison
meant by "a good conscience".
I cannot remember, still less "think of"
my life in the Crimea or
my 5 years' incessant work with S.H. or
my 9 years' Indian work -- more
than if it had been really the life of others --
indeed much less -- for I am sure that I think
much more of what Mr. Jowett had done than
of what I have done -- Rather it is absurd to say
so. For I think every day of what he has done.
And I can't even remember at all my past. I never think of it. I don't say whether this is right or wrong -- but it is simply impossible.

God has made me so -- that when I try to force myself to look back & remember (as they say) the good that has been done, it is as if I were forcing my head to look over my heels. It is like looking at the life of another person of whom I had never known anything. It seems as if I had given away my deeds & could not get them back again -- or remember to whom I had given them. But I can remember quite & very well my evil deeds.

If I am forgotten it is no more than I have forgotten myself. If I am like a dead man, out of mind, it is not more than a dead man is out of his own mind. And F.N. is not less stripped out of anyone else's mind than she is out of her own.

I do not say that it would not be better otherwise. Our past years are a scroll of prophecy (prophecy for the future). Like the prophet -- ["] we must eat it" -- Only I cannot I cannot find it.

I have now but many friends -- And I feel inclined to say And is this all? Can Friendship do [no] more -- but ask me to write another letter? which won't be read either? Such utter waste of time to finish this letter. [Many] things which are real become unreal by [being told]. ["] hope" -- to hope is for me like brandy -- One feels all the weaker afterwards. I cannot & do not wish "to hope" for what I know will not come.
"Pray for time to finish your work''.
You are at the pinnacle of your power thank God
[You] only want time to finish --
[I] with an utterly shattered body have to begin all over again.
Now to be turned back into this petty stifling stagnant life -- which wh. has done to death so many of the best of those with whom I began life
I should hate myself (I do hate myself but) I shd loathe myself & my God if I could like it, find "rest" in it. Fortunately there is no rest in it but ever increasing anxieties.
Il faut que la victime soit mise en pièces.
[O] my God.                      Aug 9/72
Had I no better hope than the one I have lost, I should become like -- Sh's: Antony --
But I do trust in God --
tho' not as I should.            [end 3:544]

Erasmus, I think, said of St. Augustine & all his tribe: --
  They were people who did nothing -- writing for people who had nothing to do.
  That is the real reason, I think, why St. Teresa & Co. did so little for their own generation -- so much, or might do so much -- for ours.
  If we are to have these feelings at all are true, must we not have them always, inspiring all our work?
  An "Ideal" is a poor thing -- unless it is the Ideal of every minute -- it breeds only discontent.
  I mean, I can as soon understand the Greek working at his Statue sometimes with this "Ideal" in his head, sometimes without, or the Architect at his Cathedral,
The mystical state by which I understand the drawing near to God by means of (not Ch: or ceremony but) the state in which one keeps thro' God's laws one's own soul is real & shd be 'permanent', should it not? --

The ecstatic state is unreal & shd not be at all.

It appears to me that the mystical state is the essence of common sense if it is real i.e. if God is a reality --

We can only act & speak & think thro' Him -- & the thing is to discover such laws of His as will enable us to be always acting & thinking in (conscious) concert or co-operation with Him.

Grace is a mistake -- because we cannot conceive that this, the very best gift we can have, can be the gift of arbitrary caprice on the part of our almighty F.

But if we find out that He gives us grace i.e. the mystical state in accordance with certain laws we can discover & use -- is not that a truth & common sense?

the Statesmen at his Legislation (the reason why Messrs. Gladstone, Lowe, Goschen & Cardwell fail so completely in my experience at their ly Administration is that they have no "Ideal" in their heads but the Ho: of C.

(a very queer 'Ideal' indeed) -- which is the Cabinet -- And the Ho. of C. as a body has no 'Ideal' but how to keep in -- generally --] & people who have not the courage of their convictions end by having no convictions at all --

I can as soon understand Von Moltke working at his campaigning will sometimes without, sometimes with his 'Ideal' in his head, as this "mystic" Ideal doing any thing for us unless it is 'permanent' as you who have & I who have (or rather alas! I should say of me I who had) to work on men & women working without some purpose always present as a mother i.e. a real mother bringing up her child -- not having the feeling & affection for her child always present.
I need scarcely say that in thinking that the mystic state
shd be permanent if at all I do not mean the ecstatic state
One sees so plainly how those ecstacies were bred in people
half starved by long fastings & long watchings.
So far from wondering that these half starved people cd
believe in their Visions (I wonder they had not more --
Writers, both R.C. & Pr. have latterly written volumes
to acct for or to deny or to sift how men & women who really
were Saints cd honestly put forwards as true their miracles
Stigmata Revelations &c &c But -- the Saints honestly
give their evidence. And what does this evidence include? --
A man fasts & prays for 8 years that God will reveal to him
about St. F. of A.'s Stigmata. And a vision assures him of
them. Wd it not be a `miracle' if he had not?
These `evidences' are carefully recorded in the Act of Canonization.

I cd not write a Preface wh: wd make people read what they wd not read
for themselves -- No Preface wd have made Thomas à Kempis
read as he has been.
I do not agree with you (tho' perhaps I do not
understand you) that "this mystic state ought to be an
occasional & not a permanent feeling"
On the contrary. I think, unless it is a
"permanent" feeling it is/becomes nothing or worse than nothing
I mean, that people will get/come to have "occasional"
ecstasies or "feelings, like Bishop Blougram --
or like people who go to
hear Bach's Passion Music at
W. Ay & think their enjoyment
devotional feeling & do
all their work quite independently of any religious
feeling i.e. live their lives apart from the "spiritual
Ideal" & keep the spiritual Ideal for Sundays
or prayer time, if they do pray.
Was it not Wesley who said:
Add Mss 45784

f102v
"I am convinced that preaching like an Apostle without
joining together those that are awakened & training them up
in the ways of God is only begetting children for the Murderer"
& (elsewhere) something about à propos of "making provision for the
permanence" of the states produced religious feelings
In this I quite agree

f103
The fact is: Mystical books are for hard-working
people to inspire their daily work like you & me
not for mystical people, contemplative people,
religious people, people in contemplative orders,
idle people, excitable young ladies --

{INSERTED FROM f102v:}
If I wrote a Preface, I think I wd put at the top of it --
this Book is not for any one who has time to
read it -- especially not for fashionable young ladies
-- they will find it poison

{f103 AGAIN:}
I think it is Theo: Parker who says: Fashionable
young ladies only read & really enjoy & taste &
shed tears over Thomas à Kempis, St. Francis of Sales,
&c &c (I suppose he would not have dared so much
as to mention St. Teresa) & not be a bit the better
for it but the worse. They will be just as idle
as frivolous flirty & useless as ever -- & yet think themselves
religious (meaning -- they will have their feelings apart, & their life
apart -- not inspiring one another. In this I quite agree -- why, do not you?

f103v
I once gave copies of all the Spanish Mystical
books -- to a friend of mine -- (I will tell you who -- Miss
Sellon) making some foolish remark that it was
strange the disciples of St. Teresa, St. John of the Cross,
& Spain were not the better for these --
I was struck with her answer. She said: --
It is not for Spain but for all the world that St. John of the +
wrote. It is for you & me he wrote --
Add Mss 45784

f104

[4]
I think perhaps without writing a Preface I might
write Notes one at the beginning of each Division
  e.g., I am going to put in some prayers St. T's Fr of Assisi St J. of the +
I shall head these with John of the +
  Prayer not to ask --
These old Mystics wh we call superstitious
  far before us in their ideas of God & prayer i.e. of
our communion with God -- who God is -- His character in short.
  Where they failed was in thinking this world was not
what God has given us to work upon
  There will be no heaven unless we make it.
And it is a very poor Theodikè wh teaches that we are
  not to 'prepare' this world
but only to 'prepare for' another

ff105-106 NOTES ON THE CLERGY & THE FAMILY PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f105

Oct 2/72

The clergy especially of Institutions so
  infinitely low. One would think they might
say a good word in season to help
the Nurses & Patients thro' life --
  -- to help them to the first elements of
love to God & man
  Not a bit of it -- They are thinking of
their Services & whether they are high &
low -- And so are the Nurses.
  I wd not put an Instn under a Chaplain
as in Germany -- but oh the help they might
give in religious sympathy -- As it is,
we were obliged to make a woman a
Chaplain -- Miss T. -- And Miss T.
wd have been saved by the religious sympathy
of a clergyman --
  ----
  Your ideal of all you have not is so low.
Your ideal of all you have so high.
  Family
    You think of as a necessary evil
(A.H.C.) B. having the Scarlet Fever -- in love]
I think of it as something infinitely
high & holy -- the highest influence of life --
& regret to see it so debased, so
prostituted with so little ideal at all
You talk of it as of a Hospital
& that it has -- what do you call them?
"Medical influences" -- no Therapeutic infry
Clergy
If I were a `Liberal' Revd or even more than if I were an illiberal
Revd, an Archbp or a Revd Master,
the one thing I wd try for, instead of
refining & refining -- as 'Liberals' do
even more than Illiberals -- till plain
sensible ordinary good men & gentlemen
cannot enter the Church --
wd be to open wide its doctrinal gates,
to take in the men who make good
{INSERTED FROM f106:}
conscientious men of business -- or who make
Doctors -- with knowledge of character
not these wretched refiners about
'high' & 'low'

Miss T. marrying him as she
wd marry a Nurse.
Miss Horsford

{INSERTED FROM f105v:}
You talk of the confessional & its dangers
when I talk of the religious help of
sympathy they might give -- if they
wd but take the least trouble to
understand the characters of Nurses
&c -- with whom they pretend to have
to do --

{f106 AGAIN:}
Father -- Father to Christ in an especial manner
Father to me [son?] faithless child
St Ts -- pa [or So I or So Jo-pa]
I think that your views of political good are becoming debased.

I do not think that Mr. Lowe's views of political good ever were high -- but when I knew him he had "administrative indignation" --

Now he has neither --

And I think intercourse with his is pulling yours down --

It may be that those are only "chance words" which you have said to me. And if they were said to Bss v. Rothschild, they would not signify -- they are only the small change of conversation.

But they signify very much -- i.e. they have a great signification as addressed to me -- who have ruined my life in Govt administration & what is of much more consequence have destroyed lives far dearer to me than my own -- in the attempt to reform it
It is as if you forgot entirely my 18 years of intense, nay of desperate seriousness & hard work in Govt Offices.

It is far worse than it would be to repeat to me a vulgar gibe against S. Herbert personally.

For I hope S.H. always stood first in my mind for political good & only second for private friendship.

It is saying nothing that I would gladly sacrifice the poor remains of my life if I could in any way prevent your political convictions from becoming debased or flippant.

Mr. Lowe's are sometimes vulgar -- tho' he is never vulgar -- often flippant -- & becoming more so every year --

When I knew him, they were never flippant
His & Ld Derby's are becoming smug -- vulgar --
O Bread fruit Tree of happiness --
how often man is debased thereby --

Lord Westbury
All (doctrine) may be taught historically as forms of religious thought that exist in the world -- none are to be inculcated ex cathedrâ as the true subject of religious belief.
B.J. & A.P.S. brought them to regard all religious principles alike & to have a preference for none in particular
`Let each man believe what is right in his own eyes.'

How very dark & mysterious is the Government of the world. We are born subject to certain Sanitary Laws. They have not been revealed -- & the wisest of men have failed to discover them, yet if we unwittingly offend against them, the consequence is disease & death.
Our idea of justice cannot, reconcile itself {PAGE TORN}
Ld Mayo
he was not only **willing** but **wanting** to {PAGE TORN}
could, to **do** all he could.
**Telegraph wh:** can neither reason nor go down {PAGE TORN}
knees -- neither convince nor be convinced
the outcry of folly, always the loudest
If India was not to be a pauper, she must {PAGE TORN}
up her Estimates in this way without crossing the
t's or dotting the i's
more sense than reason: not far seeing & a little [page torn]
has to choose his counsellors among a few who {PAGE TORN}
at their fingers' ends all the subjects of which {PAGE TORN}
most ignorant -- so that they can take him in --
he can't `floor' them --
natives -- a press of their own -- with all the {PAGE TORN}
& Delane impudence of the "Times" -- & a
deal more in earnest.
Now I have given you my head, my hand, my heart
away from my duties.
And what can **I say** a man do more?
I hardly think that there is anything more demoralizing, more erroneous, more entirely void destitute of any true Ideal of about God or man or of the high destination of man in the creed of the Dominican Inquisitor, or of the Calvinest or of the ancient Jew than Mr. F. Newman's view that we cannot "claim" from God more happiness than we have -- & that it is quite "illogical" to think of a Future State --

Mr. Newman's idea of the relation between God & man is that of driving a hard bargain, of a kind of debtor & creditor account, & he conceives declares it to be "illogical" to have any other.

Are these our "Liberal" teachers? We are not only to doubt that God has goodness enough to love & to care for us the creatures whom He has made without our consent. But we are "illogical" if we are not certain that any such expectation would be an ill-founded & impertinent "claim".
It seems that there cannot be a baser idea of God than this. And it is really debasing God after the image of man --

God is Love -- God is Infinite -- God is Perfect. Therefore His Love is Perfect -- His goodness infinite. If God there is a Perfect God, it would be much more wonderful, indeed it would be impossible that there should not be a plan for bringing every one of us to perfection, therefore to perfect happiness -- If there is a Perfect Love & a Perfect Goodness, it surely is "logic" to suppose that their actions will be the effects/actions of love & goodness.

And if there is any "claim", it is the "claim", so to speak, of God upon us that we will not believe of Him, of Perfect Goodness, what we would not believe of any respectable earthly parent.

We might certainly put Mr. Newman's argument the other way & reason that, as there is so little happiness in the world that is worthy the name of happiness, there cannot be a Perfect God, a God of Love -- For if there were there certainly would be happiness among His creatures -- And that the very shabby & imperfect attempt at a world that this is is a mark that it cannot come from God.

But to argue that we ought to think our happiness enough & still be satisfied with God seems to me to be a very contradiction in terms. May not God "claim" from us that we should not think this botch of a world the completion of His thought? --

Did we see a Perfect World, & perfect happiness, should we would it not be true "logic" to
say: this comes from a Perfect Creator?
And how can it be true "logic" to say
that a world so imperfect is all we can
expect or "claim" from a Perfect God?
that happiness so meagre is all that we
can "claim" from the God of Love? --

Should we not rather say -- let us put
ourselves into the hands of this Perfect
God, who has deserved of can "claim" from us that we may
feel secure that He will lead us through
the paths of trial & work to perfection
in eternity -- if He is Omnipotence & Love --
& be anxious for nothing either in this
world or any other? --
And have we not more certainty of
this than we have of any our best earthly
friend behaving justly to us? -- [end 3:177]

Recognition of Law a great thing ?
At the beginning of my work in India
Indian magnate writing to me
recognition of Sanitary law by Govr a great step
Sir B. Frere as well may they say
recognition of Gravitation by Govr a great step
Must find out what the laws are doing --
==== Uniformitites not uniformities
Male & female child
sex difference = difference of idiosyncrasies
but sex= difference is essential to the world's continuance
you would be very much surprised if it were not so
there is man & woman in the parents
there will be man & woman in the children
why should a man & woman produce all females
or all males?
but why should e.g. one child be produced who could
be taught nothing but Sanscrit & another who cd only
be taught English when the parents never heard
of Sanscrit.
Yet that is a trifling difference compared with P. & me
who have not for 20 years spoken anything each
other cd understand.
====

How Law is the Schoolmaster not recognition
of Law must be our step
Add Mss 45784

f114v

Recognition of Law not the feast --
For it may be: recognition of bad Law --
====
Positivists -- family -- so much feeling
why not for the God of the Laws
of which they talk so much?
====

Favourable circum
Paupers children -- not ye best School -- but poor family --
S. Sed [?] Ld Pembrath [?]
Prison --
Not to have your way shown you {Bible & many Bibles
but for you to find it out

f115 NOTES ON MR. JOWETT'S SERMONS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

For Mr. Jowett
His sermons always written for happy people
successful people who have not to construct or alter their lives
but only to make themselves & others as happy as
possible therein {taken for granted that life is
{to be as it is
But we must "think of ourselves" if we cannot
do anything well or the thing well that we are
doing. It is not all "vanity" or "egotism" --
No A person who does what he is doing well
does not need to "think of himself" --
But no allowance is here made for those who
don't.
Nor for this: -- sympathy in work is an essential of
well being. I have none -- I used
to batter myself about because, having none, I
longed for it. It is much better to
acknowledge a legitimate want & that you
suffer from it. But then this is so, that
you can't help thinking of yourself --
Nor for this: -- conversation is not only for "vanity" or
amusement -- but for persuasion -- for teaching --
sometimes in most important things -- a person
must "think of himself", of his success or failure --
such can & not at all on the score of "vanity" or "sensitiveness" --
Sometimes indeed he may have sacrificed his "vanity"
or "sensitiveness" or "opinion of the world" to do or say the thing --
for "right & duty" --
Archbp of Paris -- shoot me but don't take me to be examined]
Do not lose discrimination of character in your wish for charity. 
There are some who see no difference between S. Herbert & Mr. Cardwell. 
Such is the want of discrimination now that people can scarcely speak of others except by speaking evil of them. 
Either stupid praise or speaking evil. 
No discrimination as to the ideal of each man's character. 
The k. of heaven is within v. p. 4. 
But we must also make it without. 
Hily -- finest natures trampled out -- have existed uselessly. 

{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY:} 
too much 
the doctrine of 
R. Cath: 
Mysticism -- who never propose 
any kingdom of heaven without -- except that there shd be 
more prayers organized 
Edward Denison
NOTES ON PUBLIC OPINION & KINGDOM OF HEAVEN  PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

Friends to see again
   (we "have asked for something
       which had no meaning in another
       state of being")
At Mai's letter
   I do not long for S.H. or A.H.C.     v.p.5.
no public opinion (it has to be created)
   as to not committing blunders for want of knowledge
   good intentions are enough
   not to study things as a matter of life or death
organized blunders do more mischief than crimes
until you can create a public opinion about this,
   about practical wisdom, little good will be
done --
But this is: -- creating a kingdom of heaven
without --
A kingdom of h -- within is the good intentions
   without the labour & wisdom & "agonizing" to create
it without.
To create a public opinion is: to create a kingdom
of heaven without.
ff116v-121v NOTES ON GOOD MANNERS, FREEDOM, SIMPLICITY, KINGDOM OF GOD WITHIN US PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

ff116v

Mr. Jowett St. Paul

his manner of rebuking those who had erred transferring their faults in a figure to Apollos & to himself
No one knew how to speak the truth in love like him

Christ -- (alone in the wilderness) -- [3:608]

He has that power which draws men, like children, to his side by natural instinct -- the power of loving them & feeling with them

"preferring one another in honour"=showing the way to one another = going before them to show them their way --
"condescend to men of low estate" = have your conversation with = or sometimes make acquaintance with those a little below you.

"like=minded one towards another" = going out of ourselves & entering into the thoughts of others

Good manners (Society is almost governed by them)
a few to whom instinctively the weakest & feeblest person in the company will turn sure of a response --
we admit them to our confidence because we are sure that they will not misrepresent or improperly repeat what we say to them

"vanity" or "sensitiveness" or "love of approbation" --
Age & experience make us understand that we are very foolish in all this. [end 3:608] If the busy restless image of self were
(vide p.1) were not always interposing -- if we thought of others more -- if we were more anxious about right & duty (vide p.1) & following the example of Christ than about the opinion of the world; if we lived habitually above ourselves, we might hope to attain that self-control, which is the source of freedom, & might have the true use & enjoyment both of Society & of the world --

[3:608-10]

Freedom = not to do as you/everybody doing as they like but = self-control -- F.N.
"self-control" plus a command/control of your subject -- gives "freedom" -- but a person who has no control over any subject or free use of any faculties cannot have freedom]

from some innate nobility of nature have never allowed themselves to speak against others seeming to bear the image of Christ until his coming again. More than any others in this modern world The first principle of good manners not to think of ourselves -- v. p. 1 & the second to have a care & consideration of others (to enter into their characters & observe what they feel & think)
Simplicity -- to do what we have to do
without regard to the opinion of others,
without a thought of how we look or how we
speak or what is said of us
but for the work's sake only -- (but then we must know
how to do the work
(p. 1. FN)

(but not to make a failure we must study p. 1).
& not at the censures or criticisms of others --
--- to have got rid of the little petty ghost
of self-conceit
this is simplicity -- indeed magnanimity

x x x

His care of (others) will not minister to his own self-importance
or interfere with their independence -- not their patron or
director or benefactor. He may perhaps have an eye to
doing them good, but he will hardly suffer them to
discover this, partly because he shrinks from placing
himself above them, conscious as he is of his own defects,
& also because he knows that
influence must find a way to the hearts of men
unperceived
(the readiness to listen as well as to speak)
the absence of levity or personality)

If a man has any advantages of rank or wealth xx
he will feel that they are trifles or accidents he is
ready to cast off any day as he must cast them off
at death. This seems to be the true nobility xx
xx But few persons have the power of disengaging
themselves even in thought from the society which
surrounds them. They cannot judge of matters
by general principles; they take the view of their
own set. xx

We should sometimes pass the different classes of
society in review as they appear in the sight of God.
We are the world which we often place before ourselves as an abstraction which includes every body but us.

And the kingdom of God is within us too & is that perfect form of society which cannot be carried out externally in this world in any Church or polity but may be carried out by us in our heart & life. And to this image or form of Society tho' unlike anything on earth we sometimes lift up our eyes as embodying in a figure the principles according to which Christ wd have us live -- (we must carry the kingdom out without F.N.)

[vertically at left]:
creating
v. public opinion
p.1.

For in that Society xx the very basis of human life wd be different -- not the will of man but the will of God. Men wd see & be seen by one another as they are in the sight of God. xx xx their energies wd be concentrated in the service of God & of their brethren. The peace of God wd keep them -- the love of God wd shine upon them -- the truth of God wd establish them --

There wd be interests xx about their own natures & the Divine nature x among them. And we may imagine them fathoming more & more the mystery of the Universe, & going onward to perfection in the course of ages. xx & friendships not liable to misapprehension or interruption like those on earth.
They w’d see God nearer to them & understand better His way of governing them xx
they have now got that better thing of which they were desirous in the days when the world seemed unsatisfactory to them & earthly affection was wanting to them

dreams -- for they cannot be realized in this world xx but not dreams if we take them for the spirit of our lives & the rule of our conduct.

To practise them, to feel them, to make them our own -- (but also to make them not only our own but others' own. F.N.) this is not far from the kingdom of heaven upon earth.

{WRITTEN DIAGONALLY:}
The k. of h is within but no one laboured more than Xt to make it without. He actually recommended people to leave their own families to do this -- (with his tender nature) so much was he penetrated by the conviction that we must alter the 'state of life to which' &c in order to bring about a k. of h. His was not R.C. mysticism at all.

Myself is so different from myself (under different circumstances -- we must make these circumstances for others & for ourselves)
All religious women teach this doctrine. This is exactly the doctrine of religious women. They would never create a kingdom of heaven without ever "contribute to the re-constitution of Society". In some sense, your doctrine & that of women is an obstacle to "progress" -- by making the present state of things beautiful.

Mystical books afford the best mustard, the best "illustrations" of religion. But I never can forget that the meat is not there -- the God is wasting. There is no God -- but a Devil.

"Dishonesty" is: not turning every one out of the Church but yourself. Don't talk "Toleration" to me. But if you won't prosecute, let who will cry "dishonesty" like any costermonger's donkey -- stick to the Church till you are turned out.

There is so extraordinarily little thought among English people about religion that they think all thought upon it exhausted -- all forms consolidated i.e. that you must belong to some existing organized form or dogmatic system -- if you are not an Anglican, you must be a R.C. or Dissenter or Unitarian or Infidel.

Yet the most perfect truth of religion, Divine truth & justice, is equally distant from all these Beliefs. And your only objection to them that they mistake the character of God.

The weak point of Lecky's book: -- the absurd argument to support his "Spiritualism" -- the want of comprehension or definition of the meaning of "happiness", to support his "Spiritualist" view, of his anti-"utilitarianism" as to duty & virtue, which is, in itself, very fine.

How curious that the most intellectual -- in Theology -- in Medicine -- in Administration -- go astray for want of stopping one moment to consider the definition of some fundamental word.
Add Mss 45784

(Written upside down on the bottom of the page:)
in memory of days when she was in our house as a
daughter & a most affectionate daughter in a time of
peculiar sorrow & of sickness

At Jane

**f123** COPY OF BENJAMIN JOWETT'S AGREEMENT TO STICK TO A WORK/REST SCHEDULE PEN
HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE {SIGNED BY JOWETT} [3:544-45]

I, B. Jowett, January 1873
I agree to take an entire holiday doing nothing
for 3 weeks at the present time -- for not less
than 3 weeks at Easter -- & for not less than six
(6) weeks in the Long Vacation --
I agree to take 2 days in every week during Term
Time (Sunday & one other day) of entire holiday doing
nothing except when I have a Sermon to write
I agree to give not more than two Lectures a week
during the present year --
& to register all this in an Almanac

{In pencil by FN:} {Signed by Jowett in pen:}
Signature B. Jowett
Mr. Jowett X his Cross + [end 3:545]

**ff124-125** NOTES ON SELF-KNOWLEDGE PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE [3:597-98]

**f124**
15/4/73 Mr. Jowett
to seek for things holy & pure & true
& recognize in them the voice of
God speaking to us.

self knowledge
the knowledge by which we see ourselves
in God
we shd not always live under the guidance
or advice of others like children
when we ought to be men --
xx the constant appeal for sympathy
tends to weaken us.
xx a man should learn to be awake
to the temptations whether of solitude
or of society, remembering that the
greatest trust wh: is committed to
him is himself, & that he is living
in the presence of God as well as
of his fellow men
in wh: being unknown does not lower his character
**f124v**

Let us suppose our own worst actions done by another person: with what aversion & contempt should we regard them? ‘Thou art the man’ -- (to himself)

{INSERTED FROM f125:}

be on your guard against the silent growth of bad habit, such as inaccuracy, or dilettantism, or want of punctuality or procrastination form a plan of life for a year, & not allow the first week, the second week, the third week to pass unheeded by.

{BACK TO f124v:}

But few persons seriously think of their own mind or character: they do not calculate the future by their experience of the past: they do not allow for the changes wh: circumstances or times of life make believing that they will always have the same powers of acquiring knowledge wh: they now have Their youth slips away in this unimproving manner, & when a man begins to see how many things might have been better in his life he is too old to change too late, too late

["how all (her) life (s)he had been in the wrong"]  [end 3:597]

**f125**

There are few higher intellectual qualities than to know exactly what we are capable of. To know whether we know a thing or not is a great result of education. There are some who never put their own attainments to the test & are unwilling to be tested by others until at last they are found out. Minds like a pulp or a sieve & cannot receive or retain lasting impressions
"Unreal evils are often said to be greater than real ones, because they are ever present with us: we cannot walk away from them. 
"& they are not like real calamities diminished by time & distance" 
xx one day we fancy that we are able to do almost anything, another day our faculties are almost paralysed xx there is no natural or peaceful growth of a mind living in a state of excitement any more than of a feverish body. [end 3:610]

x the `thorn in the flesh' -- [end 3:610] x 'My grace &c my strength perfected in weakness' xx not our true selves but only a sort of mist wh: takes possession OF OUR BRAIN & our mind [end 3:610]

{WRITTEN UPSIDE DOWN ON THE BOTTOM OF THE PAGE:}

Show me Thy way
O Father I have followed my own way too long.

Our minds would become stronger supported by a power unseen 
And our motives free from vanity & littleness, not with eye service as men-pleasers but as seeing the Lord
His will becomes their will & in Him is the foundation of their lives 
When we ask ourselves only 'what is right' or 'what is the Will of God' (the same question) then we may be truly said to live in His light.
we are no longer grovelling among the opinions of men: we see God in all things & all things in God -- the Eternal shining thro' the accidents of space & time 
mysticism: to dwell on the unseen, to withdraw ourselves from the things of sense into communion with God -- to endeavour to partake of the Divine nature, i.e. of holiness,
justice & truth.
  Christ the greatest mystic
Our faith in God & in another world
proportioned to the degree in which
we have disengaged ourselves from this

When he/one devotes himself & his work
unreservedly to God, whether
at the Sacrament or at any other time,
then he has the indwelling presence
of God xx
whenever he is touched by the love of
  his suffering fellow-creatures, then he
  knows another aspect of the Divine nature
in whatever things are pure & holy & disinterested
  he sees the light of God.
We are all of us as we believe passing into an
  unknown world, of which this is only a part --
You have been here a year: ----------------
  | For my
  | address

  What are we making of our own
lives? -- Are we where we were
a year ago? -- Or are we fitter for
the work of after life -- better
prepared & equipped for the
service of God & man? Do we
feel in ourselves that we are gradually
becoming more fitted to run the race that
is set before us? Do our faults &
weaknesses & vanities tend to diminish
or are we still idle, listless, ineffectual?

Do we keep before our minds
constantly the sense of duty -- of our
duty to others as well as ourselves
& to the whole Society of wh: we
are members? Do we ever do
things because they are right
without regard to appearances?
he who lives in the sense of truth
  & duty & love lives also in the
  light of God's presence
[Friendship] above all perhaps in Paul's manner of rebuking those who had erred transferring their fault in a figure to Apollos & to himself. No one knew how to speak the truth in love like him.

Christ -- we may be sure did not lose the authority or dignity & refinement even in the company of publicans & harlots (wards) just as we may observe in modern times that there are a very few persons whose dignity & refinement is inherent in them & cannot be altered under any circumstances. And in his trial before Pilate we seem to see the sufferer rising above the indignities wh: are offered to him. And yet with this dignity on wh: no man can intrude is combined the greatest gentleness & simplicity of life. He journeys on foot
from Galilee to Jerusalem, talking with those whom he meets by the way, whether Samaritans or Jews. He has that power which draws men like children to his side by natural instinct the power of loving them & feeling with them. He is alone from time to time in the wilderness or on mountains (be alone in your rooms -- you have bustle enough during the day) (but to have Christ's authority we must be like Christ see my last)

1 10 Romans XII ought to regulate our behaviour to each other eg "He that giveth, let him do it with simplicity ie. let us do our acts of mercy as if we did not make much of them, as unto the Lord & not to men. What rule of manners can be better than this (chap)? & based upon a true general principle "like minded one towards another" i.e. that we shd have the same thoughts &
feelings with others, rejoicing with them that rejoice & weeping with them that weep, going out of ourselves & entering into the thoughts of others.

Paul's extraordinary regard for the feelings of others

"If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no more meat while the world standeth" x

If the spirit of these words could find a way to the/our hearts of men, we might be able to say "See how these Christians (Probrs) love one another"

The happiness & the good of life is not disputes about meats offered to idols we know

Paul in all matters of external observance freest of the free -- well knew such scruples were really superstitions. Still from a regard to the feelings of those who held them, he says "If meat these are noble types & forms of behaviour courtesy we owe one to another --

The happiness & the good of life is not
simply made up of great duties & virtues
   nor the evil of life of the opposite.
But both seem to consist also in a
   number of minute particulars to which
unless we take them in the aggregate
the terms good & evil hardly seem to apply.
And yet small as they are they have
a great effect on the tone & character
of life, introducing light or darkness
into the "Home", infusing sweetness
or bitterness into our social relations. [end 3:580]

Good manners
To say instinctively the right thing at the
   right time
to have a courteous & not merely formal
   word for every body
   to preserve calmness & self-respect &
      the modest sense of equality in the
         presence of every one
   to feel that the society of others is a source
      of enjoyment & not of restraint
   to be like ourselves everywhere
x there might be a great deal more social
( happiness than there is at present --
( these are gifts which all ought to have
We are the world wh: we often seem to think includes every body but us. Kingdom of Heaven
And the Kingdom of God is within us too -- & may be carried out by us.
In that Society (or Kingdom) there would be no thought of self more than of others. The very basis of human life would be different -- not the will of man but the will of God -- Men would see & be seen by one another as they are in the sight of God without reference to the accidents of birth or wealth -- no personal aim or struggles of ambition -- their energies wd be concentrated in the service of God & of their brethren.
The peace of God wd keep them -- friendships not liable to misapprehension or interruption like those on earth (w be among them). They wd see God nearer to them & understand better his way of governing them.

They have now got that better thing of wh: they were desirous in the days when the world seemed unsatisfactory to them -- & earthly affection was wanting to them

& in His will they will rest

These words may seem in a Hospital life like (are in one sense) dreams. But they are not dreams if we take them for the spirit of our lives & the rule of our conduct. To practise them, to feel them, to make them our own, this is not far from the kingdom of heaven upon earth

27/4/73
ff132-90 NOTES ON THE PHAEDRUS PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

f132 {PEN}
F.N's Notes on Phaedrus {Prof: Jowett's
   {Introduction
   and Translation found in
   Plato's Dialogues vol I.
   one dated 1873 Jan 30
   another April 1873
   & all apparently of same
   date
   also draft of letter to Jowett
   -- some likely for sermons
   some on Mysticism

f133
To live a life merely to save oneself from
dead is the poorest life.
I want to find out what is true
more than to account for what is untrue. [blue pencil]
(Jowett)

f134
   [7]
p. 552 "subjects of ye Phaedrus"
   Surely the subjects of the
   Phaedrus are: --
   1. love noble & ignoble
      i.e. with friendship
      & without
   2. rhetoric --
      neither art of persuasion
      nor knowledge of the truth
      alone
      but art of persuading men
      of the truth -- (the truth to be
      found out first) --
      by knowledge of characters
      & of what arguments
      persuade what characters
      i.e. art of persuasion
      founded on knowledge
      of truth & on knowledge
      of character
There are other touches of inimitable grace, & art & deepest wisdom in the Phaedrus, such as:,
the prayer at the end:
(what Collect in your Service equals those words:
`give me beauty in the inward soul

{INSERTED FROM f134v:}
is not this an echo of what he had just said that what is written in the soul is the only `true way of writing'?

{f135:}
& may the outward & inward man be at one'.)

{INSERTED FROM f134v:}
the whole or at least half )
  St. John of the Cross's doctrine )
in 10 words. )

{f135:}
such as:
  the `great name' `which belongs to God only' [for `only' read alone such as:
  the whole passage, equal to St. Paul, about being acceptable to God & not to man -- pleasing one's Master & not one's `fellow-servants'

f135v
It w'd be hard to say what the `continuous thread' of the Sermon on the Mount is. It is Morality, but founded on the only real source of the highest morality -- i.e. perfect union with the Perfect Being -- in contrast to the Morality of Law & Ceremony. Without this it is not a complete description of the Sermon on the
Add Mss 45784

Mount wh: too has many episodes
such as:
the touches of mysticism
&c &c &c &c &c &c
but surely the main topics of
discourse are these two
1. love 2. rhetoric

I do not follow quite what you
say that the "continuous thread"
is "rhetoric" --

any more than if you were
to say that the `continuous thread'
of the Sermon on the Mount is Morality
(& very much taken aback the Jews
must have been to hear it when
they were doubtless expecting the `Messiah'
to preach his Messiah-ship)

nor that the "first speech" of
Socrates is merely an example
of the "false Rhetoric" --
nor that the "art of rhetoric in
the lower sense" &c &c &c
Will you not `dele' the words
"in the lower sense" -- & put
something to the effect that
"the Art of Rhetoric" is founded
on a knowledge of the characters
of men by which to persuade them of the truth
(something of this kind)
Is not that Para: p. 552
"The subjects" to "peculiar study"
somewhat patchy?
[I think it was written at 5 a.m.]
p. 553 top lines
No: No: No: No:
100 time No.
My dear child, I will not let you so blaspheme against your Master Socrates.
you are much worse than the present G.G. of India -- who has atoned)
-- take out that about the

[9]
\`tour de force' -- an' you love me.
It is not only "the most beautiful"
-- it is the best & wisest of all the "Platonic dialogues" -- And take out that vile Latin phrase in the third line.
Plato is weeping over your apostasy. And so am I.
[N.B. Plato is anxious to be gentle with you (considering that he owes you much,) & to give you \`room for repentance' -- & above all not to get up a Public Meeting against you -- or a \`Saturday Review'.
But, if you do not retract these expressions -- he waives his right to an apology -- he will proceed against you for contempt of Court. [Amen]
These things, my Son, are about all that the God gives me to say.
[It is true I had many more things to comment upon in the `Introduction'.
But fortunately for you -- for which thank the Gods! --
I have not time or strength]
But was there ever a time when these things more wanted, more cried out to be said?
And who but you can say them?

Jan 30/73

Phaedrus 24

It wo
I think (I am going to be very impertinent)
that in the first Int. to the Phaedo (the Revise is quite new matter)
you did not say enough what you thought yourself
But I think that in this Intro to the Phaedrus,
you have not said enough what Plato thought himself
Phaedrus: Introduction

I cannot do "the same" as in the Phaedo, can I? -- because you have not entered at all into the Argument in your Introduction to the Phaedrus in the same way as you did in your Introduction to the Phaedo -- have you? --

Also: have you not 'scamped' the Analysis of the Phaedrus very much? -- The Phaedrus is much the most popular of the Dialogues with the vulgar, like me -- (always excepting parts of the Crito, Phaedo &c which relate

immediately to the death of
Socrates). Yet there is no Dialogue of which your Analysis is so meagre, is there?

looking for places to suit people rather than for people to suit places

More prevalent than formerly
people only talk of Patronage as they will
Ld Lansdowne
Mr. Barnett E.E.
Socrates on Rhetoric
The following, therefore, will hardly be more than verbal criticisms: --

P 543. "Symposium looking forward"
Is this quite consistent with p. 487, or with the fact?
I thought the Symposium was only concerned with "this world" -- & that p. 487 says so.
I don't think that the Symposium "looks forward" at all
And I think it is singularly 'scamping', as Engineers say, both the Phaedrus & the Phaedo to represent them as solely, or even mainly concerned with a `former' state. Surely the

Phaedrus & Phaedo look "backwards & forwards", to the "past & the future" not only more than any other work of Plato's but more than almost any work in the world.
Also at p. 487 you indicate this.
Is the Symposium to be put on a level with the Phaedrus & Phaedo any more than Swinburne is to be put in the same category as Æschylus?
Phaedrus Int: looks now like as if it were by a different hand from Int to Phaedo worked up.
I hate a Vol: by different authors.
It is like a Magazine -- as if a man did not like to be "alone in the dark".
Add Mss 45784

f145

[3]
p. 543,5.

pass "the day" ___ ? morning
it is before "the heat of noon".

pp. 545-6

In the "Fioretti di S. Francesco
d' Assisi", a work of the 13th century,
there is a vision singularly like
this -- And most certainly
St. F. never heard of Plato.
Only the unhappy person has
but 150, instead of 10000, years
to wait before his "wings grow"
-- but during that time he is or
seems to himself waiting on a
broken bridge over a torrent
of monsters.  He has however
other ordeals to go thro' -- a desert,
a fire, before he "beholds" wisdom
& goodness "in their essence"

f146

p. 546 -- 9th line from top

Why is it put: "in the place of"
true knowledge?
This expression will be mistaken --
will it not? -- Do you not mean "in
the form of" -- p. 581 -- bottom --
p. 546 9th line from bottom
"deteriorates his lot"

Is this grammar?
-- his lot is deteriorated -- is it not?

p. 547  New Paragraph

How immeasurably superior is
this conception of "heaven" to that
of the Revelations! [1:547] in margin cp. this heaven with that of
Revelations]

p. 547 & elsewhere -- descriptions of
"true mystic" -- how singularly
alike are these in the Buddhist, the
Greek, & the Christians of the 16th century
as: "Father & Mother & goods &
laws are nothing to him -- &c &c"
also p. 556 "pleasing the fellow --
servants".
Add Mss 45784

f147

[4]
p. 548 -- 8th line from top
charioteer "dropping" -- is there no better word?
From p. 551 to end
it is so much of a criticism
of which I know nothing --
[I mean: not a following out
of Argument]
that I have no suggestions to make
p. 554 the "white horse"
it is not "P. 253" (misprint)
it is 253, p. 587
p. 555 6 lines from bottom
All that, about "sense" & "desires"
(always mixed up in Xtian mystics)
& `saving' knowledge of ideas
occurs, almost word for word -- in early mystical works of France & Spain

f148

p. 557 2nd line from bottom
Quetelet makes the remark
that we carelessly ignore the difference between "certain" & "probable" --
p. 560 3rd line from top
there is something awkward about this -- is there not? --
After "comparing" should you not insert the words: -- what is said about "the divisions of the soul &c"
or something to that effect?
You can't "compare" "the soul" with the "character of the style" --
[If you will not think me very impertinent, I shd say that this is the confusion apparent in many of your letters to me -- & especially in your last? --]
Add Mss 45784

f149

[5]
p. 550
p.p. 594-5  602-3  604-7  608
particulary p. 603  p. 605  p. 608
rhetoric art like medicine
but now not an art -- only a
dilettante amusement
men care nothing about truth
  e.g. in law
Have you not scamped this?
It is just as true now as then.
At least I can answer for
medicine -- as also for Parly legislation.
The account Socrates gives of
Medicine p. 603 is absolutely
true now -- more shame for us!
And p. 605 Hippocrates is
wanted just as much now
as then 2000 years after he lived -- the more's the pity!
Should not you bring all this out

f150

much more prominently than
you have done at p. 550?
Phaedrus is the most pregnant
(in texts) of all the Dialogues
for the modern unlearned
reader --
And you have scamped it the
most --
There is not a page from
which you could not take
3 or 4 texts for Essays or
Lectures -- "to help me to
speak & think" --
especially from p. 594 to p. 608
or from p. 600 to end
"Come out, children of my soul"
you shd say to them --
And "panting" modern Truth "toils
after them in vain" --
[Instead of that, you say to them: Go in]
Would you put that about the "first speech of Socrates" being "false rhetoric" -- or class it at all with the "speech of Lysias"? Is not the "speech of Socrates on the contrary true "Rhetoric" in the ironical form -- & meant to lead to -- not to be in contrast with his "second speech"? Tho' Socrates himself says the contrary, yet you know what this is he says is not true.

[I wish I had written when first I read the Phaedrus. Now I have neither time nor strength to write anything to be of the least use.]

I shd like just to write an "Introduction" to ye Phaedrus my fashion -- & send it to you to be put into sense]

true knowledge of things based upon ENTHUSIASM or love of the ideas -- That is capital. My son, bring that out. Even in Nursing, there is now no "enthusiasm" or love of the idea. Or, for aught I see, is there any 'enthusiasm' or 'love of the Ideal' about anything. Yet

`true knowledge' is founded on feeling as well as on Intellect --rather all `true knowledge' pertaining to higher human things founded upon feeling & Intellect together --cannot be founded upon either apart
to realize true nature of soul
impossible
figure of winged horses --
I have nothing to suggest --
You have said all I wanted -- &
ininitely better than I cd have
said it in the Revise of the Phaedo
Certainly: we know nothing
about the `nature’, only about the
`character’ --
I am so sick of the discussion
about `nature’ & `character’ -- because
it seems to me merely verbal.

And now it seems as if you
were argufying merely to
make me argufy -- for which
I have not the slightest power
-- & less than the slightest inclination.
It seems a mere talk for talk's sake
But then you begin again (in your
last letter) that neither `nature’,
`being’, `substance’, `character’, are
admissible -- when the very
argument was that whether of God,
or of the `soul’,
`being’, `substance’, `nature’, are
what we can know nothing about --
character, characteristics, qualities --
whether of `God or of the soul’ --
Are what we can find out all
about, if we search --

Does not Socrates himself say this?
Does he not also say that we are to
find out all we can about the differing
characters of different persons, in order
to know how to deal with them? And how much more important to find out all we can about God's ways of going on in order to deal with Him.

Have you not yourself said that if God uses successive generations -- without giving an individual future of eternal progress for each human being -- merely to carry out some plan of His -- then to drop off into non entity -- He cannot be Goodness, Wisdom, Justice!

Is not that describing His 'character', not His 'substance'?

The absurdity of Athanasian Creed is: describing what can't be described -- what we can know nothing about -- 'substance' -- 'persons' -- & learning characteristics -- Goodness, Wisdom, Justice (over 34 as things we have nothing to do with -- the only things we have anything to do with --

But for that matter so does the Apostles' Creed -- except in the first Clause.

His plans for our moral regeneration -- the 'ways of Perfection' --
Add Mss 45784

f155

[1a]
Are not the following some of
the points in which,
so striking in the Phaedrus,
the Analysis is somewhat deficient?
p. 544 & p. 564
man more wonderful than Typho
p. 545 - p.p. 574-5
"as wolves love lambs, so lovers
love their loves" --
&c &c &c &c
It appears to me that the
whole secret of the question
wh: has received an immeasurable
development & entirely in
the wrong direction by the
Modern Novel Literature.
--a Literature far more prolific
than any other literature in existence
--lies in this -- in what Plato
has here so tersely put.

In spite of all that is said & written to the contrary, my experience asserts that the really good woman sinks in marriage -- Why? because "as wolves love lambs" &c -- so she is loved.

Yet -- two together ought to be able to serve God better than those two apart. Why do you scarcely ever see an example of this -- why but because "as wolves love lambs" &c?

[I once heard a person of the greatest ability say as a general proposition: "oh if he could marry her, without her marrying him" -- In this I entirely concur: `She'

may raise `him' -- but oh how rarely `he' raises `her' -- And yet when `he' is generally higher than `she' -- still it is, generally, the same thing

Why, then, but because `as wolves' &c, even the best men love `their loves'?

There are some glaring instances of the contrary verse -- where the woman loves `like the wolf' -- but, as a rule, not (in England at least).

I have just had the most severe blow of my severe life -- to which the death of Agnes Jones was as nothing -- a woman of the highest moral nature I have ever known left us in a manner
Add Mss 45784

f158

wh: my Committee characterizes
as 'sharp practice', in a
manner of wh: I have never seen
anything like the want of feeling
-- she being or having been my
closest -- my only friend --
because the man to whom she is
to be married -- confessedly unworthy
-- loved her "as wolves" &c]

{INSERTED FROM f157v:}

N.B.

p.p. 572-3-4 cp p. 590 (bottom)
"breeding meanness"

p. 572 (239)
"always employed in reducing
him" -- her -- each other -- "to inferiority" --

p. 573
"in everything dependent on himself --
"the delight of the lover's heart
& a curse to himself"
"Verily, a profitable guardian &
associate" --

p. 574 -- "mischievous to his love" --
Is there anything more weighty than
what lies in these? weighty to the world
since the world marries --
Any thing more applicable to every
day's experience now?
Please bring this out better.
This is not "false rhetoric" --
It is Socrates in his weightiest mood,
 tho' in his most ironical style.

{BACK TO f158:}
A whole section of the 'Introduction'
might well be made out of this:
for it makes no difference whether
the friendship (love) described
is that of man or of man & woman
(Put immorality out of the game
in either case) [Plato took
man because women then were
:unworthy:/:incapable: of friendship]
N.B.

Observe the use of the word "friendship"
p. 590 last Para.
& the "heavenly blessings" wh:
it "confers" --
Also: observe that Socrates
contradicts himself in
attributing to the "non-lover"
the "breeding of meanness"
p. 590 bottom
& to the "lover" the same thing
p. 572 (239) & p.p. 573-4
This is of course intentional.
But have you mentioned
this in your `Introduction'? [This is not "false Rhetoric" --]

`Friendship is not less than love but greater'
says a little Novel recommended
by J.S. Mill.
It is because all modern fiction
has lost sight of this truth
that it is such unutterable trash.
    It is because modern love=
=making has lost sight of this
truth that it is such unutterably
"mischievous to its love" --
trash -- is it not? --
    It is because Plato knew it,
that out of this some of his highest creations
(as also some of his more horrid
faults) have sprung up -- is it not?
[Put Immorality apart for the moment]
May we not fearlessly assert,
even from the little distorted
experience we have now
that 'friendship is not less than love
but greater'
that because there is so little friend=
ship in marriage, therefore it
is so frequently unhappy
farther: that one of the highest relations
in life possible is friendship
(not love) between a man &
a woman -- not husband & wife
that where marriage is good
its goodness is enhanced, enlarged,
by the husband having friend=
ship with other women, married
or not -- & also, I suppose,
by the wife having friends
among other men.

(WRITTEN TO THE LEFT OF THE ABOVE PARAGRAPH, FROM f159v:)
This is not theory --
I have seen the most remarkable
instance of this.

(BACK TO f160:)
Surely marriage should enlarge &
strengthen all other ties, instead
of cutting them off, as in England.
I think it is really the most immoral thing: the tacit assumption in England that it is `dangerous' (the stock word) for a woman to have any conversation but the merest `persiflage' with any man but her husband i.e. -- not to recognize that the reverse mode of going on would strengthen, not loosen the central tie -- if it is good. But how can it be otherwise in our state of things where marriage is contracted at play & not at work -- & where there can be no real friendship except by accident afterwards, between man & wife? -- [There indeed it is `dangerous' to have other `friendships' --]

Do not you think that, while Plato, in the actual society he saw around him (setting aside some monsters prodigies, like Diotima) found it impossible to describe man's friendship for woman -- he, in his Ideal 'Republic', therefore fell foul of a conception about women wh.:, tho' monstrous in itself, shews the strength of his ideal (distorted as it is) on this matter? Any how, would you pass over with such a very slight recognition a subject so enormous, & so pregnant a hint as that of `As wolves love lambs' &c?
You can scarcely dismiss, can you? --
with such bare notice a subject
wh: evidently occupied so large
a place in Plato's mind -- see
his Phaedrus, Symposium, a hint
of it in his Charmides, & his
Republic --
If I might, I would venture to
describe Plato's state of mind
thus: --
He sees a state of society & of
education in which it is
impossible for woman to be
the mental help-mate or
intellectual `love' of man or
friend of man
He sees this place taken, even
as to personal beauty, by
young Mankind instead of Woman=

[I omit Immorality, Ancient &
Modern -- it has nothing to
do with the main idea]
In the Phaedrus, he gives with
his usual irony & half in joke
but with the deepest meaning --
-- so much is he impressed with
the mischief of `love' -- a sketch
to shew that the non-lover's
love is actually better than the
lover's love.
[I am not far from agreeing with
him -- I have seen such mischief
from `Lover's love' -- I mean
even where the most perfect
morality is observed according
to man tho' not according to God -- & also, alas', from
`unloving love' -- (a sentence once
Add Mss 45784

f165

[6a]
quoted to me by Sidney Herbert --
-- Euripides, is it not? --)
for both 'lovers' love' & 'unloving
love' are devoid of friendship,
of any high Ideal -- And this,
I take it, is Plato's meaning,
is it not? --
A person of no little experience in
life once gave as its fruit,
this: 'It is much better in
marriage for the woman to
begin with much & the man
with little love -- For whether
he begins or not with much
love, it is all gone in a year --
And then the woman's love
endures' --
This of course means love without
friendship -- & is much the same

f166

as what Plato says, is it not? --]
After the jesting tirade in favour
of the 'non-lover', Plato
recollects himself to himself --
& gives the magnificent Atonement
of the true uses, the true Ideal
of Love -- the earthly Love as
reflecting the heavenly Love --
& leading up to it --
than which there is nothing finer
in all poetry -- or Art -- is there? --
(INserted FROM f165v:)
There is a beautiful illustration
of this in the Symposium
-- fellow-workers in love -- [FN's expression]
"working together for their improvement" [Jowett's]
p. 473 -- bottom --
Add Mss 45784

[in book 1:477 intro to Symposium FN underlined: This is why parents love their children for the sake of immortality/but not their wives/ [in margin] and underlined point re “noblest creations of all are those of legislators.” Who would not sooner have these children of the mind than the ordinary human ones?

[there are many underlined passages of Symposium intro, but few comments
{BACK TO f166:}
What Plato says in the Republic
  on the subject of man & woman
  is nothing, is it?, but his
  glorious Ideal struggling out
  its way among the immoralities
  & debasements wh: are all he
  knows in social real life

f167

[7a]
He has seen so much immorality in the relations not only of man & woman but of man & man that he actually conceives an Ideal of Immorality -- he makes the marriage itself an Immorality -- that is, the physical connection between man & woman is to be nothing but a physical connection -- wh: by itself in the human being is the meaning of but an immorality -- is it not? [he is utterly ignorant of the fact, for it is a fact, that you cannot breed the human beings as you can calves -- & that in the nearest approaches to his plan that are known, the human being degenerates miserably, even in body. It
seems very odd that Plato
shd not with his immense
Idealism have anticipated
or suspected this --
However he didn't]
Plato then goes on to educate
woman, as the friend of man,
to employ her as his equal.
It is the finest conception
possible -- that is, possible to
him -- But it is the Ideal
run mad.
He separates the body entirely,
gives that up to legitimatized
immorality -- as if it were
possible to breed the human
being (consisting of a body &
a soul) in that way -- And

He then takes out the souls & minds
bodies & puts them in a separate
world to themselves.
As if men & women whom
he has raised to that high Ideal
would consort with each other
as to the body like bulls & cows --
Surely it is the most
curious instance of a Metaphysical
idea being pursued not only
with an utter disregard but
in total defiance of the ideal Practical
or Practicable -- (for in this
at least Plato was serious --)
that is known in Philosophy --
(tho', for the matter of that, I have
a friend much nearer at hand
who does not seem to see it so)
I do not at all allude to the
uprooting of the first tie of human society that
it would be --
I mean that, as far as we know
from all historical experience,
the intention of the Creator is:
that the highest state of things,
even for the physical breeding of
the human race, should be that one
man should keep in marriage
to one woman -- in love --

{INSERTED FROM \textit{f169v}:}
that in proportion as this is
diverged from, the race
degenerates even to extinction
[the fact that some of the
higher specimens of the human
race have been illegitimate
children -- but born in love
tho' not in marriage
& that marriage \textit{without the}
ideal love does \textit{not} breed
the finest even physical specimens
being not an exception to
but a confirmation of this law
or Order of things
{BACK TO \textit{f170}:}
& that Plato's plan \textit{would}
end in there being no children
at all -- let alone \textit{fine} children
Races do come to an end in
that way -- do not they? --
[Plato seems to have gone in this directly
against his own maxim \textit{-- Phaedrus p. 607}
(just before 272) "he must have a
theoretical notion first & then see them
(conceive of them) in action & follow them with
all his senses about him" \&c
I am incapable -- but you are so capable -- I would not, if I were you, leave this rich mine unworked.

Take politics: Government measures: Public Administration Parliamentary legislation --
The language of the Cabinet is so different from what it was in my day -- 10-15 years ago. It is exactly what Socrates says: "an art of enchanting" 1. the Cabinet 2. the House "by arguments" -- It is not: this is the truth -- or, as Plato would put it: this is philosophy -- or as we should put it: this is the right thing (for the country) to do -- & we must put it before the

Ho: of C in a manner that will persuade them to give us the money. Or as Socrates would say: we must "learn the differences of human souls" & "what persons are persuaded by what arguments".

Sidney Herbert used to say: why the Ho: of C. never refused money to any one who knew that a thing was right -- & co put it before them.

Is not this Plato's whole 'Art of Rhetoric' put into modern Parliamentary language?
And what is more, what Sidney Herbert said was true The Ho: of C. never refused him any
thing -- [I have been told this by Cabinets who did not like him]
But there is nothing of that now in Cabinet men --
There is a little of it in Forster --
-- & a good deal of it in Stansfeld
But look at the rest!

And look at Indian Administration now compared to what it has been, in the days of the 2 Lawrences, the Freres, & a host of others who have settled & civilized our Empire there --

And look at yourself --
Had you anything to say to me when Lord Mayo was killed but that you regretted Mazzini more?
Lord Palmerston was worth all

these modern Cabinets ("rhetoricians") put together --
It seems to me that the world is divided -- i.e. the capable world -- 1. into people who have a real Ideal [is that Irish?] -- that is, who have arrived at the knowledge of some truth -- & who do not know how to set it forth -- how to give it body & substance -- or how to persuade others of it -- that is, who have not learnt "the art of persuasion" -- or any knowledge of the differing characters [characters: not `natures' --]

Properly speaking: there is no plural to `nature']
of human beings -- or "what persons are persuaded by
what arguments"

2. into people who have got
hold of the knowledge of no
truth -- but only of what "is
"likely to be approved by the many
"who sit in judgment" [Saturday
Reviews: Pall Mall Gazettes:]
-- only of what is "public opinion"
about the "truly good" --
[Bravo Plato! was he
pre-figuring the "Times"?]
who do not "know the truth of
what they are going to say" --
but only how to say it --
who put "good for evil" --
in which Socrates & Isaiah
seem agreed
themselves "ignorant of the true
nature" of each -- [`nature' is the right
word there]

but "studying the notions of
the multitude"
[is not that what Mr. Gladstone
openly professes to do?]
Now, as it is impossible for all
this to be set forth better than
it is by Plato in the Phaedrus
--p.p. 594 to 609 & almost to end
& as it is equally impossible for
this to be so applicable to any
time as the present --
would you not show in your
`Introduction' how this is? --
If Plato is to do good, in the
way of Philosophy (besides in
the way of Classical learning,)
there can be no more practical
lesson, no lesson more wanted
in any day -- but particularly in
the present day -- than this --
[When you call Mr. Lowe a "first-
rate man", I do not deny it --
but he is a "first-rate man"
in the way of Lysias --
And you cannot conceive how
Mr. Lowe's work is deteriorated
since I knew him & it 16 years ago]
Then the whole of the Review &
periodical literature of this day,
is it not almost all a "studying the
notions of the multitude"?
And, even in those who do not,
Mat: Arnold, Stephen -- can
any body pretend that in
those pages of the `Cornhill',
`Fraser' &c, they are trying to
"arrive at the good first", &
then to "persuade" us of it?

And could you do any
greater good than by
setting this forth before the
rising generation, as you
only can?
People take texts out of Isaiah
-- there is nothing more perfect
in Isaiah than some texts in
Plato -- & they are often very
similar -- & very similar to John
-- And, as it is not proper to
preach in the pulpit from
texts out of Plato, I would
preach in the `Introductions'
from texts out of ye Phaedrus
as you have done out of the
Phaedo --
I will not go on with this -- for
I really have not strength.
But it would not require a tithe
of your genius & experience
to show how
Parliamentary Life
the Law
Medicine
the Church (especially the
Church)
are all in the most urgent need
of Plato's lesson --
how they are actually in more
need of it now than 20
years ago
how matters are deteriorating in
these things -- while (almost
because) they are improving in
other things

The Professional is deteriorating
while the layman is improving --
And all for want of the lesson
that we must "arrive at the truth
first" before we "persuade"
others of it.
Does the Church ever think of
"arriving" at any "truth"?
Does it not consider preaching
& Creeds as an "art of speaking which
is unconnected with the truth"?

{INSERTED FROM f176:}
Liberal side same -- both to tell lies
& in which "both parties should tell lies"?
Does not the Law do so even more?

{BACK TO f175v:}
Does not the "Law" consider
"pleading" "an art of speaking
which is unconnected with the
truth" -- in which "men literally
care nothing about truth" but only
about "conviction"?
As to Medicine, men must
Add Mss 45784

be connected with it as I am
to know that how much the "Materia Medica"
Add Mss 45784

f176

is an "art" of doctoring
"unconnected with the truth"
of experience, or of observation of
God's physical Laws --
Doctors, that they call themselves,
Physicians, have nothing to do altho' with the smallest possible
pretention
with to knowing or discovering these physical Laws.

Just as Ecclesiastics call themselves Divines
or Professors of Divinity or Theology with no
pretention or intention at all to study the Laws
or Order of God's Moral Laws --
Liberal state[smen?] same-both to tell lies
& in which "both parties should tell lies?
Does not the Law do so even more?
Theology: speculative habit, Patteson
what can the man mean?
Ecclesiastics say: it is to be the Athanasian
Creed. Neither that it is to be the Logy of God
wh: we have to find out
Religious or irreligious state of England --
very like that of Rome -- laity making such
giant strides in material, mechanical progress
in independence in Education in material things.
Ecclesiastical organizations & laity under their paw [?
(over 34

And, finally, might we not, to
make an (unspeakably) long
story short, give the
converse of what Socrates
says: & truly say that if we
"care so much about the
opinions of men", we cannot
think much about having
"the truth ourselves"?
& also that if we think so much
more of "the speaker", we shall care
"not of for the truth but of for the speaker
& of for the country from which
the truth comes" 39
----
34) making tumultuous demonstrations in one
in favour of Pope's temporal power -- in other
of Athanasian Creed's temporal power in both
as far from any real religion as ever but in
England restrained by political freedom
39) wh: is just what we seem to do here --
whether that "country" means Rome or Convocation or
"party' or the Reviewer or Mr. Gladstone or Ld Derby
(how a party man -- Ld Stanley was not)

Lastly,
People may say what they
please about the corruption of
past times -- and I suppose
the times of Horace Walpole
were unutterably corrupt --
They may talk of `Patronage'
as they will --
But, Has there ever been a time
when there was such looking
for places to suit people
instead of for people to suit
places -- i.e to do good in
places? --
I wish I could think I were
mistaken in this --
But, even as late as 18643 (?)
when Lord Elgin was dying,
the Cabinet (Lord Palmerston's)
called in the help of Ld Stanley (Ld Derby) -- [I was consulted in the Cabinet then & knew --] who immediately came to me & asked me to see Sir John Lawrence --

And thus only was the appointment of Sir J Lawrence to the G.G.ship determined.

Now I am quite sure that nothing of the kind takes place now about any appointment.

[Nay, did you not yourself congratulate me on the appointmr of Ld Lansdowne, merely because you were pleased for him?]

About Mr. Lowe in the same way? --

Did you not wish to give Mr. Barnett who was honestly seeking for preferment in the E-end, & the I-end only, a provincial living? --]

I could mention cases of this kind ad infinitum in the highest posts of India & also in the posts at home --

Does not all this come under this present head in the Phaedrus? and would it not be well to show it up in your `Introduction'?
Qy it is
You think of whether my `Art of Rhetoric' is done `like a lady'. But the 2 R.C.'s -- the Indian Sany Admn founding `Art of Rhetoric' employed was simply to find out what "the truth" (the right thing) was & then to "persuade" people of it. This does not comport with writing or not writing "like a lady" & when I began writing `like a lady' it was because I had done with it or it had done with me -- did not intend to make any more leaps -- merely wrote `by special desire' a sort of `Article', quite beneath the work

p. 557: line 3 from bottom
"first, as expecting &c" to "truth"
I do not follow -- quite -- Is it not rather "first, as desiring to persuade without arriving at a knowledge of whether it is the truth of which we (rhetoricians) desire to persuade" -- ? -- Is not this what Socrates says?

That allusion to sailor's gin-shops "where good manners are unknown" -- does he not mean by it that such a selfish love is fit only for such "haunts"?
It is most importantertinent & conceited of any one -- especially me -- to differ with you in this. But has not Plato, besides the one you have given, -- a deeper meaning in these 3 speeches? For the first, of course, he means to condemn an unqualifiedly condemnation -- But for the second -- I think Plato told me that in this, tho' still in his ironical fashion, he meant to tell those deep & universal truths in about interested self=absorbing selfish love being such a curse that `non=

[2] ='lover's love' is even better --

Then, in the third, he rises as it were out of all this banter & bluster to the sublimity of his subject & says:

But did I call this love?
O forgive me, God, for my blasphemy! This is not love Or rather it is the love of this world -- But there is another kingdom of love -- a kingdom not of this world -- a divine, Eternal kingdom. And this is what it is: -- (& he then goes on with his third speech) Do you know
that I have been wont to think
there was nothing finer than
this "serious" transition -- except
when -- Pilate coming in from
the furious raving of the Jews
outside, & telling Jesus that
they accuse him of trying to
make himself a King,
Jesus answers, apparently
quite calmly -- but, like all
great Deliverers, with a touch
of irony too: --
`I am a King -- But my
Kingdom is not of this world --
My Kingdom is that of truth' --
[When I read that, I do not
wonder that they called Jesus
Divine]

I think Plato had a far
diviner meaning in those 3
speeches than a mere point
of "literature", or "dialectical
principles" --
No more "dialectical" than
Jesus xx was when he used
those words: -- `My kingdom is not of
this world" --
Indeed Plato told me so --
xx or whoever used them --
One always wonders -- if they were
uttered to Pilate in his judgment hall
where the Jews cd not go at Passover-time
-- who reported them -- But this is
thinking "not of the truth" but of the "country
{CONTINUED ON f183v:}
whence the truth comes" --
sinning as Socrates said I should
Para: beginning with "Dialectic"
down to end "written law" --
Do not you omit something here?

E.g. -- Plato's "paradox that speech is superior to writing" -- is this not rather meant -- Plato=fashion -- to introduce the noble passage that what is written in the SOUL (after having been spoken to the soul) is the only way of writing?

It seems to me one of Plato's most characteristic bits --

He has got weary & impatient --

oh so weary -- (as I do -- especially

[4]

with the Governm -- with the India Governm more especially)

-- of seeing people thinking that they have done something when they have written down something instead of DOING it -- [in administrative matters, especially in a country like India, writing down something is generally equivalent to not doing it -- is in the place of doing it -- nay, actually prevents its being done] --

he is so weary of this (the little he knew how the Briton wd improve upon the practice he condemns) that he exclaims: 'oh don't write it at all -- speak & then do it
-- put it into action -- let there be
only the Word & the Bread
-- that is, the Ideal made real' --
Christ seems to have had
exactly the same feeling: --
when he exclaims so often
that he is the 'Bread' --
that we are to 'eat' him --
-- Does he not mean that
we are to make his words --
our life? {INSERTED FROM f185v:}
not to write about them
but to live them --
to make them {BACK TO f186:} part of our body,
our being=in=action, (as
bread gives life & strength to
us who eat it)? -- to make the
Ideal of his words real, i.e.
i.e. an actual living existence in
ourselves?

[5]
[I think you do that with Balliol]
I do so sympathize with Christ
& Socrates about writing --
When I see all that mass, all
that stifling, choking, dust=heap
of Government Minutes, of Reviews, Magazines, Essays,
Newspapers, Reviews of Reviews,
Novels, Fiction, Verses, without one
gleam of the Ideal in them,
without one ghost of an honest aspiration,
nay, stifling all aspiration, --

[-- and people are not even satisfied
with that but they must publish
`Extracts', `Selections', `Excerpta',
`Compendia', Abstracts, `Gems',
`Treasures' --] when I see these things
Note --
but I think Middlemarch beats
all in this line that ever was penned -- because it states
(totidem verbis) that its object
is to pronounce aspiration impossible
-- & that because women now can't
be Antigones & St Teresas
therefore they must marry 2 men an
uncle & nephew, one an imposter, the
other a Cluricaune -- within a year --
And the woman can look abroad
over this wilderness of London --
where we are crying, imploring,
stretching out our hands, advertising
for women to come & help us!
& write that!!!
And her husband's son married
Octavia Hill's sister!
And she can coolly sit down & write
that!! If we could prosecute her --
but there is no legal punishment hard enough.

I feel inclined to cry out with
Socrates: oh no more writing: --
what is written in the soul is
the only writing worth anything
having
Is not this the main point of
the present passage in the
Phaedrus -- At least, would
you not go on to say, p. 558,
as he does, that neither
that which is spoken or written
is of any great value, unless
it is implanted or sown in
the soul -- & grows up into
a mustard-tree, (as Christ says)
with so that the birds are able to build their nests in
the branches -- or like a harvest
f189

[6]
Christ is full of these metaphors --
(he is the "Word" -- the ideal of God
made into the body of man --
& so more or less, are all -- he is not the only Son
This seems to me Plato's true
meaning --
p. 558
"mind" of King "preferred to the written law"

[Politics]
why? because he the King is (supposed to be)
the "Law" incorporate -- the living "Law" -- the Ideal made life
As in Egypt: Phra: Rameses: the King --
-- son of Ra the Sun he is the "Law" EMBODIED
-- not "written" --
cp. p. 550 -- bottom lines --
Is this not scamped?
Is not what Plato says much
finer than this? viz. that,
the principles of justice & truth

f190

(delivered by word of mouth)
are to be written in the soul --
-- the 'only true way of writing' --
-- the 'only right sort of man' --

cp. p. 614 -- (278)
-- one of the grandest passages
in the grandest of Plato's poems --
-- the Phaedrus
I do not see one step made towards it. {THIS LINE IN PENCIL} Now, is there?

It seems to me on the contrary that what is written becomes more vague, more little amenable to correct observation or experience, more getting hold of the "wrong end" of every thing (as A.H.C. used to say of the 'Saturday Review') every year. And there seems to me nobody in the wide world but you to do it.

I sometimes read -- merely out of curiosity the -- pretended -- 'philosophical' Magazines -- They seem to me more utterly astray -- more writing for argument -- & not for truth's sake -- every year -- To say something -- not to find out what is -- their object -- the Herbert Spencers -- the Stephens -- the Gregs -- &c &c &c --]

What seems to be wanted -- (& what is least of all being done) -- is: -- (first catch your hare --)
-- to find out & to express in intelligible language
what are the facts of daily experience in human moral history

e.g. what circumstances make what human characters -- make what developments of mankind -- including of course under 'circumstances' the individual identity (or organization) (or character) with which each human being comes into the world.

[This is a field almost entirely untouched. It has only just been found out, e.g. that 'Charity' (indiscriminate) makes Poverty -- that Prisons make Criminals -- that bad Dwellings make Vice -- As to any definite unravelling of these helter-skelter propositions into individual & more manageable practical problems, we have scarcely an idea of it.]

Then, it is obvious that the 'laws', or 'plan' which register or which lay out these experiences are entirely beyond our own making -- tho' not beyond our ken.

Then I would find out what that Order, plan, or Moral Government is which we can't live a moment of our lives without running our heads against or without making use of to our own salvation.

That we can't modify this 'Plan' in the least degree is obvious --

That we must live by & through it this Order, make use of it, in every thing, if we would do any thing, is equally obvious.

Then, if that Being is a good God who makes all this Order of things, under which & by which we live, & have our power (or Free-Will), we would love Him.
This is a cut-&-dry definition (which you can't abide) of what I call "the Kingdom".
But people will write columns upon columns about the Coronation of the "King" of Sweden.
Nay, in all countries but this heretical one, pages upon pages are written daily about the Pope (as if he were the author of the Moral Order of this World), his Rescripts, his Canon Law, the "ecclesiastical Status" of his Priests & Officers, as if they were the exponents to us of the order of this Moral World.
But not a line, not a word, not a thought is given to what is the real Order, of what is the real Moral "Kingdom" of this World.
Nay, there is a whole imaginary World (which, if it does exist, can only be a part & a continuation of the Moral Order of this)
laid down with its Angels & Archangels & Saints & the way one can get into it by certain ceremonies & imploring certain rascals, canonized

by the certain Popes to pull us in -- and a whole hierarchy & most expensive ceremonial organization organized on this purely fictitious basis.
It does seem to me the most amazing thing, unless Mankind is an Asylum of Lunatics for the rest of the Universe, that all this play-acting can go on -- & not a thought be bestowed on what is the real Moral Government of God -- of this World -- for our children whom we care for so much --
It is as if men & women were to eat on the stage where we know the food is sham -- & to prepare no other meals -- no real dinners & breakfasts.
It is the only thing in which Mankind acts in this way.
But, long as this stage play has lasted, there are plenty of indications every day that it is now falling to pieces -- that the
stage costumes are all worn out --
that there is a collapse -- & nothing
to take its place.
One can't open a newspaper -- even with
all the Coronations of Kings of Sweden
in it -- without seeing this -- &
seeing it even in the more sober &
reasonable Church to which you belong.
When even poor Lord Shaftesbury says that
Church of England people are living in a
"fool's Paradise -- & that "unless something be
done", the days of "our glorious old Church"
are "numbered & nearly over" -- And when
the "Times", which is essentially the times,
comments on this by saying that the Church
is "in that desperate condition" in which it
"can't even endure remedies" --
so far from thinking as you do that the
time is past for you to preach a more
reasonable religion, I think the time is
just come -- but very urgently come now indeed.

Few, I should suppose, would agree with
Ld Shaftesbury that there are "masses" with
"enthusiasm" for the Ch: of E., if only their
services were accepted in her.
Rather they are casting off all Churches,
all religion whatever.
Is not this a frightful state of things?
Yet there are none that consider it.
And Bp Temple runs up his
"uncommonly tall tree" and Bps of
London have their "Funds" -- and
Convocations meet & have their discussions
-- and "Authorized Versions" and "Lectionaries"
of the Prayer book are published --
just as if the foundation had not
already crumbled at their feet.

"Up", my son, "And at 'em"
Add Mss 45784

**f194v**

3. Apropos to your writing & preaching Religion to the God of Moral Philosophy, you began:

"If I had known you", (meaning me! poor me!)
"at the time of my troubles", ___
And I stopped you, because I can't bear your talking in that way, as if you wanted my help!
But whatever it was that you were going to say -- whatever it is,
let us do it now.
I will give up every thing now, except my Nurses, to do anything for you, in this way.
And I am sure God is calling you.

**f195**

[4]

Don't answer.
I won't have you answer --
But next time I see you (tho' I am perfectly sure that you will have forgotten everything you said)
I shall begin
ff196-96v NOTES ON AN ALCOHOLIC FRIEND PEN HANDWRITTEN BY B JOWETT

f196 {DATE: PENCIL}

[July-Aug 1873] End of 15 1873

I am led into these reflections partly for having had one of my drunken friends (I do not take on about them so much as you do poor soul) staying with me who is an admirable musician. This poor drunkard is a young man of great ability: his father is out of his mind & he has to support his mother, but at present he is utterly demoralized. He has no character & I cannot give him one. I suppose that he must try & gain a character & meanwhile write for the press. He deceives himself & me & his father & mother have always deceived me about his habits of intoxication. He had better be w[ith] Miss Jones than live on as he has been doing for 2 or 3 years longer. This & [illeg] case & young Teniers [?]
case do pain me, though not so much as they would you. In that, I think you are like Christ.
   I should sometimes like to have a word from you saying that you are at rest & in peace: I have given up the idea of seeing you happy in this world, but I want you to have some intervals of cessas [?], for there may be a fever even of doing good. The life of Christ was not wholly one of sorrow & sadness. You have had great success, but you never allow your mind to dwell except on the failure which in this world of obstructions, necessarily accompany every considerable work.
   I send you a little votive of Ld Westbury which appeared in a country paper -- interesting to those who cared about him. Will you send it us back?
   ever yours
   B Jowett

I, B. Jowett, do hereby solemnly agree during the next twelve months to take five months' complete holiday & for the other seven months to work but two three hours a day & not more than an hour at a time
   B Jowett
Autumn 1873?

have taken for 6 or 8 mo:
to seeing our Matrons & Nurses
having those from a distance
to stay in the house --
Not only compels me to give up
a great deal of my India & W.O.
work but takes out of me
I think more than any thing
did before. I have never been
used to lead, except by leading
in work -- I am not good at
talking & preaching & examining
except on spot
clear call of God: cd not
refuse it.
of course a thing once embarked
in wh: increases, crowds upon
& absorbs one more every day

Dear Miss Nightingale

I am very sorry to hear
that you are in such trouble
& distraction -- shall I tell you a
truth or a truism that these
sort of trials, if well managed,
begin to clear up in a few
weeks or months; & new
helpers appear from unexpected
quarters. You have got into one
of the difficult places of life
& courage & ability were given
you just to meet such
difficulties
The only thing that occurs to me to say to you is that you must get rid of the physician quietly -- I should treat him with the greatest kindness not for his sake, but for your own & to prevent an expose which will do harm to the institution. He is probably not a bad man, but some change has come over him -- I have known other examples of this at 60 or 65. Nor do I think that you can make out the degree of fault in him & in the probationers -- the only thing is to watch them.

When you have made up your mind to a course of action about him or in the other matters to which you refer cast them all from your mind on God, if you will, & quietly go on with your work. The 'Jupiter {illeg}' is {illeg} & is I think certainly a reason for your going to less near the hospital. But unless you gain greater peace & calmness, you will risk your life -- The highest height of religion is perfect peace, especially as you get on in life. I suppose that J.T. [?] is not going to Edinburgh.
Add Mss 45784

f200v

I heard about Mrs [?] Nightingale's nurse at Embley -- I do not think that there was anything else to trouble you seriously.
I do not see why the 'young person' whom you call the pearl should not {illeg} with her {illeg. mother?} & help you too.
As to the other 'young person'
I should not head [?] off the {illeg} but should not object to apply very strong dissuasives --
I would not write to her but see her, for she will probably shew your letter to her lover.

Fare you well: I am glad that I have heard the {illeg. cause?} of your truth

Ever yours

B. Jowett

(WRITTEN SIDEWAYS ON THE LEFT SIDE OF PAGE:)
The Diag's left this morning -- very happy & well suited -- she seemed to be a rare clever person.

ff201-21 NOTES ON SUN RISING (PROVIDENTIAL ARRANGEMENT), PROBABILITIES, LAWS, FACTS, THE INITIAL & SUBSEQUENT CAUSES, EXISTENCE OF GOD & MIND PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE [5:69-74]

f201

Sun rises
Causes=God
Herschel p. 414-5
Quetelet p. 45

Providential arrangement is &c
Quetelet p. 46
tendencies working thro' opportunities p. 50
Quetelet
family does not give opportunities
human race
It has been said that the reason (for reason we should rather say: probability) we expect why the Sun rises again tomorrow is that its rising has been always recurrent, never interrupted. And it has been more truly said that the reason why we expect the Sun to rise tomorrow is: the character of God. That there is an efficient cause for the rising of the Sun is: we have seen: an overwhelming Probability.

If it be said that the Sun rising is an arrangement of or Law working by or through a (secondary) causes & contingencies. But if it is said that this is all we can know about it, this appears nonsense. "Providential arrangement" as it is sometimes called by the opposite party is the arrangement of secondary causes & contingencies -- by Providence. And the probability that this arrangement is by a Mind (commonly called Providence) would seem to be by a number,
inconceivable in general
to 1
That events do happen according
to their calculated chances
leads or applies to the discovery
of The Great First Cause --
For, why do facts conform to
probabilities? --
The answer is the same as that
to the common Error of supposing
that Laws govern.
Laws don't govern:
they only register.
The record of facts is not the
compelling power.
Laws are only the record of facts.
So with "probabilities".

The doctrine of probabilities
is in fact the discovery of Laws,
of an Order.

Wisdom, Goodness & All Mightiness
wh: makes the Laws for how
can a Law make itself? --
Or they say we can know
nothing about the Supreme Power.
But, says Hooker, "the wise,
"amongst the very heathens themselves
"have all acknowledged some
"first cause, whereupon originally
"the being of all things dependeth;
"neither have they otherwise
"spoken of that cause than
" as an agent, wh:, knowing
"what & why it worketh, observeth,
"in working, a most exact
"order or Law" (the "order of the
best.")
"Never was man, says Raleigh, "whose apprehensions are sober, "& by pensive inspection advised, "but hath found by an irresistible 
necessity, one everlasting being, "all for ever causing, & all "for ever sustaining" -- 

And, says South, "it is necessary "in such a chain of causes "to ascend to & terminate in "some first, wh: shd be the "original of motion, & the cause "of all other things, but itself "be caused by none". (`His 

"causeless pow'r, the cause of all things' 
Blackmore

Again, says Hooker, "God which moveth all mere natural agents as an efficient only." 

And "observations of the order of 
nature carry the mind up to the great efficient of the world"
says Hale.

Add Mss 45784

f208

Nature = Author of Nature -- Natura Naturans
   = Creator
Nature = essence or quality
Nature is 'by nature' = spontaneous = produced
   by its proper cause
Nature = established order or proper settled
   course
Nature = constitution, temperament or
   structure
Nature = system of God's works = world
   = universe
Nature = a kind of semideity. In this sense
   it is best not to use it at all.
Boyle

Character = being in action
   nature in action

f209

Query Please return to F.N.
answered

1.
   Is
      final : [To Mr. Jowett?] (To Mr. Jowett
      ultimate : cause synonymous?
      first :
         efficient:
   ----

2.
   Is
      proximate: cause synonymous?
      secondary:

"The religious sense" (by wh: I understand
"the practice of virtue & holiness,
"for the sake of a Being who is
"absolutely good & absolutely holy)
"has ever supplied the perseverance
"necessary for this labour of bettering
"mankind"x ["for the sake of"]
Surely this is the answer to the Positivists --
when they say: What is the good? What is the good

x Paul of Tarsus -- p. 368 [of having a Leader?]
Please return to F.N. 1873

You say to me:
"Things are changed since you & I used to talk of these subjects together: then it was a question what manner of God there was. Now there is the question whether there is a God at all -- or, if there is, can we know anything about Him?"

[This question, & the Positivists who ask it, are really, I believe, as irrational as the Table-turners (so-called `Spiritualists' -- could any one have believed that in 1873 such a controversy could have appeared in the `leading Journal' of the most business-like nation?)

Still, if you think such a question wants answering, let us answer it.

I w'd begin then thus: --

I.
there is a prima facie probability of the recurrence of an event from its having happened several times in succession in that particular manner --
but the probability of a determining cause increases with each recurrence in a far higher ratio than the simple probability of its happening once more (i.e. than the probability of the recurrence itself) --
it is in fact the difference between a geometrical & an arithmetical progression

[I take this out of Herschel's Quetelet: 1850]
E.g. the probability that the sun will rise to-morrow, from its having risen a million times in unbroken succession is as a million to one.

But the probability of its having risen by cause & not by chance is as $2^{1000000}:1$ (2 raised to the millionth power) -- that is, as this enormous number inconceivable in thought to 1 --

[Bayes' theorem]

Thus by the doctrine of probabilities the idea of chance may be expelled from philosophy.

[And the Positivists who invoke positive philosophy & nothing else are in glaring contradiction with their own philosophy.]

Now the cause of the rising of the Sun is: what we call God.

The "probability" therefore of an efficient, a final, a First Cause amounts to a demonstration -- i.e. it is as a number inexpressible in words to 1 --

If it is said: the efficient cause is a "fortuitous concurrence of atoms" (conglomerated as it were into a cause,) again we must call upon the doctrine of probabilities.

This tells us that "Mind" is the cause of events.

And the "Mind" wh: makes the solar system, the mechanism of the heavens -- (makes, that is, the Sun to rise) is: what we call God.
How, then, can it be said that we know nothing of God? --

Do you know, it appears to me, in making this demonstration that it is very like making a demonstration that life is the 'cause' of a living body or that 'mind' is the 'cause' & not my 'bones & muscles' of my writing this.

Still, if you think it necessary & if the manners (I can't call them 'minds') of the day make it necessary, I'm your man.

I can truly say that -- now more especially in my great troubles but -- for the last 20 horrible years, I have scarcely ever looked at the return of day without its being my great support: in this way: -- I say to myself: 'now you can't make the Sun to rise -- So, the course of events wh: you wd so fain guide is out of your power. But the 'Mind', the 'order of the best', wh: makes the Sun to rise is the same wh: guides & orders these events. Don't tear yourself to pieces because you can't alter these events any more than you can prevent the Sun from setting -- Both are in the 'order of the best' -- But you can be the fellow-worker (tho' not the rival) of the 'Mind' wh: is the 'order of the best' --]
As before said, the demonstration that God is, that His `mind' is the `cause' of events, & that we can know something about Him, appears to me as if going back, back, as if Descartes were to say: `now I will begin again to learn my ABC'.

It partakes scarcely of the nature of a demonstration -- it is of the nature of an Axiom, a Postulate, a Definition.

How the Positivists have gone back since Socrates! Old Hooker was a wiser man than they --

Says he:

"the wise, amongst the very heathens themselves, have all acknowledged some first cause, whereupon originally the being of all things dependeth; neither have they otherwise spoken of that cause than as an agent, wh: knowing what & why it worketh, observeth, in working a most exact Order or Law"

[The `final cause' of all things is: that without wh: they cannot be. This being admitted, surely we can then know, by studying the `things' or Laws wh: cannot be without this Final Cause, more of this Final Cause than of aught else."
It is a trite thing to say that to deny it wd be the same as if I were to say that because I had never seen the First Napoleon -- or if I had never seen this unhappy man who is just dead, -- therefore I cd know nothing about him.]

Here is another Definition or Axiom -- it is from Raleigh -- "Never was man", he says, "whose apprehensions are sober, 
"& by pensive inspection advised, 
"but hath found by an irresistible 
"necessity, one everlasting 
"being, all for ever causing 
"& all for ever sustaining". 
And of the same `necessity' South speaks: when he says, 

"it is necessary in such a chain of causes to ascend to & terminate in some first, wh: shd be the original of motion, & the cause of all other things, but itself be caused by none" 
["His causeless pow'r, the cause of all things"]

As above said, this fact is more of the nature of a Postulate than of a Demonstration; -- as when Hooker says again: "God wh: moveth meer natural agents as an efficient only" -- & Hale: "the great efficient of the world"xx -- Surely it is nonsense to say that we can know nothing of this "Great efficient" -- that is, of the Great "efficient's" characteristics -- [we can't know anything of His nature] 

xx "Observations of the order of nature carry the mind up to the great efficient of the world" [Hale]
that we can only know something
of the `meer natural agents' --
Here again is an Axiom wh:
seems incontrovertible:

III.
It has been said that the reason
why we expect (i.e. the `probability')
that the Sun will rise to-morrow
is: that its rising has been
always recurrent, never interrupted.
But you say -- more truly --
that the reason -- & it is a reason of
a force multiplied almost to infinity
-- why we expect the Sun to rise
to-morrow is: the character of God
-- God's being=in=action.

[4]
[This is in fact in popular terms
& applied to the "Great Efficient
of the World" only Bayes' Theorem
wh: shews that for the rising
of the Sun the probability of
there being an `efficient' cause
is: overwhelming.
IV. If it be said that the
rising of the Sun is an arrangement
or Law working by or thro'
secondary causes & contingencies,
nem: con: --
But if it is said that this is all
we can know about it, this
appears nonsense.
"Providential arrangement", as it is
sometimes called by a totally
opposite side,
is: the arrangement of secondary causes & contingencies by "Providence" --
And the probability that this arrangement is by a 'Mind' (commonly called 'Providence') is as has been shewn to the reverse as a number inconceivable in greatness: to 1.
[Probability: not::α:1]

That events do happen according to their calculated chances leads or applies to the discovery of the Great First Cause.
For, why do facts conform to probabilities? The answer is the same as the answer to the common error of supposing that Laws (i.e. facts) govern.
The answer is a definition -- Facts (Laws) don't govern: Laws only register --
The record of facts is not the compelling power.
A record is not an efficient cause Laws are only the record of facts --
the summary: the classification of facts.

So with "probabilities". The doctrine of "probabilities" is in fact the discovery of Laws -- of a "most exact Order"
Is it the 'Order of the best'?
VI.

This seems the real question
the thing wh: wants working out --
"Mind is the cause of all things": quotes Socrates.
"If mind is the cause of all things"
says adds Socrates, "mind must dispose
"them all for the best".
"Order of the best"
("in man & nature")
What needs working out is, is it not?
1. is there this "order of the best"?
   -- what reason have we to shew
   for it? --
2. whether `mind' disposes `all
   things' `for the best' depends
   -- does it not? -- on the character
   of that `mind' --
In other words:
   what is the purpose of God
in making the world? --

"why did God make the world?"
(if He did make it)
"Like man, He must have a purpose" --
And Plato replies:
"and His purpose is the diffusion
   of that goodness or good
wh: He himself is."
That is a beautiful definition --
but it does not seem as if
this co be, like the existence of
the "Great Efficient of the World",
made a subject of definition -- *
(i.e. not of evidence)
May we take for granted that
is the a Perfect Mind,
the "Author of order in his works",
(as Plato says)
or, as we should say:  
that it is this an `order of the best'  
(which is we call Providence)  
wh: makes or orders the Laws:  
    those Laws wh: do not `govern'  
    (that is an incorrect word)  
wh: are only the register, the record,  
the description of what passes  
`in man & nature'.  
`None know', says Socrates  
    [and how little we have discovered  
    since Socrates of the `order  
    of the best' -- nay, how Positivism  
    has gone back.]  
`None know how much stronger  
    than any Atlas is the power  
of the best!'  

Yet the Positivists & many others  
put `Atlas' (that is, what they  
call the `laws of Nature')  
above the `power of the best' --  
that is, above the power of Supreme  
Wisdom & Goodness -- of All Mightiness  
wh: makes the Laws --  
For -- how can a Law make itself? --  
[Or, they say, `we can know nothing  
    about the Supreme Power' --]  
----  
N.B. I would not use that  
    expression `laws of Nature' --  
Or, I would say: laws in nature --  
[It is like the expression:  
"Commissioners of Lunacy"  
wh: looks as if they `commissioned',  
like ships, lunatics.  
"Commrs in Lunacy" they are now called  
And I wd say: laws in nature --
-- Boyle says: "Nature" is often used
as if it were "a kind of semi-deity" --
And "in this sense it is best not
to use it at all" -- Indeed it is.
Certainly
VII The 'Order of the best' -- that is
= That the Creator is leading
every man of us to perfection
is (put thus as an assertion
without any evidence)
only a metaphysical idea? -- is it not?
For history answers, or
is often said to answer, that
man is only a constant
repetition of himself.
[Tho' all these years I have
been supported & only supported
by the belief that I am working
with Him who is bringing every

\[\text{f220v}\]

one to perfection -- (the 'order of the best')
But we must shew some at least
of the laws of this 'Order of the best' by which He is
bringing us to perfection {INSERTED FROM f221:} [this is not a
matter of Definition,]

Axiom or Postulate] -- that
we may know "in whom we have
believed" & know how we know "in
whom we have believed".
Without this, it is nothing but a
metaphysical idea
Moral Philosophy is only
Metaphysical Philosophy -- if it
is not a study of the plan of God
& of the Laws by which His
Moral Government is carried on (described) --
Is His moral Government a
plan for our everlasting progress?
Or are all our generations the
same?
Is not this "what we have to shew?"
ff222-29 NOTES ON LIBERAL THINKERS & CHURCH PENCIL HANDWRITTEN BY NIGHTINGALE

ff222

p. 98  not dillettante amusement
but professional routine
matira medica

" 42. Would you not put in
something about preferring
private judgment to the truth?

p. 99  27  not natural but
prepared or instructed that is just the
point
not brought to it
not forced upon it
waiting in wonder (& working with reverence)
to find out

49
I don't like word "mystery"
unless you explain it.
It has become too Theological --
& 'inscrutable mystery' is often applied
first to that wh: we are bound to
find out
the greatest terror of driving all Liberal thinkers out of ye Church the greatest confidence that only way of reforming a Church is by keeping Liberal thinkers in it not as if Liberals, whether Roman or Anglican, were inspired with fanaticism like Loyola Huss, with zeal like Wesley They might form a Church like the Wesleyans or like the Albigenses -- But they are 'extremely not so' Will the Old Catholics do anything by going out of Will the State " not do much by remaining in the Church: good Catholics obedient to Pope, but throwing back in his teeth his censure: "why don't you introduce politics into your religion?" with: "and pray why do you?" Is it not the very worst thing that can happen for Liberals, who are not going to make a Reformation, to make themselves be called heretics except

the very worst thing that can happen is for Liberals to submit to a political Church-craft disguised as religion -- instead of saying to their Pope or Church: You are the heretic: You are the traitor, political, to our religion -- But we will stay in your (our) Church, & keep you back from your politics which are heresy When E.& R. were called heresy, you shd have said: the Church was heretical for saying so: & have bred up a school of young me clergy (in the Church) to back you. If they cd reform the Church, this the only way to do it. If they couldn't, then make a new Church of your own. Whereas now it's a de-liberalized Church -- versus Liberals without a Church
Add Mss 45784

-- almost without a religion
immensely important at this day that people who think at all should make up their minds -- not just to keep aloof from 'Creeds' & 'Formularies': creating for themselves 'disabilities': but -- in what direction the National Life or Truth is tending if the Church began the same direction but is only lingering some steps behind. So that the 'Creeds' & 'Formularies' may, if possible, not be stripped off as a worn out garment -- but that they, the thinkers, may breathe into them new life & bring them her up to the front -- Then might not they stay in the Church?

To illustrate: it has often been said that a celibate clergy cannot make progress: because they hold nowhere to the National Life.

[I don't know about that -- it has been experience in history that the celibates are the real fathers & mothers of the human race -- But] when 'Liberal' thinkers doubt whether they can conscientiously remain in her the Church themselves: or can advise the young to enter her: how
how

is it possible that a National Church can
imbibe or make progress with the National
Life, if all those who most strongly
represent the progressive National Life go out of her?
if all those who most impress progress
upon the National Life that moment
persuade others not to enter her?

Wd it not be a higher thing to do, if they
endeavoured to 'educate' the National Church
i.e. to stretch & modify her 'Creeds', 'Formularies'
& Forms of Worship? & bring them up to the thoughts
of the day?

It is quite another thing if they intend to
create a new Church of their own --

It is also quite another thing if they consider
the Ch: altogether so riven to a dead mould.
So in prison: so chained to Procrustes' bed:
so advancing in an opposite or retrograde direction:
that she can't be mended: that all they
can do is to escape from her: like Bp-White

Every man must decide that in his own
conscience.

But the mere negative acquiescing in disabilities
seems the most brilliant plan expressly
struck out for preventing all progress in
any Church: a plan for people not to think.
It is like the notable plan educational system which used to obtain in my youth: our families being would be Unitarians: -- or rather as Canning said my godfather [grandfather?] did in the Ho. of C.

"On a course of Theology Dissenters"

the system was to put their sons at Ch. of E. Schools -- when prayers were read, the young outcasts absconded by rule.

This exemption from prayer: no other religious instruction being provided: bore the full fruits that might have been foreseen --

Was there ever a cleverer expedient to teach not to think or to feel?

Mr. Rogers doesn't like the "disguise of a clergyman".

O would that under the "disguise of clergy-men", thinking men wo stay in the poor old Church & reform her! Otherwise the sooner she ceases to be, the better.
No comfort that "matters settle themselves" -- that we shall endure, while she goes to the bottom, if she does --
O when a soul goes down into hell: tho' the place closes up behind her, & perhaps even goes on better without her, there is no comfort but to know that she too, even thro' hell, is on her way to perfection, like us all --
And without this faith, I could not live: I could not work --
I cannot think how any body can.
Not the wickedness but the indifference of this world that is so surprising
How can 'Liberal' thinkers be so indifferent?
If they have thought something out, how can they make a thought which should be a quickener into a disability for themselves, a Parish Pound or Pillory for others? [end 3:622]

Apropos not 'de bottes':
as your Visitor has no legal authority over you:

might you not now run like the 'Wilde' & do what you like as to Services?
Half the educated world has no religion at all. The other half love Christ & have a good deal of feeling against you for which you are trying to take away. You only hot that feeling: that hatred [illeg] you: that fright of you by what you say against Ath: Creed which doesn't do them a great deal of harm. And all that is in it that does do them harm you make do them more harm by your invectives -- You increase their belief in it. There's one of the cleverest men in the world J.H. Newman who has said the most absurd thing: The Church has not spoken: why: because you & such as you drive them into it. Do leave off hotting that feeling by talking of the 39 articles -- the Ath: Creed.
f231

Half the conduct of life depends upon conclusions for which we can have no "irresistible evidence" when called to act upon them.

No discovery wd ever have been made if discoverers had waited for "irresistible evidence". They go to look.
Why is not the same true in Religion? [end 3:620]

f232
Sheet 3. p. 2. bottom lines "or that he will alter his universal laws in order to avert some calamity from us" --

That appears to be the Liberal mistake.

Is it not rather that "His universal laws" are "IN ORDER" "to avert" all "calamity from us"?

Is it not, so to speak, that, if `we' were the only persons in the world, & if one the smallest title of "His laws" were other than what it is, `we' should not be on our way to Perfection & happiness? i.e. the worst "calamity" wd be ours? --

Is not this (so-called "Liberal") doctrine that God's laws go their way & we must bear it as mistaken as the Catholic doctrine of answered prayer?
"God's Laws" are "to avert calamity" "from us" -- for that & for nothing else
Sheet 4. p. 2. "laws of nature"

Is there not the same quid pro quo here?

If you put: laws of God, does it not make it all right?

`Our Father' the author of the "fixed laws" of the His Moral & Physical worlds, HE IT IS to whom we pray: In becoming acquainted with His "fixed laws", we can pray to Him all the more: & trustingly -- because `we know in whom we have trusted' --

Thus only is he really `our Father', our eternal, our infinite Father -- And we have to learn to consider Him thus -- Thus only is does "the light of the nineteenth century" real light

"prayer as men may use living in the light of 19th "cent" & not in days when men were ignorant of fixed laws of nature"

Sheet 3. p. 4

"Universal Law" -- "Sparrows"

Yes: because it is the 'Universal Law' that which cares for the `Sparrows' -- which counts the `hairs' -- it is not as if these things were contradictions, were anomalies, were "and yets" --

It is the same thing the "Reason wh: contains all laws" & among them the sparrows -- i.e. the law wh: takes care of the sparrows

He of whom Xt says "sparrows" "hairs numbered" -- and yet also the Universal Law, the mind or reason wh: contains all Laws" -

See A `Note' of Interrogation
Add Mss 45784

Fraser May 1873
Page 573 & 574
Add Mss 45784

§234

The only thing sure to happen is the unexpected.

§235

I don't in the least agree that "the great moral truths are well known" -- In my day an entire Revolution has taken place in the meaning of the "moral truth" Charity. And I am afraid it will come to mean -- refusing a Beggar -- because people like Stephen are tumbling over the horse the other side.

Wie Gott giebt mir
So geb' ich dir

Ajoutez quelquefois et souvent effacez:
   Boileau's advice to authors
   in revising their compositions
Add Mss 45785

Add Mss 45785, microfilm, 224 folios, 204 pages,

ff1-43, pencil Notes on Jowett's translation of Plato's Republic,
ff44- correspondence and notes

f1

Republic

{main text:}

p.2 Para 2 middle:
   Divisions "Six in Number".
   qy 5 (five) *
End middle

p. 4.8 idea of good/p.147* idea of the Perfect God leading all to Perfection/   /{arrow up to partial circle, top rt.:}
p.148* law = design
       = final cause
law, leading to Perfection
v. Quetelet

{separated from previous insertion and main text by wavy line:}
p.149*
idea of good = God
= law = order
p.154*/
pp. 99, 101 (p. 10/
= perfection = harmony
World = perfect

{at right:} p. 65 summit
   above virtues
   This recurs continually in Republic
p. 64 a perfect man in a perfect state
   Why do you find fault with me
   & not with Plato?
It seems to me that I have spoken
prose without knowing it:
I think this is what Mr. Mohl means when he
says Plato almost alone in East or
West had an idea of perfect God
So
p.8 near bottom My Quetelet
p. 62 Plato says that Sophists, like "Times"
   newspapers are the "representatives"
|   "leaders" p. 73 public
|   rather than the "corruptors" of the
|   opinion
world "give back to the world their own opinions"
"make public opinion the test of truth" p.62
I think I have heard myself say some
thing like that: & Mr. Jowett beat
me

{vertically at left where indicated by |:}
Philosophy
Add Mss 45785

p. 62 . politics of the "Times"- first half page should be learnt by heart [re the "representative" of this family's influences.]

p. 73.

f1v

p. 8 line 4 from bottom
I am glad to see that Plato says that the time has now come for Mr. Jowett who has passed his whole life in philosophy to give his own opinion and not to be always repeating the notions of other men. I have always concurred with Plato in this.

p. 9 line 3 from top
Also: I concur with Plato in this: Why does /a deep thinker like/ Mr Jowett reject the consideration of the nature of family relations. in his 30 or 40 years of public teaching?

p. 12 I concur also with Plato where he says that Mr. Jowett after the fashion of some Homeric heroes, is excellent above all men in perfidy.

f2

p. 12 Do you remember the Persian poet-philosopher who uses exactly those words as regards God & the doctrine of future punishment? if He renders one evil for evil at all (which will only make men more evil) in what is He better than I who have done the evil? End I think if I were you I would bring out this /at the End/ as an illustration of what you mean by justice in God. (I avoid saying "character" of God, because I have received such severe flagellations from Mr. Jowett for doing so: see p. 3 side 4

p. 12 X elsewhere p. 26

4 dots at beginning of Para: If this is to represent that Mr. Jowett begins here
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\textbf{f2v}

to speak, I should prefer a space to these unmeaning 4 dots.
p. 14 4 dots middle of line Ought there not to be a N.P.
End p. 14 line 5 from top should bring out this
Gracious Majesty
language of the East
to Tyrant whether God or man.

End or Summing up: rather scanty.

|p. 14 | Satire on Parliamentary Cabinets |
| methinks I have been whipped for |
| saying this |

\{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Government

p. 14 "governors of mankind are disinterested "because &c. 
| I do not see that Plato says this: |
| does he not say that |
| "governors of mankind do not like being in office, because they receive pay"

\{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Misprints

It is the argument eternally hurled against me by the R.C.s because their Soeurs are not paid.
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End or Summary

p. 15 Two great observations or principles /truths/
1. There is no kingdom of evil in this world
2. it is the truth, in erroneous religions, which prevails - not the error p. 102

p.16 3. justice the instrument {wavy line leads to:} Non Utilitarianism

p. 22

happiness the result or inseparable accident

4. virtue /or ideal/ in action active, not passive
{in column at right under active: not feelings & intentions as Evangls say Comprehends the whole relations of man

P.22

Aristotle p. 45 justice = virtue relative to others

5. evil: negation
   good: finite
   perfect: infinite
   |p. 40 bottom not original sin
   |p. 17 6. law: only the impossibility of doing injustice St. Paul's law

   Ballot

   {vertically at left where indicated by |:} Government
   {in semicircle at left:}
   p.p. 110, 1, 2, 5, 128 & his contraries p. p. 91, 100
   {linked to note in semicircle by a line:}
   p. 125 St. Paul {then to:} p. 149* command & reflection

   shd not do what they like but serve the state /common good/ top of p. 18 weave up the character of the just p. 76
   I would summarize or add up. What is said throughout by Plato of his idea of the just man: tested in the refiner's fire p. 65
   {smaller, between preceding 2 lines:}
   unjust: tyrant /royal master of himself p. 112 cf. p. 8 (4 side this conception one of the if not the most striking part of the Republic
   Like Isaiah's Christ: /& St. Paul's love of God p. 125/
   {at right:}Rulers shd be saviours 39, 40, 54,
   Supt p.p.p. 35

   He who rules best is he who loves best: & has been tried by many tests & come out of them in full command of himself
Add Mss 45785

**f3v**

p. 18  7. denounces making reputation
p. 28  or reward /or fear of hell/ incentive to virtue
       in this world or the next
Need of virtue: idleness
       also in Mahometanism & in orthodox
       Xtianity
p. 19  Musaeus & Orpheus & the Fathers
       & priests
p. 28  Book III Hell: fear of hell the reverse
       of inspiring (to heroes): Xtian orthodoxy
End: Summary
Plato means by poets = priests
       passim p.p. 19, 129, 21, 25, 26
Sacrifices  all so many
indulgences = arguments in favour of injustice
atonements (how true this is)
mysteries
p.21 Jewish x, R.C., Evangelical priests {## line leading to f4, below} p. 21
   ideal of happiness in misery
p. 25x Abraham, Jacob, Elijah killing the /false/ prophets
       David, these priests' lates are what
       Plato means by poets' lates, "bad lies"
p. 26: Poets = priests here preaching strange
       Gods ('bad lies')
       the 'lie in the soul' - p. 27.

**f4**

in connection with above
p. 19
   How to make the best of both worlds
   via priests
   via injustice + good manners
Priests: to show us the way to /do sin without suffering by it/ (joined by
       arrow to:) not to feel no bad consequence without leaving
       it off
profit by
sin & not to reap the /avert any bad/ consequences to
ourselves
Priests: like poets: & like Doctors of
       rich men & fine ladies
Priests: to show us how not to leave off
       sinning: how to have the good effects
       of good without being good
Raleigh: /go tell/ the Church
       it shows
       What's good "And does no good".
   {a curvy line here leads back to f3v above ending at ##}
p. 29x. Gifts persuade the gods
       e.g. the whole system of gifts to the Temple
       [the sacrifices of God are a broken & contrite spirit]" " of gifts to the Pope & St. Peter's
Add Mss 45785

go on to p. 4

f4v

[p. 20 query instincts
| not instincts
|
{written vertically at left where indicated by |:} Misprints
p. 21 Is Mr. Jowett undergoing for the first time the Socratic interrogation? What is your Theodike? how do you justify the ways of God to Man?

p. 21

8
| characteristic of the present day
| the unjust must appear just
| & always have a moral reason
| for doing what they like
{vertically at left where indicated by |:}
II
Just Man

p. 22

9 that politics are the ethics of States
| not the confusion
| of ethics & politics you wrong him
{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Government

{above and to right of this, separated by wavy line:}
p. 152x Yes yes
top 3 lines

the error of politics & of Ecclesiastical religion has it not been excluding ethics? Anglican Church directed against an error has become an error
{in a column at right separated from next point by wavy line:}
p. 152* after "political insert (& Ecclesiastical Maxims.
line 10 from top

p. 24

10
| mere health only = to be a pig
| go on to p. 3 side 3
{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Body & mind
Add Mss 45785

**f4v addendum**
{the following text appears on f6 FN's "p. 3 side 3", original location marked by ### below:}

p. 26 bottom

- take out that "device of style" this minute.
- Mr. Jowett undergoing the Socratic interrogation

| For is it? /is it/ not much more than this? |
| is it not the suggestion of |
| bodily} {mental |
| health} = {phys |
| luxury} = {disease |
| mental} {bodily |
{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Body & Mind

Wh: Macaulay only renews 2000 years afterwards & is yet unsolved?

**f5**

p. 25  
Mr. Jowett undergoing the /un=/Socratic interrogation

//

Passion or animal spirits or enthusiasm or convictions e.g. convictions about evils Wh. we want to correct are the secret of courage.

Then courage /wh: has no worthy exercise/ makes devourers in families: & those who have no courage but only philosophy are devoured.

For single women in families

| have either only philosophy or only |
| courage: & as the /latter/ have not enough |
| to do, they take to governessing their |
| parents & sisters or if married |
| women without children & /with/ much courage & activity they may take |
| to governessing 3 families at once |

Philosophy is the parent of Gentleness: but without convictions it does not do much - but get devoured

{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Philosophy
p. 25

12 first & greatest principle—
greatest & best of Plato's truths
(this & the just man)
that God is the author of good only
cp p.85 (not as Zoroaster & J. S. Mill say
of good & evil) & as Xtian priests
& Jewish  "
the Jewish Jehova

= God is perfect
and the second principle is like unto this.
12 (2) With God is no variableness
or shadow of turning
He is Truth -
i.e. a. He is Goodness
b. He is Truth

{at right beside "He is Truth" etc., in semi-circle:}
P. 154*
p. 149*
God is true  {three dots for therefore}
not an abstraction

p. 27   Does this not connect itself
with what he has just said
that God is absolutely true?
God is TRUTH: we can only be true:
true even by appearing sometimes to be
false or partial/ like the shield/ or rather that Truth

{joined by a wavy line to balance of thought on f6 noted at ** below:}
is not Truth if told so as to
convey a false impression≠ (? is struck out twice)

    is TRUTH if told in a fable
    tho' not true
Jehovah: a lie
The 'lie in the soul': this is not
Remaining in the Church: that is only appearing to be false.

{** - Text originally written here has been moved to f5v as intended by FN

**f6v**
p.27 surely more than touches of "humours"
    Character not God
p.28 Socratic interrogatory of Mr. Jowett
    the Character of God
    he has used even the word
    What does he mean?
p.29 bottom
    character of the Sons of God
p.34 God not bribed
p.12
p.42 It is not the "greatest happiness of the greatest number" but the greatest happiness of ALL which is the object & result of the Divine Govt.
[I thought we agreed upon this Theodikè]
My son, you must take out that -
    Utility is not the basis of Morality.
But I agree with the orthodox that there can be none of the highest morality without Religion. & that there can be no real Religion (disagreeing here with the orthodox) except by believing that a
Perfect God is working out perfection
for ALL
You say that this is an "insufficient
interpreter of the appearances of this
world"
I say: the "appearances of the world
are just the reverse
Nay What's more it is actually
not the appearances, the conviction
of EVIL Wh: are so great that
they must lead us to look for the
Perfect plan - are not they?
[I think this whole Para: confused]
e.g. the "first principle"--What?
p. 85 idea of God as Author of perfection
p. 43 Religion must be based on the
highest conception of God. i.e. on
the conception of a Perfect God.
This, the true definition of Religion,
Add Mss 45785

f7v

is to be found in Plato alone - not to be found in Christianity. [I shd bring this out most forcibly] p.p 85,6 idea of good or common principle of truth & being = idea of God as = the Author of Perfection: = Universal Law {these three lines linked by curved line indicated by | above and linked to a note within another curved line:}

- p. 152*

over {may refer to text on f8v}

Platonic idea of good seems to be : God by Law working out Perfection - have you any right to call this an 'abstraction'? {The above statement beginning p.p 85,6 and apparently ending with abstraction? inserted by an arrow at this point--exact end of thought is for editor. The actual location of text will be indicated ** below.}

p. 49 a small remark

"Two contradictions" true ???

You are continually told: "With God nothing is impossible"

Yes: self-contradiction is with Him impossible

And this explains much of his Govt. It would be a contradiction to make us perfect thro' suffering without suffering

{** text: "pp.85,6 to abstraction?" appeared here, see above}

f8

p. 67 cp p.75

highest morality can't be without Religion the idea of goodness & Truth other than themselves God = Sun Holy Spirit = Truth the cause of growth not in knowing only but in BEING Plato here soars far above himself in other places: where he makes Knowledge = Virtue this thought indeed 'more than human'

p. 69 constructive instead of interrogative - [?exceeding being. unintelligible p 67]

p. 84 Education} becoming to p. 76 } being

p. 154* Para 2

religious education (religion)

bound up "with truth & virtue"
Is it not "truth & virtue"?

p. 152* goodness must be fostered by the contemplation of the idea (Supreme Being) of good = God. Is not there truth in the idea that there can be no Morality without Religion? (and /but/ also there can be no Religion without Morality) The highest Morality can never be without the love & appreciation of the Perfect. Wh: we cannot find to love in Humanity (Positivism nonobstante) but only in God i.e Supreme Wisdom & Goodness -

from p.2
Sir T. More p. 161*
Poets = priests
Poets = priests = friends of tyrants how true in this day
p. 30 poets say that wicked prosper:
Then what is a true definition of prosperity? [Socratic interrogation
p. 103 poets = priests = friends of tyrants how true in this day
p. 30,1 - acting (a) /p.130/ So with acting in one's own life) that man cannot both live & act
Surely this is all very plain & sincere & very applicable even to modern times: this view of Plato's against poetry /mighty issue at stake - the good or evil of soul p. 123 All poetry, Novels, Art, Criticism except Heroic & Religious poetry p. 123./
The finding a moral reason to do Whatever we like, the "acting": banes of present day as of his.- A man cannot live his life & act it It is simply Plato's way of exposing Shams, is it not? -
(b) And is it not also what I say
about Novels: that they have no Ideal: & about Shakspeare that he has no heroic women?
Do not people, especially women, not only become what they act: but they become what they read: pictures: shams:
& people, especially women, read now a days nothing but Novels & Newspapers?

p. 32. still upon Poetry & Art Style depends upon subject & subject upon the simplicity & harmony of the soul it is the reflection of Are not [Socratic interrogation] Style & Subject now almost severed?—For either we have Browning's incomprehensible style: or style without subject like Tennyson, Swinburne (except Atalanta) Rosetti etc

And none have the simplicity of Nature's forms. Actually far inferior poets & women too (half a century ago) Mrs. Hemans, Mrs. Barbauld, Emily Taylor had more of what Plato would call Nature's simplicity & harmony: /& Moore/ /& even old Watts/
See Mrs. Hemans' Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers: Moore's Eastern bird Watts How fine hath the day been And pictures: how much of meanness: the Mustard pot: the Shah's donkey: how much of unseemliness: the Plague: Delilah: how much of extravagance: [Elty?] And shall we not have to say this of all the Novels of the present day. /To wake the soul by tender strokes of Art p.123-/ Our Author [of what author can we say this now?] shuns by vulgar springs to move The hero's glory or the virgin's love In pitying love we but our weakness show and wild ambition will deserve its woe
What springs in Novels are not 'vulgar' now? And heroes, vulgar or \textit{great}, wild, are utterly ignored by them at present. Novels pp 122,3 - paints inferior truth /injuriously excites the feelings/

And Music: also p. 41. top

What can be said of the Opera & the Ballet: & what they are fallen to Rossini's Guillaume Tell is now unknown, unsung.

And all that is not unseemly, or extravagant or enervating has taken refuge in the oratorio Music has made an \underline{un}=fair ending with Love

True Love is the daughter of Temperance of heroic Virtues \{\textit{False love} \} p.109 \{\textit{Monster love}\}

as in Novels-

I could not love thee, dear, so much loved I not honour more & not of Novels- or Music- as they are now

Music is now a deteriorating influence And Passion becomes nervous irritability: in consequence of Music & Novels
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f11

[4a]
p. 130 "ideal interest to a blacksmith's or
carpenter's shop"-
Yes: but also Art has lost its Ideal
by Novelists & painters having no
± higher ideal than idealizing
blacksmiths mustard pots & asses -
It is not as if Art painted a
Christ in a carpenter, as Holman
Hunt has tried to do:
it is rather the reverse, they
have degraded a Christ to a
carpenter, taken the commonest
forms & souls & tried to interest
in them like a tour de force
till now there seems scarcely
any ideal in Art: & Pausanias &
Mr. Jowett see nothing in the
Génie Adorant but Mr. Darbyshire
returning thanks after the Boat Race
at the Lord Mayor's dinner
Even Mr. Darbyshire who declines
the dinner is better than they

f11v

p. 130 it does not seem to me
that the antagonism of Plato to poetry
was levelled at the Greek tragedians
or the Godlike Aeschylus
but at what we call priests
/& the Sophists p. 131/

{after "& he..." a line is drawn that runs across the f, down centre and across
f12 beneath "What Balzac said he did"}
p. 131 Music
"elevated by Music"
or lowered by the Opera -
Does the modern stage lower or raise
us most?
Guillaume Tell is raising
Is Lytton Bulwer?
Indeed, is Shakspeare?

See 4b
Old Italian life of Petrarch:
aïf description of struggle between
Sensualism. [he had 2 illegitimate
children by different women -
while sonnetting his Laura -
Add Mss 45785

real & desperate his remorse]
& the ideal love of his Laura
Add Mss 45785

f12
/p. 131/ So are Novelists – the only real Art of
this day, the Sophists of this day:
Balzac & Miss Braddon
It is said that Balzac has had a
large share in forming the Communist
Red young man of the present Paris
And then you tell me of Middlemarch
Oh she paints what she finds
That is just What Balzac said he did

And you say
p. 132 What the vocation of Art is
to do
And I say
but does it?
And I say
do Novels ever depict "heroes" now?
Is that woman Dorothea a "hero"?
I don't agree in the least
The styling "love" an "illusion"
    tho' a sweeping assertion
mollifies me from exclaiming:
that modern love in modern novels
neither "humanizes" nor "strengthens"—
for "fairly" read not, printed in small caps.

The "charms" of poetry have
"been transferred to prose"—
Then why does not "prose", &
Notably the Novel, take up the
mantle of poetry?

Take out this minute the Para:
"The philosopher" to "value".
I don't at all agree - I think /p. 146*/ the
   field of Love as Two in One

& One in God, So far from being
exhausted is as yet untrod
I think so far from "feelings of love"
being now "estimated at their proper
value" that they have yet to
be "estimated" as an incentive
to great heroic deeds—
Some approach was made
to this in the Age of Troubadours
& Chivalry & by dear Don Quixote,
/& by Dante & Petrarch,/ /see 4a (side 2)
When the Lady was never to be
united to her Lover but to
stir him on to deeds of Heroism
for ever:
    it has now disappeared.
Ste Beuve: Mme. de Longueville. Rochefouct
   Here is a new untrodden sphere for
Poetry in Prose or Verse entirely unknown
to the present day
f13v

My son, an you love me take
out that mean calumny
Blaspheme not against Love.
p. 133 Art on a level with philosophy
or Religion
Did you write this in your sleep?
Not "on a level": any more than
Words are on a level with Ideas.
Art is an expression; it may be
a 'false & imperfect' one: or a true
& perfect one
Words in Novels now have no ideal,
religious or philosophical
You are as bad as Plato with his
poets: because the present
Religious Novel is the worst of all
'religious ideals', therefore you would
have none of them-

f14

My son, if you don't take out
that page, I'll Sue you under
Ld Campbell's Act.
p. 133 "Mahommedans" "have renounced
"the use of pictures & images"
but not of architecture-
Mosques are the highest kind
of Art: the one true representation
of the One God: the Glory of God
in the highest: the most high of
the Most High:
higher than any Christian Art or
Architecture as you would
Say if you had seen the Mosques
of Cairo!
{faint smaller writing at right;
(This goes into [illeg] vol. 3.145)
p. 133 "to express the highest truth &
purest sentiment" O yes yes yes
yes!
p. 139
   Why do not modern "writers of fiction"
write like Plato with a high
ideal?

" " Plato continually refers to
the 'Son of a king' becoming
'a philosopher'?  
   Had he any 'intuition' of
Bouddha?  
   But Bouddha left his
king-ship.
   And so would Plato's have
done.

p. 3 (10)
   {at top right separated from text with a partial bracket:}
   p. 55 the soul which was the owner fled
   p. 32
   | p. 32
   | And soul is the cause
   | & body the effect--
   | Darwin nonobstante
   {vertically at left where indicated by |:} Body & mind
   body Servant of the mind: /to be trained to its/
   /service p. 155*/ /p. 84 p 154*/ {this last insertion joined by a wavy line to
   "Plato" below, indicated by #)
   p. 33 {below:} /34/ And oh how true what Plato says
   p. 155* of Law & Medicine: p. 41
   {in a circle angled beneath p. 41:) /p. 13-4/
   Teach that, my son, to your young
   Lawyers & Doctors
   & that the Detective is not the Judge
   & that Virtue may know vice: but vice
   cannot know virtue p. 156* p. 38
   p. 119 One always wonders that Plato {#}
gets so far & no farther:
he is really the best refuter of Darwin:
   he always seems on the brink of the
Great discovery
   that the soul makes the body, not the /body the soul/
   that the soul 'informs' the body. not the
body the soul
   that God makes things make themselves
   - a much more Godlike attribute than making them.
& not as Darwinians fancy dethroning God-
that he does not "make new beasts out of old" [over
Add Mss 45785

**f15v**

Summary

p. 37 Summary not at all exhaustive (perhaps not meant to be so) But it has a bad effect to "sum up" at all if you do not sum up exhaustively: to bring out "lesser points" if you do not bring out the greater
e.g. 2 theory of Art "His views may be" not "summed up as follows".

See p.p. 26, 30, 31, 32 for what I have said mean

p. 38.3 not exhaustive

See p. 34 Virtue may know vice but 4 & 5 sum up (not like this)

-- from previous notes

**f16**

p. 38 differences in natures of men existing together in a single state

| AHC used to say we had no occasion |
| to go to heaven or hell: for he saw heaven & hell existing together in this world |

{vertically at left where indicated by |:}

Government from p. 5

p. 119 that Man may be like God in this & Mankind may create Mankind

p. 155* Plato's whole idea that the body depends upon the mind. Mind informs the body:

but this is {after "but" a line indicates that the next words should be:} his ideas of marriage are in diametrical opposition to this & are {insertion marked here and line drawn up to balance of text after previous strike out} /a diabolical inconsistency/

with this

p. 154* bottom he is always separating 2 things which must go together: and this is akin to his great mistake about marriage

{the following text marked $#=# appears higher up on the page but is marked for insertion at this point:}

#He talks the greatest sense about the whole: parts of a whole: the body & cannot be without the mind p. 155* & the greatest nonsense in making the
Add Mss 45785

| greatest event of human life or social life
| /marriage &/
| the propagation of mankind depend upon
the smallest & lowest part of a whole p. 119#

{vertically at left where indicated by |:}
Body & mind

f16v
p. 43 top
"charming" habits not "Patients"
Government 2.6
p. 43-5 13
I should bring out these invaluable
principles or definitions or maxims
that Policy = a regard to the whole
interests of the State
to have the Courage of your opinions
that Unity springs from Temperance
p.p. 44, 40, 32, 48
& above all
that the Object of Law = every /not p. 17. 6/ man to have his own
of Trade = every man to do his own business
Injustice = every man doing another's business
p. 48 which tries to rule & not to serve
Justice = perfect order = right man in
the right place p. 48
p. 45 = virtue relative to others: Aristotle
p. 46 = law = order = harmony
cp p.p. 16, 22, 39, 42, 45
p. 47 that Passion may be the Ally of Reason
enthusiasm
p. 69?? he will think more of human life as a link [6]

p. 50 Summing up of this p. 68, 9 very poor

14 p. 112 reason solely given to attainment of truth not reputation
the want of search after truth in modern argument & conversation
only seeking in what one's interlocutor says for what will support one's own argument: not seeking in discussion for the truth
he who kills the truth is a murderer

See p. 58 principles not persons
= his eye fixed on the eternal order p. 64 moulding himself & others on Divine image = lover of God Yes. Yes: Yes

p. 160*

{in column at right:} not an atheist strange misapplication
a Philosopher = not a lover of opinion of the {below:}

/many/ /p. 68/
= believer in the idea
p. 62 = spectator of all time & existence

p. 68 Eclecticism: love of opinion & discussion & controversy p. 68
merely, not of truth. the bane of the day: degenerates from the widest Eclecticism into love of my opinion
See the great mass of modern dissension cp p p 82-3
See p. 57 Philosophy = the love of truth, /p. 65/ of knowledge -- not of opinion, of discussion
knowledge = of something that is -
opinion = of something that is or is not
See p. 59 Love of knowledge - not of opinion or discussion: characteristic of philosopher
Add Mss 45785

f17v

p. 51  cp. p. 12 (3

12 a

15  Woman question

hitis at /Goes to/ the root at once

if the same employments, then same education

misprint p. 51 p. 53 v, p. 59

Honi soi-t ?nine (ten

accidental differences

these differences between men as

between men & women

f18

p. 51

16  family relations

p. 53

It is difficult to have patience to go

into this notorious blunder & fallacy.

But I think you ought not to go into it

unless you distinctly mention that God

has distinctly provided by His Laws that

anything /even/ like Plato's plan ends, & that

soon, in the destruction of the race.

Plato does not know that Crêches

are the death & deterioration, the slaughter-

houses of the infants: not their nurseries.

See mortality of 90 per cent in the

Good Soeurs Creches & in all the French

inventions. What a fool a woman

is to commit Infanticide, said an

eminent French Doctor: When she can

do it so much more safely & agreeably

to herself by putting the child out to nurse

that exactly in /a ten fold/ proportion as each

child has not its own mother, its chances

of death & deterioration are multiplied
What is the best? What the best possible? The "might be" & the "can be"
Ideal & Real
p. 53 that as a lying-in woman has more chance in the worst home of life than in the best Hospital
So a child has more chance in any but the very worst home than in the best Institution See ourselves returning to the Boarding out system - to imitating the family - tho' we have some Union Schools the best in the World My experience: Mrs. Senior's Leavesden: Workhouse Infirmaries See Infant Mortality in masses See Bentham's Ass. O ass, ass, ass-
p. 153* Para 2 Bentham's nonsense. The child must be managed by the mother: not by mothers: or by mothers being managed Then Plato is of course entirely in, laying down the law about ages of ignorant of the laws discovered by Quetelet by which sex of child depends on relative ages of parents.
then the strange mistake about mothers not to suckle their own children.

As if with the greatest care in selecting the Nurse We did not know that She could only be a miserable make-shift for the mother.

As if God did not know best—had not provided for this—

& the mother's milk were not adapted for her own child & no other.

"ascribe to chance what is really the invention of" God.

Were men & women left to a really free "selection", "natural affinity" in marriage by meeting freely in work instead of /in/ play under Chaperones, or in vice {below:}/without Chaperones,/ [Plato's legitimatizing vice, poetizing crime, far more curious than any of Dr. Balzac's or G- Sand's Novels]

the "invention" of God would be Seen & neither the "invention of the rulers" Nor "chance" nor "an ingenious system of lots"

a quarrel in a family

he has just abolished the 'family' & then is obliged to come back to it
Add Mss 45785

£20v

18
| p. 56 | p. 11(3) | p. 118 | Eternity begins in time & will not begin except we make it in time /cp Education Patterns 8/ The Ideal & the Real.
| p. 71 | the friend of man holding communion with the Eternal {vertically at left where indicated by |:}

Education

19
p. 57 well= meaning
do= nothing

20
p. 59 | p. 116 | patterns of what is perfect
p. 85 | idea of good

2:85 in compliment to Plato for having early conceptions of things. Still more will he be struck with the comprehensiveness of view which led Plato, at a time when these sciences hardly existed, to say that they must be studied in relation to one another, and to the idea of good, or common principle of truth and being.
FN marginal comment: that is to the idea of God as the Author of perfection. p. 86. 1873
2:86 opposite: And those who see in modern times the world pervaded by universal law, may also see a faint anticipation of this last word of modern philosophy in the Platonic idea of good, which is the source and measure of all things, and yet only an abstraction.
FN comment: ??? [in large]
in margin: p. 85 Platonic idea of good seems to be: God by law leading to perfection.

2:87 opposite intro on cave: The allegory has a political as well as a philosophical meaning. The den or cave represents the narrow sphere of politics or law...and the light of the eternal ideas is supposed to exercise a disturbing influence on the minds of those who return to this lower world. In other words, their principles are too wide for practical application; they are looking far away into the past and future, when their business is with the present....The difference between the politician turned into a philosopher and the philosopher turned into a politician is symbolized by the two kinds of disordered eyesight, the one which is experienced by the captive who is transferred from darkness to day, the other of the heavenly messenger who voluntarily for the good of his fellow men descends into the den.
FN comment: Christ. Osiris.
FN marginal comment: Cave. Practical

p. 89 divine creations perfect: human creations decline - p. 107
p. 61 | 21 | the Great First Cause
p. 79 Astronomy does not map Him to us: that is
Add Mss 45785

only a sort of clever juggler: it is Supreme Wisdom
/p. 80 except it be with a view to the good,
/ & Justice
& Goodness we have to seek
cf. p. p. 42, 3 (p. 30
p. 61 22
Strongest natures most influenced
by circumstances: /sometimes to that /such a/ degree/ as to reform them p.
70
Plato's discovery versus modern theorists
p. 70 finer natures more dragged down
by bad conditions most true
p. 63 degenerating in a strange sort
" " man can only attain highest development
among fellow-workers.

[f21]

[p. 70 22 cp p. 75
" yet the thesis &c &c
" For the alien conditions to "another".
Yes: but I think this is only another
Side, a supplementary view of what
he says.
The weaker or coarser nature will
take the better elements out of the
'alien condition', be nourished by
them & never think of amending
it
This is not the Reformer's nature
The stronger & finer nature
becomes either a misanthrope or
a Philanthrope: Sometimes,
often both. It may be
totally crushed & corrupted: or
it may be under certain circum-
stances or with certain elements in
itself so driven & repelled by the
alien condition that it re-acts
altogether: & breaks away
Sometimes into great good -
Sometimes into great bad
Sometimes into both.
This is the Reformer's nature.
Thousands of Augustinian monks
had been brutified
Luther broke away-

One may touch cursorily on this point:
that the "alien conditions" are only
"alien" to the stronger & finer natures:
The weaker & coarser generally like:
& find enough to feed upon in
these "conditions"-
When one of the stronger is thoroughly
repelled & stimulated by disgust of
these "conditions"-
then comes the Reform-
But alas! Many victims before the Reformers:
many unconscious martyrs-

O let us be not victims but
Sacrifices: offered to Heaven: not
conquered by evil!
It is always a curious question to
watch in history how long will
people, & ought they to, submit
to persecution, either religious or
political: (often degenerating under
disabilities)? [the Pilgrim Fathers
did not degenerate: they went
to a new country /& became a vast nation/: the French
Huguenots /were both massacred &/ degenerated: they came
to London: into & became Spitalfields
weavers]
And when if ever they
will & ought to rise against it
& secure 'Freedom to worship God'?
is it not notorious if we would but know that millions of the finer natures become brutified by family relations: one only breaks thro' them? [I am not satisfied with Mr. Jowett’s answer: about "healing influences" in the Family: as if God had made the Family to be a Hospital]

p. 84 true education becoming to being p. 115 to give them self control gaining experience: then to return to ordering himself after perfection: grand idea

{in circle:} p. 156* scamped

Fashionable & Real Education (Rousseau)
p. 75. p. 87 must be practical not only {below:} ideals
p. 76 must not live in the heaven (or hell) of ideas
p. 78 education not knowledge but purification
{below; thoughts linked by lines down right side of page:}
/p. 127 to teach a man to choose the good Education to comprehend the whole of life
Another Education in next world/
p. 66 24 precise about trifles p. 152*
inaccurate about the highest truths life a lie martinet about words the lie in the soul p. 27 (3 3rd side) {perhaps refers to f5v}
{below in column at right; indicated by line as going here I think:} /p. 153* truth as principle rather than fact/
p. 70 25 "monster corporation party organization" how true

| Archbp Whately used to say that the great evil of the Ch: of Rome was not its doctrine this or doctrine that: but its being a "great party" guided by the party principles {vertically at left where indicated by |:} Government
Add Mss 45785

\textbf{f23v}

Summary

p.p. 71-4

It seems that these Summings up
are rather poor & rather unintelligible
& do not at all do justice to Plato
p. 72 top Anselm was the original
of Descartes in this

\textbf{f24}

\{at top right, separated from main text by wavy line:\}

/p. 84 I think I would
leave the explanation of the
Cave alone: or give a much
higher one than this
p. 87 this account of
Cave much better/
p. 74 Cave
Where is the fire?
You do not mention the fire
till the 9th line
it is wanted in the 3 first
very poor account of the most
famous passage of Plato
perhaps of any philosophy in the
world
Will you not allude too to
Bacon's mention of the Cave?
p. 75
point out clearly the connection
this has with preceding pages:
the diviner intelligence turning to
good or evil appears to have to
do with what is said p.p. 61, 75
with about stronger natures & circumstances
Add Mss 45785

**f24v**
p. 75-6  
also: he comes /rises/ now to  
Conversion from becoming to BEING & to  
Knowledge is not being right  
cp p. 67  
You do not rise to this higher  
strain of Plato’s  
p. 112 attaining not to knowledge  
but to the knowledge of being  
he the wise /just/ man not judged of them  
(cp. p.2)  
p. 114 no true being

**f25** (filmed twice)  
[ Thrones ]  
p. 83 tr 'only' to after servants  
p. 84 imagined (to be ) seen qy imagined as seen.  
pp. 82-3 Unsettling opinions -- p. 88  
puppy youth or priggish youth  
| playing with arguments  
| tossing [?] & goring [?]  
| not arguing - only contradicting  
| cp p. p 68.9 62, 50  
{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Education  
{Written at bottom of p. but arrow shows goes here:}  
/Rousseau says that the man who  
in the /end of/ 18th Century wd abandon  
all his early opinions wd have  
been a bigot in the days of the League./  
| cf. Education 8  
p. 154*  
Construction v. Destruction
p. 88     Book VIII
     ? and /of their/ the education and pursuits (of
 | men & women) both in war & peace
 | are also to be common & of {below:} /their/ kings
 | are to be philosophers & warriors
 {vertically at left where indicated by |:}

[in 1892 3:88 Jowett added “men and women”, to read, That in the perfect state
wives and children are to be in common and the education and pursuits of men and
women, both in war and peace” as FN directed]

Misprints
p. 89 [2:89, not a misprint but right in text, careless]
for five & five qy read four & four

[Jowett had an apparent error, referring in one place to five natures of state
but only listing four. He corrected it by calling the “last” the fifth state,
of the “perfectly just” (1892 3:cxvi)
p. 89    Timocracy passim
     As you are writing English, could
you not use a more English word
than timocracy?
     In what English author is it found?
It is not even in Johnson
p. 89    goverment misprint for
government
Government pp 90-99
p. 90 characteristics of the bad state
    party spirit arts of war
    versus
p. 147* public (or heroic) spirit: idea of good
good legislators: Parls nothing but a Debating Club or Railway Commt without
p. 91 public life the only real peace
to the real Statesman
    Ld Althorp
[2:91 opposite description of oligarchy in 1871 2:91 His origin is as follows:
His father may probably have been a good man dwelling in an ill-ordered state,
who has retired from public life that he may be at peace.
FN marginal comment: Public life might be peace. Lord Althorp
2:91 continues His mother is angry at her loss of precedence among other women.
FN marginal comment: Premier’s wife out of place 1873.
    wh
    " Premier's wife out of place
    " Oligarchy of Money
p. 92 Plutocracy
    present Ho: of C
    " Rich destitutes
    Pauperism
    " top line
    Principle of R. C. Sisterhoods
    test to be able to come
    without money p.
    " Cellars of an oligarchical city
    London
p. 97 Paris: proclaiming abolition of debts & division of lands
    bad education & bad govt.: Causes
p. 94 Democracy = equality /among/ to unequal /p. 102/
    every man doing what is right in his own eyes
Add Mss 45785

**f26v**

Democracy
p. 94 quite irrespective of any body else
  profession of patriotism
p. 95 saying anything that comes into his head
p. 95, 7 busy drones
p. 96 "mankind's epitome" 2 lines
  not appropriate
  too good
" " excess of good: element of decay /p. 102
" freedom passes
  into slavery p. 99
  Slavery out of Liberty "
" " Anarchy description of
p. 99 Tyranny /out/ of Democracy
p. 97 every man doing as he likes p. 101
  consequences of maxim: do as you like
  doing right or wrong as he pleases: his will
  Revolution his law p. 103
p. 98 Napoleons to the life
  {a wavy line separates "his law" from Revolution and leads to:}
  p. 99/110, 111 freedom--of what? of evil?
  slavery--of what? of good?
  every one to do as he likes?--in evil?
he Or may he like to have slaves? the soul poor
  a more miserable than the most miserable: he
  who has the right & the power to do as he likes: &
  the whole city or the whole family is in a league to give it {below:}him
  I think you are unfair to these
  masterly maxims.

**f27**

[±f]

Government
p.p 99, 101
  I think this quite unfair to Plato
I think he shows quite a prophetic
  idea of the perfection & its
  possibility p.p. 4, 8, 64, 65
p. 100, 1
  Comte not Plato /conceives/ thinks only of an
  order of thought: not of a succession
  of time
  {in margin: order of thought Comte, but Jowett doesn't add in 1892 3:cxviv}
  " last Para
  prophetic not historical {below:} or historical foundation
p. 101 prophetic of Napoleon's Revolutions, Paris
  See p.p 97.8
p. 101 top line
  because you can't discern the order
Add Mss 45785

Why say it can't be discerned? is this not the impudence of ignorance?
" " good definition of history filling up one outline with others
" " Dionysius? - his "personal acquaintance" was with Napoleon - prophetic. p. 98
[FN objected to Jowett giving the example of Dionysius, FN wrote "No with Napoleon" in margin but Jowett does not change in 1892 3:cxviii]

\textit{f27v}

p. 101 bottom
Individualism is Dissolution - every one doing as he likes p. 97 striking picture of family life
p. 102 as in Religions it is the element of good which gives power to bad ones
cp p. 15 (p. 2
p. 103 top line you give us quite too much credit

\textit{f28}

p p. 104-8 I skip the number of the Beast wh: I don't understand But Plato always seems to have had a sort of prophetic indication of Quetelet's discoveries in Number in which he shows that numbers are exactly dependent on other Numbers e.g. the no /of Births/ & respective numbers of Sex of Births exactly dependent on respective ages of Parents i.e. on other \{below:\} numbers &c &c &c

\textit{f28v}

| p. 158* The metaphysical |
| is man considering (contemplating) |
| himself thinking: |
| examining his own processes of thought |
\{vertically at left where indicated by \|:\} Philosophy |

p. 161* More's Utopia You see that More's 'priests' correspond with Plato's 'poets'. Plato could not have meant Aeschylus
for that 'being, not seeming' is from Aeschylus, is it not? P. 183
p. 162* Campanella- His 'Sun' borrowed from Egypt where the King or Principal Magistrate was called Phra or Pharoah or Rameses (Ra: the Sun)
p. 162* bottom
| 'Human life & conduct are affected by Ideals'—Then why not 'affect' them in Novels?—Why did you say that to me about Middlemarch?
[vertically at left] “poets”
Government
p. 110 Royal the opposite of tyrannical
" " Sir W. Raleigh Fear not to tell the {below:} best
The truth shall be thy warrant

[2:110 opposite: And great and terrible as is the outward appearance of the
tyrant sitting upon a throne in the midst of his satellites, let us not be
afraid to go in and ask, and the answer is that the monarchical is the happiest,
and the tyrannical the most miserable of states.
FN comment in margin: Sir W. Raleigh’s last poem
p. 111 Slavery emancipation
" " Woman " " 

p. 112 cp bottom of p. 49
Plato here appeals to experience {below:}
of man after "avaricious & ambitious"
p. 113 a greater & more real life
p. 163*
p. 114 Quetelet touches upon this
whether you can measure moral
qualities by figures & rejects it
Summary

p.p 116-8
I find this Summing up scanty
p. 116 1. I think he means more than
this. See p. 113. experience
{written in a column at right of page under experience:}
of sin
a greater & more
real life
Add Mss 45785

f29v

p. 117 13 line
is 'him' Plato or Aristotle
" " end of 1
I think this mean:
you might as well say that
because our 'fruition' of God is
in this world not lasting &
dependent on our mental state
therefore &c &c
It is the mistake that all
theologians have made about
'grace': as if God wd leave that
highest happiness dependent upon
his own caprice & not upon
Laws wh: we may find out &
command if we will

{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Philosophy
Do take that out
Even Duparlouss [?] who is clever
says that we may command it
more sometimes by intellectual
study than by prayer

f30
| p. 117 last line but one
| an hour qy a year
| {vertically at left where indicated by |:} Misprints
p. 120 criticism p. 121 narration
This I feel of Shakespeare, he {what seems to be a doodle here--a small
ladder with 3 rungs}
has taught no way of life
far inferior Artists have
p. 122 patience
{eternal {in partial circle:} p. 7 (18)
p. 123 Shall an {immortal being care
about any thing short of (for eternity
read) immortality?
p. 124 also p. 129 salvation
p. 124 top The soul is its own place
& of itself
 Doth make a heaven of hell a hell of heaven
p. 129 The next world too is a pilgrimage

p. 127 Samples of lives
| But that is just What God does
| not do.
| And we do not know beforehand What
 is the better life etc
Add Mss 45785

{vertically at left where indicated by |:} body & mind
{in a box in bottom right corner:} over

f30v

| p. 128  only habit & no love of truth
| (136)  Men must live not by habit only
| " "  in Education too we only seek to
avoid for our children our own
{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Education
" "  bottom (cf p. 135)
free will & fate under the /mythic/ forms
p. 134, 5
Where do the souls come from which
| are put into (or which make)
| our bodies when we are born?
| this question seems to be treated
| here by Plato under a Symbolical
form.

[vertically at left:] body to mind

p. 136  Seems much scamped
2nd Para: especially
| p. 137 I. In Greece all States seem to
| have been founded more upon an ideal
| or type: in modern times to have grown up
Anyhow: in Paris attempted on some type & collapsed
[vertically at left:] governm't.

f31

[†2]
p. 138  you can't unite /unite/ explain the
past history of Europe /with/ by the kingdom
of XV
  but you can explain it by the
kingdom of God
  It is the development of God's
thought: as all history is:
  His path for us to progress
And when we understand better the Philosophy
of History, will not all history become Theodiki to us?
p. 140  Pray don't call Plato's
"paradoxes"-
  You really deserve 3000 years
for that
" "  Communism: curious
that it should be at once
  a counsel of perfection
&
a Red Republican flag
p. 141  abolition of Slavery for
'only' read 'not'. Sir B. Frere &
Add Mss 45785

Livingstone would tell you.
Add Mss 45785

f31v

p. 141.
Methinks I have often said
& been beat for it
that in 50 or 60 years if we choose
to study Social Physics
the whole world might be reformed
p. 142
The rights of property
  for the enjoyment of all & culture
  of all
  nem: con:
" " Common property
" " Public Spirit or heroism
p. 143 Co-operation versus Competition
  Attainable for all What now is for
  few.

f32

p. 142 line 3 from bottom
  of comma- effect for "affect"
p. 143 line 14 from bottom
  of comma
" " line 9 from bottom
after 'insight' insert '& foresight'.
Plato is a real prophet.
  Woman question!
" " Noble conceptions of womanhood
  In Mediaeval times the
  Conception of the Virgin Mother
  a noble & true conception
  In these times there are none
  nor had Shakespeare any.
It would seem as if the more
we cry out about the rights
of woman, the less power we
had of forming any ideal of
what she ought to be.

f32v

Woman Question
p. 144 top
  & Milton's
  He thy God: thou mine.
Eve to Adam her God: not her companion
p. 110 line 10 from bottom
  | for "vain pomp" put "outside"
  | or "vain outside" of "tyranny".
{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Misprint

[on 2:111 wealthy slave owners not in fear of their slaves. ...And why is this? Because the whole city is in a league which protects the individual. FN comment in margin: the whole family in a league

opposite 2:111 And is not our tyrant such an imprisoned, captive soul, who is made up of fears and loves, who has a swarm of passions which he is incapable of indulging; living indoors always like a woman and being jealous of those who have the freedom of going about and seeing the world? FN comment in margin: woman question

opposite 2:111 Master of others when he is not master of himself FN comment in margin: supt.
2:111 His jealous, hateful, faithless temper grows worse with command. FN comment in margin: supt.

FN cited the last poem of Sir Walter Raleigh’s in her critique of Benjamin Jowett’s introduction to Plato’s Republic: Fear not to tell the best The truth shall be thy warrant.xx
In the marginal comment in the book itself she

f33

p. 128 changing into animals similar to the idea of animal marriage among men & women p. 144 I think I am very good to enter into this question after having been {below:} /beaten/ p. 145* Plato contemplates marriages "without feeling" or "imagination". Yet when men or women are destitute of either, Qy are any? we /justly/ call them brutes: occupying the lowest step of humanity unworthy of humanity &c Many women & men too- Are made up of feeling & imagination: & these the highest specimens of their race, when something else is added, Yet in marriage Plato takes away these & adds — — What? - nothing

the improvement of the race in "mental qualities" qy how? not "possible" in this animal way: What provision does Plato make for "mental qualities" in this gigantic blunder: a contradiction of himself in every other part: e.g. that the soul makes the body, owns the body. " 2nd Para: instincts do you call some of the highest feelings wh: distinguish mankind & womankind from the brutes "instincts"?

[the following originally appeared on f34 below, but meant for here]
lower brutes desert wives soon after pairing: Plato wd have men & women do so immediately after pairing: higher animals do not: Golden Eagle: elephant; even lesser birds assiduously attend their mates & feed little ones till they fly./ higher animals Golden Eagle: 100 years a mate: [return to f33v] "  " 'improvements in the breed'. You could n't 'improve the breed'

in this way. God has taken care of that. {the following originally appeared lower on this f but marked for here.} Providence has provided that the improvement of the race of man shall not be in this fashion of brutes/
"  " To the Greek etc This is rather trying at an explanation of Plato's colossal blunder (in philosophy as well as in fact) than a serious discussion of the matter "  " line 5 from bottom insert after "repudiating all the" highest as well as the (ordinary feelings of men) and women
No: this is a 'physical' as well as a 'moral' blunder.
" " Many besides Dr. Combe have done this eg Ld Glenelg.

Certainly: What was Natural is now incest. So will it be with these other relations they will no longer be "fancies" {below:} /are you serious? but something deeper & "regulated" not by "law" by feeling the same /sort of/ feeling that "regulates" "incest"- that is not by "law": by feeling
" " 2nd Para- v. p. 133 But "family attachments" MIGHT (alas! there are few examples) promote, not "interfere with" "higher aims". And my Ideal in Novels wd. be to make 'love' & the 'family' tend to producing the heroic or the ideal

My Quetelet

prophetic consciousness of a new power for man's progress

not "repose" but a guide in action to be found in the conception /if really worked out to discovery/ of a divine Perfect. See how Christ worked it out in action!


Ordinary statesman party spirit |
"feminine" (take out that) |
positiveness |
But churches do reform |
when there is one man with |
Reformer's spirit to do it |

{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Philosophy

awkward "that most"
unintelligible
Add MSS 45785

| p. 137* |
| line 12 from top |
| after "one man". insert: or the reverse |
{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Misprint |
{in a box at left:} My preface to Quetelet [red und]. |
| p. 137* rather scamped |
method of science cannot anticipate Science. |
True, but the method of the Moral Sciences |
we have scarcely yet. Quetelet has disco: |
erved something (not a method) capable of |
"inexhaustible application". He has a |
"true conception" but as yet only an inkling |
of facts. He is on his guard against |
confounding probability with truth". |
The 'inspiring' 'vision', the 'true ideal' |
in the future is that of Perfection. |
[vertically at left:] Philosophy |
Also: Quetelet was viewing truth as a |
matter of fact, but of principle too |
thro' facts v. next page {nothing in ms--perhaps meant in BJ's Plato} |

He regards p. 158* the Sciences only in |
relation to the idea of good |
Have the wonders performed by Mechanical |
Science increased our real 'good'? |
I sometimes think Quetelet approached more |
nearly than any one to Plato's highest sense in |
Dialectic p 158+ |f36|

p. 153* |
Would you not show the connection |
instead of the antagonism |
between |
truth dealing with fact |
& |
" " " " ideas |
between |
truth as a matter of fact |
& |
" " " " principle |
| An idea on principle can't be true |
| except deduced from or resting |
| on true facts |
{vertically at left where indicated by |:} Philosophy |
1000 false facts don't make one true |
idea of principle {even if the 1001st fact |
is true Darwin has got no true principle |
because he had only one true fact |
& 1000 false ones. |
p. 155*
   Plato: the first great Sanitary author
   | Gymnastics = Hygiene & Sanitation
   | Medicine attends more to Materia Medica
   | than to the Sanitary & preventive
   p 41 pp 33, 4  (p 5)
[vertically at left:] Education
p. 156* scamped  p. 38
   The "powers of observation" are not /necessarily/
   "quickened" by sin. No one likes pain:
   or is likely to be mistaken in thinking it
   pleasure. While the reverse may be
   the case with sin-
   I would not put 'crime' but sin: line
   14 from top.     evil
   vice
Virtue may know vice but vice cannot
know virtue &c
{squeezed in interlinearly at left:} Cf top lines of p. 159* O! O!
{squeezed in interlinearly at right:} * line 6 from bottom
p.158* not "interrupted" or developed.
   given a meaning to, systematized.
   defined/
p. 156* Education p.p. 82, 3  terribly
scamped
{at right in box:} 8
   This is one of the most striking
conceptions in Plato - Remember that, my
son, from 35 to 50 on we will say from 35 to 55,
you are to have the actual experience of life,
then you are to go back /& on/ to the conception of the
Perfect & in its rays give us forth the result {Jesuits
{2nd novitiate

f37

Education 14 {in boxes:} cp 8  14
   The importance of this principle
   modified as you will in practice, 
of the Education of life being just
   as essential after 50 as before

   & a great deal more so, after middle
age, because then you have had
the experience of life
   'To him that hath much &c
   Jesuits' 2nd Novitiate
   after 10 years' active work
Was it after 50 that Socrates
Add Mss 45785

began his life of interrogation?

f37v blank
f38 blank
Republic

The rest of the Republic always seems to me as if Plato were advertising that if we accept his Republic we shall hear of some things greatly to our advantage: collateral advantages: I will not degrade Plato by calling them cardinal advantages: for one especially he seems hardly to take au sérieux: and in its cardinal stupidity, one loses sight even of its immorality. It is not even ironical: it is simply grotesque.

These "advantages" seem to be three:

1. And the question of Body & Mind: is treated of in connection in a sort of superficial & contradictory way but full of genius-
2. Communism in Property
3. The Woman /Communism in Marriage (Pairing)/ Question

Plato the Prophet

more than a match. for Kings & Priests = Poets = Tyrants

3 or 4 great religious & moral conceptions of which his Utopian Republic merit the vehicle just as the /Jewish/ Prophet's fancied Messiah's reign merely conveys (to us at least) his great religious conceptions

Your excuses for Plato passim (all that about the Ideal non-practicable very much beneath you

But this is the exaggeration of Polygamy: it is Polyandry, Polygyny, Polymatry/ Polypatry, Poly paidy Poly everything

Even a breeder of animals would tell you that he could not carry out matters in this way. {Livingstone

God's
As a great man has hardly ever had a great father, we still less a great woman a great mother, we see how very little comes of this at all: how many many more elements than Plato has in his philosophy enter into the question of breeding great men & {below:} women/ let alone the fact (wh: Plato takes no cognizance of at all & wh: by the abolition of family can be taken no cognizance of at all) that if you go back even to 8 steps & at least these enter into the composition of a human being there are 256 progenitors to be consulted & taken into account.

But according to Plato you are not even to know /even who your own father & mother are: much less/ who these progenitors are It is /all/ such nonsense They make themselves known by God's Law Whether you will or no go on to p. 48

What do we mean when we say that Providence's condemnation of Polygamy is final? Is it not that no civilization can stand against Polygamy but either it must die or Polygamy must? The race must decrease & become extinguished the dynasty or the aristocracy must cease to be: these are the inevitable results of Polygamy: While the inevitable result of /what we call morality: viz/ one man to one woman, is: social progress
The statesman's "thoughts are fixed not on power or riches or extension of territory; but on an ideal state in which all the citizens have an equal chance of health & life, & the highest education is within the reach of all, & the moral & intellectual qualities of every individual are freely developed, & 'the idea of good' is the animating principle of the whole. Not the attainment of freedom alone or of order alone but how to unite freedom with order is the problem which he has to solve. "Art then must be true, & politics must be true, & the life of man must be true & not a seeming or sham. In all of them order has to be brought out of disorder, truth out of error & falsehood. This is what we mean by the greatest improvement of man."

"the world": not an abstraction of theologians but the most real of all things being another name for ourselves when regarded collectively & subjected to the influences of society.

Address to P.S.

Dear Mr. Jowett

I thank God, I thank God Who has given Irrigation the victory: in time, we may trust, to prevent more disastrous periodical famines: yet more to prevent a chronic state of half-starvation:

But for this we must yet set our hand to the plough & strike at the root of the
Add Mss 45785

f44v

Zemindary evil. May God hasten his work.
    I had had a hint of what was about to happen: but had no idea that a great
Minister was going thus to nail his colours to the mast, or rather pass the Rubicon,
in such a declaration to the House of Lords.
Only let him wisely go on with his work:
the work for one fifth of the human race
And let the Ho: of C. pass the Bill.

comments on Jowett's translation of Plato's Gorgias, f45-74, pencil, with bit on Republic in

f45

Gorgias
{paper damage on right edge of paper from top to 1/2 way down f}
3 Great moral truths
p. 60 To do is worse than to suffer [page torn]
    64 To be & not to seem is duty
{numbers 60 & 64 enclosed in semi-circle}
    49 54-5
    64 To do wrong unpunished is wor{se?}/greatest of ev[ils]/
    than to do wrong & be punished for [page torn]
    p. 65, 6 p. 73, 74 p. 76
Also: the difference between truth & opinion /p [page torn]
    Private judgment may be actually the oppos
of truth ________________________________| [I do not think it unfair but
simply & unbearably provoking of Socrates
to wrap his moral convictions in
that Cloud of Dialectic.
    There is less of this in the Gorgias
than in any. p. 8
    He is so terribly in earnest that
he even throws all his Dialectic aside
(at the end) & it becomes very much
what you would call in me a scream
& even makes Callicles in earnest. p. 76 59
    & Polus.
    Mr. Lowe is truly Gorgias
art: only to be pursued /20, 98, 99, 101
{with?} a view to truth or improvement
{poet?}ry: Not to minister to the weaker side
{o?}f human nature 20
{Al?}so: Rhetoric to be used for self-
    condemnation p. 106 not "extravagant"
74, 75 21 p. 32
Also: that you must be like the
    multitude to influence them-
    & that "to be despised & rejected"
    is the fate of the righteous man
    111
One should allow one's enemy to
    escape unpunished
68 p. 75
No better argument /kind of proof of no value/ than numbers
p. 66 63 where truth the aim

you wilfully misunderstand
p.p. 106, 9
Just as I might say I can't maintain [page torn]
    but any other theory is ridiculous

Order, Law, Constitution
p. 21 104 Pindar 78

Communion: fellow: feeling p. 105 [in margin]
You make an apology for speaking
    to them of "the deeper things in Plato
p.
64
way of human life p. 97
    most serious of questions 82
master of himself: self-control 86
21
Add Mss 45785

**f46v** [page torn]

[constitutes 62]  
[savoir faire: flattery 53 - 5]  
[ask God who He is - 36]

Combat of life: greatest of all 125

very bad come from the powerful 124

"rich man"

**f47**

Gorgias

To do /It is/ a greater evil than to suffer injustice

It is better to suffer wrong than to do i{t?}

p.p. 21, 14, 125, 121, 106, 107  
22, 66, 60, 64

& not to be punished than to be punished

p. 66, 65, 4, 68  72, 3, 4, 6

& to seem & not to be

p. 25, 49, 54-5, 125

**f47v** blank

**f48** {paper damage on right edge of paper from top to 1/2 way down f}

Gorgias

Is not Socrates more ineffably
tiresome & at the same t{ime?}
does he not speak higher tr{uth?}
in the Gorgias than anywhereelse?

p. 4 /Why should you/ Don't call the highest truths

'paradoxes'- or at least

not the two first-

I should not call the third so

either- p. 58

/Are not/ Your Sermons always a sort of

Apology. for talking to them of

God?

And why should your Introductions

be a sort of Apology for

recognizing that Socrates

speaks the highest truth

& no paradox?

/Have/ Guarded statements whether about
{Go?}d or /any particular moral/ truth never produced /moved/
enthusiasm of religion on of in
morality? [you say your Sheep:
dogs 'don't like religion'.] And you
{gi?}ve the reason: The "highest Ideals" only are
those which can move mankind- And
p. 8 you must suffer for your Ideal to love it
Is it "unfair" or simply &
unbearably provoking of Socrates
to wrap his moral convictions
in that Cloud of Dust &
Dialectic?
But whatever it is is there
not less of this "unfairness" & more
of the great moral teacher in
Gorgias than in any?
Is there any Dialogue, not
even excepting the Phaedo & Crito
Where he is so much in earnest?

He is so terribly in earnest t{hat?}
he even throws all his Diale{ctic?}
aside- towards the end-
& even makes even Polus in earne{st?}
p. 59, & yet more Callicles, p. 76
And it becomes almost what
you would call (in me) "a scream."
you think Ideal synonymous with Paradox?
words sometimes seem almost confused
almost seems to lose his method
in the Introduction
Himself in them -
I cannot conceive what you mean by the last 2,
but 2 of p. 27.
And I do insist upon the bottom lines
of p. 26 & the top lines of p. 27 being taken out
I object entirely to p.p. 26, 7 – 1, 2
If Plato was not -writing
logically, why should you be
at so much pains to show
that his writing is not logical
Might you not as well write
pages to show that a Raphael
is not a Teniers?
I graciously condone your not
taking out these pages: as
I know you won't: but then
you must graciously omit the
word 'paradox', & bring out
more in relief the real moral
truths.
These great moral truths are not they?

1. It is a greater evil to do than to suffer injustice
   If you call this a 'paradox', why do you not call the 53rd Chapter of Isaiah a paradox?
   Is it not the highest of truths?
   that it is better to suffer wrong than to do it.
   p.p. 14, 21, 22, 60, 64, 66, 106, 107, 121, 125

It is a greater evil not to be punished than to be punished for wrong.

I have no idea why you call this a paradox. It flows quite naturally out of all the rest.

That to do wrong unpunished is the greatest of evils follows not only if you accept the first truth but from all the higher experiences of the life of every one of us-

{In large arrowhead pointing right, at left of page:} /Insert 2X/
Sovereigns never have fair chance because they are so shielded from the consequences of their own actions until immense downfall comes, and this often not their own fault. The very bad come from the highest ranks, Socrates p. & from the lowest—(not Socrates) for very much the same reason—because too low to see the consequences of their own actions.

It is not indeed. It is for us to teach them. (In family life I see this every day of my life: I see the 'spoilt child' making himself or herself miserable, & every one else, down to the extreme mature life or extreme old age.) Tho' the 'punishments' of my life have been somewhat severe, yes I can bless God that even in this world that never in all my life have I been allowed to "do as I liked".

Also: that Rhetoric is to be used for self-condemnation flows quite naturally out of the former truths.

Also: that Rhetoric is to be used for self-condemnation flows quite naturally out of the former truths.

Pray take out that about "extravagant" irony. p. 32 it is not "extravagant" at all
(I?)t is odd that I should be the apologist of Socrates to you to whom his method is simply provoking, while to you it is so agreeable that you even used to practice it upon a poor old dog like me]

Would you punish your enemy, you should allow one's enemy him to escape unpunished, for the purpose of punishing him p.p. 68, 75 is another corollary of the same truth.

This is irony, of course Don't make an apology to your readers for speaking to them of the deeper things in Plato

self Control p. 21 | wrecked one's work
Also: that self-control being is the true secret of happiness p. 21, viz & that every man must be master over of himself p. 86 naturally flows what you call & what is not the "extravagant irony". out of these
Add Mss 45785

f52v {This whole folio is the "2X" referred to above @ f50v. The text has been inserted there as indicated by FN}

f53 {paper damage on right edge of paper from top to 1/2 way down f}

p. 115 confusing of "them" & "the{ir?}
What politics & statesmanship shd really
Statesman's proper business p. 111, p. 23
p. 111. making ourselves like the powe[r]
of the day = way to escape suffering

p. 110 {or 116?} leaving all that to God.
p. 22

[from volume 3:110 opposite the true man leaves all that about saving and being saved, not care about living a certain time, and the issue of the statesman wanting to be dear to the people and to have power in the state, so that they must be like the people in nature. But Socrates holds “he leaves all that with God, and considers in what way he can best spend his appointed term.”
FN top margin 3:111 By making ourselves like the ruling power we may, as has been said, escape the lesser evil, wrong suffering, but to escape the greater evil, wrong-doing, we must make the community in which we live just and righteous. The great statesmen were so far from doing this that they all suffered from its injustics, a proof how ill they had performed their highest task.

What art should be
making provision for soul's highest p. 20, 98
interest 55 101, 99
What criticism should be
p. 17
p. 81
Real training v. routine 55

does something for the sake of something else 58 {on an angle at right:}
Rhetoric: lawyer v. Whewell

f53v blank

f54 blank
object entirely to p. p. 26, 7
{it?} is not a reason why you should
{leav?}e them out. But it is a reason
{wh?}y you should bring out more the
{r?}eal moral truths.
{I?}f Plato was not writing logically
why should you be at so much
pains to show that his writing
is not logical?

This or something like it was in
your first Abstracts of Plato
which you showed me 9 years ago-
I remember it because I was
so delighted with the word
"mechanism".
And I pointed out
first that the Public /Government/ Offices
especially the War Office
& the Cabinet & also Parliament
were a "mechanism" for
appearing to the public to know
what one does not-
Secondly that Mr. Lowe was
Gorgias =issimus-

would you not make a great
deal more of this than you
have done
both at p. 12 where after
the cheer
Socrates "gently points out"
& afterwards in the Introduction

You seem to let the point drop.
I think the first Abstract
I saw of yours was better-

All this has to do with
Plato's great distinction
between Truth & Opinion
Add Mss 45785

Knowledge & Private Judgment
Private Judgment often stands opposed to Truth
But the whole Dialogue is really {"a" is overwritten by:} /the/
  natural flowing of one thing out of
  /another/ Another off-shoot /outflow/ of this - p. 111
  & also of pp. 63, 6

Seems to be
the difference between truth & opinion
p. 33 30(a)
The Gorgias is not "the assertion of
  private judgment"
It is something far higher than this
  It is asserting /the pursuit of/ truth against /"the right/ of
  private judgment": truth against /versus/
  opinion.
The "right of private judgment"
  is not truth- It is: opinion
And in the present day, "private
  judgment" is asserted so as
to be actually the opposite of
truth, the opposition, the obstacle
to the search after truth
  p. 30. a 1 2
should it not be the infinite & finite?

3:33 at end of intro to Gorgias FN comment: He is doing something much higher: reasserting truth against opinion; right of private judgment is not truth. Jowett’s statement is not as strong, although says not about right to dissent or private judgment. In the new section Jowett points out that “the iron of Plato sometimes veils from us the height of idealism to which he soars,” (1892 2:301). He goes on to call Socrates’ words “more abstract” than Christ’s, but equally imply that “the only real evil is moral evil” (1892 2:303). He mentions a favourite Nightingale point: that “good intentions and even benevolent actions, when they are not prompted by wisdom, are of no value” (1892 2:306). He refers to the “ideal statesman” whose thoughts are fixed not on power, riches or territory, but an “ideal state, in which all the citizens have an equal chance of health and life, and the highest education is within the reach of all and the intellectual qualities of every individual are freely developed and ‘the idea of good’ is the animating principle of the whole” (1892 2:308).

f56v blank
Also: So much more might
be made as to Rhetoric
with regard to law & lawyers
of the present day

3. That the end of life should be:
to be & not to seem -
p.p. 25, 49, 54-5, 125.
You have brought this out more
strongly in a Sermon I have
seen of yours than even in
this Introduction.
Do I tolerate Socrates for the sake
of his great truths?
I will not say that /Do/ your Introducns
Seem to tolerate the truths for
the sake of Socrates?
Not exactly: but the vulgar
public, not the learned will never
read Plato except for these
great truths.
{written across very bottom edge of paper:}
even with one being wiser than all /every/ other world
{above and running up right edge of paper, divided from main text by wavy line:}
p. 33 go on to 3b
[down the right side] 90 into 36
{The text labelled "3b" is found on f61v. It has not been inserted here because
there appears to be another place where its insertion is also indicated by FN, see f59v. This one's the job of the editor.}
Other great truths seem to be: -
Where did Plato make Mr. Lowe's
acquaintance? -
And was it you who told Plato
how to embody him in Gorgias?
4. What politics & statesmanship
should really be
The Statesman's proper business
pp. 23, 111-115-

{in an large arrowhead in the middle of the p pointing left:) 3a
[And, my son, I really must hand
you over to Plato - you, the son
and father of Plato - I am ashamed
of you! I think F.N. has
sometimes in milky & obscure
language ventured to hint at
these truths about Statesmen

Akin to Plato's view of
statesmanship are his
views or truths
that you must be like the
multitude to influence them -
that making ourselves like the
powers of the day is the
way to escape suffering
[My son, you did not make
yourself 'like the powers of the
day' - & yet you 'expected' that
that Bishop who has climbed
up the 'excessively tall tree' -
& those 2 Deans should
'stand by you'-]
that 'to be despised & rejected' is
the fate of the righteous man
p. 111, 115
Also that p.p. 63, 6
   if we have no better argument than numbers, we have no argument at all
   that it is /numbers are/ a kind of proof of no value where truth is the aim-
   All this does bear so directly on the statesmanship & indeed on the literature & criticism of the present day-
   The exclamation wrung from Callicles, p. 76, shews him to have been more accessible to truth than the proverb.
   "One /may be wiser than another: one/ can't be wiser than all /every/ other world"- of which the reverse is more true- since every reform has
   {I can't find the end of this sentence anywhere.}

p.p. 111. 115
   i think/might/ this not be a little /more/ brought out in the Introduction? p 23.
   By making ourselves /himself/ like the ruling powers, {we is overwritten by:} /he/ may escape the lesser evil, wrong, suffering: but to escape the greater evil, wrong doing, he must (he, the just & righteous man) must make the community in which he lives, like himself-
   Is it possible to put /the moral truth/ that we must make 'the Kingdom of Heaven within' without too into better political form?- And was there ever a time when this was more wanted?
   "The Great statesmen /& great men are/ were so far from doing this that they all suffer from the State's or Mankind's injustice Shewing
how ill they had performed
    their highest duty-
Or if they don't suffer, it is because
    they neglect their highest duty
-What they are there for-
But we have got much farther
    than all this now-
for no one cares (& every one prates)
about performing or not performing
the 'highest duty'- We don't care
enough now to make the 'great
statesmen' 'suffer': So we do not
have any. We are not vigorous
enough to be 'unjust': to revenge
ourselves upon the 'statesmen' for
not doing us good.

some confusion of "those",
"them" & "their"
in Socrates near the bottom
"their" after "them" awkward
but as to transforming /transferring/ the desires
of men (to higher things /objects/) & not
allowing those desires to have their way, & as to guiding or
controlling them whether by
persuasion or by force, so as
to make the /one's/ fellow-citizens better,
which is the prime &c
    go on to 3a
"3a" is located on f60. It has not been inserted here because there are two
other places where its insertion also seems to have been indicated by FN. See
f58v & f59.)
Why was Plato not martyred like Socrates?

It must be more aggravating to write than to speak.

Gorgias read the Gorgias.

Was it because they were then grown so indifferent, like us, that they did not even care to murder him?

It was not Indifferent:ism, certainly, that murdered Socrates.

I think I had rather be murdered than see Truth

Listen not listened to or what is worse listened to with Indifferentism

As to "truth" being made "to depend upon numbers", p. 14-

Would you not work this out as to the system of determining truth by majorities (Parliamentary representation) &c of the present day which really means determining /What is/ truth by those who are least likely to know—what it is For a majority must consist of the least educated, least wise, least excelling in any way

"We are always taming down the nobler spirits among us to the conventional level" p.p. 17.

says the enemy. very truly:
Add Mss 45785

f63

Bring these out [4] in the /your/ Introduction but also don't contradict them in /your/ conversation (5)—And now,

What Art & Poetry & Criticism should be not Flattery: not shams: not the 'Art of Gratifying'—not Savoir faire

What /true/ Art should be:
- making provision for the soul's highest interest
- only to be pursued with a view to truth or improvement —
p.p. 20, 55, 98, 99, 101

True Artists: definition: bringing order out of disorder

[At this point, my son, I expect an apology to Plato from you —

What was that you said to me about Middlemarch?]

Is Midch "true art"?

What Poetry should be: p.p. 20, 98, 99
- not to minister to the weaker side of human nature —
to consider improvement & not pleasure /(of soul)/ of multitude

There's 'rue' for Mr. Swinburne

tho' I do declare his 'Atalanta' is an Ideal — not a Paradox
What criticism should be /have/
   p.p. 17, 81
   knowledge, good-will, frankness.
This of course is ironical
   Still it is a very good
stipulation for what criticism
should be. And were it
complied with the criticism
of the present day would not
be what it is
'What! read a book I am going to review!'

Not an Art but an experience or routine
[Cousin: une espèce de routine]
Nurse = Training: difficulty of preventing
   Training, which should teach
why a thing is to be done this way
why not to be done that way
from becoming a routine: an empirical
   practice
That is real Training v. Routine.
intensely applicable to present day-

Surely the whole of Novelism,
really the chief of our 'Arts',
is nothing but a 'flattery',
an 'Art of Gratifying'-

What pretence does it make to

brining 'order out of disorder'
an Ideal out of Social Life

-to making provision for the soul's

highest interests.

Novelists=prophets of present day-

What do they 'prophesy'? 

Surely the whole of Criticism:

/Occupying/ the dog in the manger's place in

of our overgrown periodical literature

is nothing but 'opinion'- no search

after 'truth'- nothing but

Savoir faire- the 'knowing' how to

'do' an Article, to put together words in literary

/form./

"To Plato the whole world appears

sunk in error, based on self-interest"- self-interest tempered

by literary self-amusement.

Plato about Imitation-
The literary self-amusement,

now necessary to us to temper

'self-interest', is mainly

derived from Imitation Arts,

Imitation Poetry -
Add Mss 45785

\textbf{f65}  

[5]  
| (6.) Of course all that about  
| Law, Order, Constitution  
| p.p. 21, 78, 104  
| is /nuts/ delightful to me -  
| But could you not bring it out  
| a little more?  
| { } indicates a large square bracket}  
| At p. 21, Virtue is due to Order,  
| is what I mean by saying that  
| 'Grace' is regulated by /the/ Law-  
| not a /the/ capricious gift of God.  
| The quotation from Pindar  
| at p. 78 is charming.  
| But much might be done to  
| elucidate p.p. 104,5 to the  
| vulgar, like me.  

\textbf{f65v}  

That the virtue of every thing  
is dependent on order  
p. 104 just above 507  
expresses exactly what  
I mean by Law  
but if in the Introduction  
Something could be said about  
this implying a certain Order,  
or Constitution  
this proper order /or Law/ inhering in  
every thing-  
/every thing having/ its proper or essential Constitution  
/or order/ it would unite it more to the modern idea of Law  

\textbf{f66 [inserted from f65v as indicated by FN:]}  
- wh: so possesses us now:  
- but which yet, as you say,  
is at present little better  
than a 'metaphysical expression'-/  
Also- the soul "which has order is  
orderly": does this mean, the soul  
being rightly constituted-  
it wd. be more intelligible-  
I prefer the word Law to  
Constitution - But you yourself  
have told me the word "Constitution" -  
{the following text is from f66 as apparently indicated by FN:}  
###/Order  
Law almost synonymous  
Constitution here/
The highest doctrine p.p. 22, 110
'leaving all to God' follows here.
For how could we, without stupidity,
'leave all to God', unless He had a
Settled Order or Law which we knew to
be good - the Law of Almighty Wisdom
& Goodness?
p. 105 just above 508
I am not sure that the word
"communion"
unless interpreted in the Introduction
to mean
Sympathy: fellow=feeling
will be generally understood.
Communion = union in feeling -people think it 'Conversa: {below:} /=tion'--

The 'old mistake' of Virtue being
Knowledge = an Art
the "old confusion of the Arts & the
Virtues"- p.p. 12, 50 - {inside large arrowhead here pointing left:} 6a
Has not Plato got beyond /that/ here?
Does he not say that Virtue
is an Order, a Constitution?
Does he not imply that it is a
State of the Soul, not a piece of
knowledge? - a "way of human life"
 p.p. 64, 82, 97, 125
that the 'way of human life' is the
most serious of all questions
(alas! how little we think so now!)
that the combat of human life is
the greatest of all combats
Is not this a considerable advance over
Virtue is Knowledge?
It rises to Christian asceticism, to the
strain of S Paul-
Virtue is: a good soldier 'enduring
hardness'- not: Virtue is knowing
Add Mss 45785

£67

[6]
The highest doctrine
p.p. 22, 110
leaving all to God follows on 6a
For how could we, without stupidity &c

p. 8 last line
after (406) insert "B.C."
It looks like a reference {in a box at right:} Over

£67v

p. 9. 5th line from top
tho' Plato says that Pericles is
just dead
he forgets this himself
& speaks of Pericles & others
as statesmen 'of former ages'
'of old time' -
as you have
at p. 7
p. 23 3rd line from bottom
This does not agree with p. 9.

£67

p. 10- "from a man"? insert "who makes shoes"
"the answer 'I am a cobbler'-"

{in a semi-circle, at centre:} 6a
p.p. 12, 50 (confusion of Arts & Virtue)
fallacy that a man who knows
justice must be just
A man who knows justice /or right/ is not
just /or righteous/ but a jurist or judicial
as a man who knows morality
is not moral but a moralist
Would you not bring this out
more?
I think the above distinction
is in Whewell

£67v {Text marked % above f67 originally appeared here.}
p. 60 a geographical remark?
If these are /Contemporary/ historical allusions?
(but I dare say that you will
say there are not)

In the man going into the Agora
with a dagger
To the conspiracy of the 400,
it would make the
Introduction more historically
interesting to give them-
And also it would recall the
reader's attention to the fact
that our commonest principles
of morality were not known
then - which brings out more
into relief - Socrates' indignation
with Polus. Whose sentiments
then were perhaps the ordinary
ones.

It wd. be impossible for Polus
to say these things now -
On the contrary
Id J. Russell
has to say what he knew that
they knew that he knew
to be false {in column at right:} L. Nap. did
the coup d'etat
because he thought
it right for country's
good.

Polus wd= have said tout crûment
that it was right for the tyrant
to do it for his own good.

I say nothing about
hypocrisy: hommage Vice to Virtue?
We really not much better
now than then
Gorgias
7th. truth
p. 4. p. 58
the third Socratic paradox.
7. This may be technically called a 'paradox.' But if you do should you not bring out its consummate beauty & truth?
p. 58 doing something for the sake of something else
p. 59 making a mistake & intending to do something for our good which we then find out is not for our good
All this which means that Success is given not to Benevolence nor to Good Intentions /without/ but to Wisdom & that we have to find out

at are the consequences of our own actions & constitute a Law so exactly that it may be expressed numerically
e.g. not only that Indiscriminate Alms-giving whether by Poor Law or Charity produces Pauperism but exactly how many Paupers -is this not doing what we don't intend- & what if we had looked before, we should have seen - seen that what we did not wish we were going to do - & not have done wished it?
Add Mss 45785

\textbf{f71} [page torn]

so that in fact we are doing
what we do not will -
A man who founds a Foundling
Hospital produces an
exactly appreciable increase
of exposed illegitimate children
Is he not doing what he does
not will? p. 59
He has the "least possible power",
for he is actually bringing about
the reverse of what he intends
p. 57
It seems to me that there can
scarcely be a finer lesson
than this -
Please bring it out.

\textbf{f71v} {paper damage at left, from top to 1/2 way down f}

"Indeed the matters at issue
between us are not trifling;
to know or not to know
happiness & misery - that is
the sum of them". p. 64.
Notes on Prof. Jowett's second edition of Plato - May 1875
- see letter
  From B.J. to F.N. thanking for them May 1875.

p. 152
  timocrat: not an English word
    if used must it not be explained
  {enlist on its side combined endeavours of better part of people
  {severe training of Supts in order to train others
  {a voluntary rule over voluntary subjects

p. 156 qy. of (the inequality of property)

  {Pol Eco growth of where?

  {their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven
  {we honour God when we know the darkened & disfigured
    image of Him

p. 162 la façon
  separating them ? these

p. 172 idea of good = universal law.
  People are enthusiastic about it
    but have not filled up one moral law
p. 174 for feminine read /ecclesiastical/ Papal or Bourbon or Stuart
  all the great historical instances we know of this
    have been of men not of women.
Elizabeth, Catherine &c have shown just the contrary
  Churches the type of it consist exclusively not of women but of men
  regarding that only as the better life which makes men better
  & leaving the rest

72v blank
Add Mss 45785

f73 [Republic 1875]

Bp Berkeley p 143 individual type confusion both in Mr. Jowett & in Plato
p. 129 the idea that God has an original design in His
head for every one of us & everything
p. 130 I think that the comparison of Homer & Hesiod being left to
147 starve is in irony & meant as a hit at the Sophists
bottom of p. 130 But it is a truism that if a man
does "understand the use of a thing", he invents much
better Plato is quite one-sided there -
We have a poor /Surgical/ Patient now in St. Thomas' who
invented on {"on" written over "a"} himself a valuable Surgical appliance
Why were the painters of the Italian Middle Ages
Superior to all others? Because they were /not merely painters but/ the most
accomplished men of their age.
p. 132 lets them rule instead of ruling them
refer to this when you say what the highest poetry is
p. 133 For ? but
injustice destroys one's own evil: therefore a good
135 St. Paul prize
138 use of evil: make a better choice: experience [1875 Rep]
those who come from earth choose better than those who come
from heaven life may go from good to evil
from this world to the other & from the other to this
most seek only to avoid their former condition
139 obscure (appearance)
140 not highest utility not unfair & prosaic test
no man can live his life & act it
143 Plato's poet your Mrs. in Middlemarch
you say this yourself. p. 146

f73v blank

f74 blank
Add Mss 45785

f74v [Republic 1875]
p. 144 not "moderate indulgence"
but raising them to higher objects
give poetry to law & idealize "scientific fact"
that should be the nobler /noblest/ poetry of the day
insert this p. 146
p. 145 as beautiful & more solemn
he who thinks must feel before he can execute
146 married love: no instance of its inciting
to great deeds ("Dante or Petrarch")
this shd be one of the offices of the new poetry of the day
Adam & Eve were married, I suppose:
but no one has sung married love since Milton sang
A virtuous woman
& how body of Adam & Eve. or since is crown of husband
(but even she was bought by a
on the contrary the Novel always {stops at marriage
{good many rubies

[shd read: But no one has sung married love since Milton sang, or since: A virtuous woman is crown of husband, but even she is bought by a good many rubies. And how body of Adam and Eve. On the contrary, the novel always stops at marriage.]
147 "Paradox of Gorgias" not paradox but wit
these are like some of Christ's witty sayings
you might as well talk of Christ's paradoxes
149 Plato ought not to vilify Homer & Hesiod So much
taking from him as he does
150 some of "the souls" had a very "definite character"
it seems to me [Republic 1875]
& he marks /notes/ in a most remarkable manner
the use of evil: the effect of experience:
in the Souls who came from earth
actually choosing
better than those who came from heaven
Mr. Jowett's Hegel:
I don't want to hear /what/ Hegel's /thinks/ thoughts of God:
Nor /what you think/ your thoughts about what Hegel thinks of God:
but what you think of God.

I don't want to hear the philosophy of Hegel:
[I know it already] but the philosophy of God

I don't want to know your Criticism of what Hegel
thought that God thinks: [at that rate Philosophy
would be nothing but what the 19th century thinks of
what the 18th century thinks {written over "of"} of what the 17th Century
/thinks/--------
of what the 5th Century before Christ thinks] but what you
think that God thinks

Hegel
/Just as/ In the recent controversy, both Ch: of England Sides
praise themselves by saying that their religion
"keeps within the limits marked out by Bp-
Andrewes"-

Now I really do not want to make what
"Bp Andrewes" thinks of God the "limit"
of what we are to think of Infinite Wisdom & Almighty Goodness-
Is this not become too /pettily/ ridiculous?

Mr. Jowett's Hegel
The history of Philosophy the most interesting of all
histories
but it is to me as if you were to give me the history
of foods or the chemistry of foods
when I was starving

{very faint writing:} [archivist: wrtn 1875]
Add Mss 45785

f77v blank
Add Mss 45785

notes on Aristotle, ff78-80, pen?

\textbf{f78}

the Cause, (the Quid & the Cur)\textsuperscript{xx} Aristotle

4 Causes

1. Essential (Form) Formal
2. Necessitating Conditions (Matter)
3. Proximate mover or Stimulator of Change (Efficient
4. That for the sake of which (Final Cause or End)
3. Efficient e.g. Why did the Persians invade Athens?  
   because the Athenians attacked the Persians first
4. Final\textsuperscript{x} e.g. Why does a man walk after dinner?  
   for the purpose of keeping up his health
   (digestion is the efficient cause of health)

\textit{final cause} prior in order of nature - posterior to terms of conclusion
\textit{efficient} prior in order of time or generation

\textit{formal & material} simultaneous with effect neither prior nor posterior
same fact may proceed both from a Final Cause & from a cause of Material Necessity/

\textit{e.g. light from} /passes thro' our/ lantern to guide us in dark
   because particles of light smaller than pores in glass
   x In the Final Cause or End of action, there is always some
   ultimate end for the sake of which the intermediate ends are pursued,
   & which yields when known the \textit{only complete explanation of the action}
   So also with the Formal Cause: there is one highest form which contains the \textit{Why} of the Subordinate forms-

\textbf{f78v} blank
\textbf{f79} blank
Aristotle 
SUGGESTS that the Essence which is declared by 
Definition CAN NEVER BE KNOWN BY Demonstration

Definitions: principia from which Demonstration departs-
in going back upon demonstrations, we must stop 
somewhere & must recognize some principia undemonstrable

The Definition can never be demonstrated, for it declares 
only the essence of the subject; & does not predicate 
anything concerning the subject; whereas Demonstration 
assumes the essence to be known, & deduces from such 
assumption an attribute distinct from the essence 
(the dubitative treatment)

[you assume as your premisses 2 essential propositions, in order 
to prove as an essential proposition the conclusion: 
inadmissible--for your premisses require demonstration 
as much as your conclusion -
You have committed a Petitio Principii: * you have assumed 
in your minor premiss the very point to be demonstrated]
x donc la démonstration de l'essence ainsi entendue est absurde

Bart: St. Hilaire

cause = essential nature of the thing itself (sometimes) 
as: essence of triangle is cause of its having its 3 angles = 2 right angles 
as well as of its other properties.
Aristotle

The celestial bodies revolve:

it is therefore possible for them to revolve—but

it is not possible for them not to revolve

B. St. Hilaire

Cur & Quid

in both we aim at ascertaining What the cause is
but in Cur what we discover is perhaps some independent fact or event

in Quid What we seek is the real essence or definition of the substance—the fundamentals, generating, immanent cause of its concomitant attributes

ff81-82, pen. f81 Jowett letter


Dear Miss Nightingale

I gather from your telegram that you must be in great trouble. May God help you who have been a helper to so many:

Mr. Smith had outlived life & was of no use to his family: & have a pleasant remembrance of his kindness & hospitality fifteen or twenty years ago. For ten years past I have
scarcely seen him. The accession of property was worse than useless to him.

Godfrey Lushington gave me a good account of Mrs. Smith [I love G.L. notwithstanding his foolish Comteism & think him an able & honourable man.] He said that she was very well & active for her age. I hope that you are relieved from anxiety about Shore Smith. Will you remember me to her?

(note concludes on f81v.)

ff83-89 by Jowett

ff90-91, notes pen?

ff90 (In fainter different writing but still looks like FN to me:)

Notes of a conversation

Sermons (at Oxford) have quite changed in the last 4 years or so

You never hear a Sermon now on the Miracles or on Atonement or on Everlasting Damnation Death-beds-

You don't take your disciples to the Death-bed.

[Then what are they on?] Chiefly on reconciling Science with Religion - or Philosophy with Religion. or on good works: like Toynbee Hall among the work=classes

[But all true Philosophy is Religion: & all true Religion is Philosophy.] Yes, but we have not got so far as
that.
[Then, as that Theodicy or moral
  Government of God, is gone, what
do you substitute for it?
  What is the moral Govt. of God?]
  O I have nothing: but
  strip off falsities
  listen to the inner voice.
[But you can't say that to the
  people who believe in "harps" &
  "crowns"—
nor to the people who have no
  "inner voice"
No. & it is quite true that the
Toynbee Hall /men/ have nothing like
the influence that Charrington has
distinguishing nirvana

And James Martineau has
influence over a very small number
but none over the masses.

[I know one (Rosalind) who wishes to
  be absorbed (Nirvana) in God
"because I dislike myself"—]
  only answered by another anecdote

Hatch is in the historical—
  no priestly influence, such as
consecrating the bread & wine till the
  10th century
Xtianity a mutual benefit Society
  [But does he go no further?
  does he not say what the
moral government of God is?]
  No
[And what are the Bampton Lectures?]
Then, if the historical & the metaphysical views have stopped off so much how do you go on now to the moral Govt. or the Theodicean view?]

We don't

[God used to govern by everlasting damnation- How does He govern now? (roughly circled, the first clause written as part of this line; the balance in a column squeezed in on an angle below:)

That was a scheme

We are but the fly on the wheel if we are working without God: with Him then we are part of the wheel.

What is the scheme?

No answer

Good men: working for men.

[But what is the key to Christ to Gordon? Their Love & devotion to God. their faith in Him that they are His tools part of His scheme.

working for God was the key to what they did for me.

{Written up left margin of page:}

Thou in me & I in thine that they all may be made perfect in me
Surely the Pr. of W. had better things to tell the Q. of the new German Emperor than What 66 millions of people are saying, viz that of Doctors looking daily down one's throat &c.

A better thing has been told us of him within the last few days: that he has so conquered all impatience in himself that nothing troubles him /or makes him impatient/

When a man has done this - how did he do it?-

When one Considers What his life is now - What a fiery trial/endured as if it were a calm sunset -/
- When even 7 doctors looking down his throat does not cannot make him impatient, that is a hero. martyr indeed -

Could not the Pr. of Wales tell the Queen this?

It is supposed his/the Emperor's/ life may be numbered by days. May God grant/to him that he and his country that & Europe to which every 4 hour of his life [is on facing page for here]

is precious - that he may be able to work /and to rule/ every hour of that life, without being resent-ed by his son -

And may God Grant us the strength which [page torn] has been So extraordinarily given to him to [page torn] & overcome in himself -

[page torn] [It] is said that he has made this/last/ year his a "Crowning education" to himself - And so it has - one could wish/pray/ that it might be for yet a few years of this life that he/this man of 57 has schooled /educated/ himself.

How does he do it? win/get this calmness & serenity?

I suspect it is not because he puts himself above but as it were below troubles. He does not like to be treated as a Prince but "on the same level as any one else" - a human creature "with human weaknesses"- So, as St. Paul says, God's strength is made perfect in his weakness.
Add Mss 45785

incomplete letter?, ff94-95, pen ?

f94

[at left opposite date]
to take advantage
 of Vacation 7/4/88
can if you please send more about
instruction in Agrice as means of
promotion
Dear Mr. Jowett,
   could had not time to
make this shorter
    connection between the
ques problem seemed so
necessary yet
perhaps not shown
      e.g. between poverty &
health
           between sanitation &
Local Self-Govt
           between Finance &
between in short the
different problems of Govt.
{upside down at bottom of p.:
Wd if you please re-write this
if you tell me Ld L. not to be
guessed

   I have seen [the?] Viceroy
Now comes is it wise
to write so confidentially?
different allusions to I.O &
Home Govt.
You know Ld L.
I don't.
difference between present man
& S.H. if he approves
will he make a thing his own?
& then put it forward as his
own? And will he reject
What he does not make his
own? & not put it forward
in any way?
{following written on an angle at bottom}
old stager
of W.O.
that's not the Way
to get information
that's not the way
to get a thing done?

first Page A
perhaps better not sent
yet it lies at the bottom
of all.
problems will start up
they will be dealt with
they can't be driven back
See eg last Page No. 10 -
but had not certain [illeg] pieces
of information about home [?]
govt better be taken out?

S.H. invariably mastered a
thing & made it his own -
then worked it as from the
S of S.
[page torn] H. Smith
corps [?] 
Lord Dufferin W.H. Smith
by far the best man at W.O.
since S.H. Will actually
send a private letter of
F. N.'s given him by Lady S.
to the Army in Egypt Without
even asking leave
   Ld. Cross
   Ld Dufferin openly
forwards my letter to him
to the Dept of Govt. in India
concerned. & tells me he
has done so because he
approves
   Ld Ripon who was a
pupil of S.H. never did this
always made the Subject his
own.
{written in a space up the middle of the page:
I have asked
these 8 men not
to do it. And they agreed
   I only mention these as illustra[tion] {paper damage}
But it is a complete novelty of {paper damage}
{written up right margin:
last 10 or 15 years in Govt.
if Lord Lansdowne would do it I wd send him nothing
{written upside down in top margin:
with which he could do it
Mr. Jowett                                        Sept 7/88
The Emperor William has made Russia his friend
   has detached Russia from France
   has put off War for 3 or 4 years
{|| denotes a vertical wavy line perhaps supposed to be a bracket}
{following appears to left of this list under Emperor Wm}
Whether it was
   Bismarck Who did it
or not
Crimes of violence have greatly increased lately in Prussia
   (Military ism) says Bismarck
Crimean War - made possible united Germany by taking off Russia
   - prevented Russia from despotizing all the Eastern states
   - made an ally of France instead of an enemy to England
   - MADE Italy

Mr. Jowett
Theodicy - To reconcile the aspects of
   nature with those of God
   of moral government
{on an angle in left corner:
changed in?
[on angle in right corner]
Fellows
   Sir John Conway
   Chemical
   Nettleship
Mr. Jowett                                      Sept 8/86[?]
have done with Providence-only Law
F.N. But Providence is Law.

Old age does not think more of these things as it approaches the end but less - nor does it think more of its life's designs - but less Death does not think of its future state but of its grandchildren. These facts militate against a future life.

F. N. No such thing: the first means that old age is, but need not be decay.

(Sanitary reform)
facts - I- ha [breaks off]
the night [right?]
Anthropomorphy
Origin of Govt
Mr. Jowett

How can you make a friend of a man (Christ) Who lived 1800 years ago? (Mrs. Humphrey Ward)

F.N. No you must believe that Christ is living now - is seeking you now [end 3:589]

German philosophy has ceased in Germany. It still has some hold in England

F. N. Military ism has checked it.

We never have rows & riots in Oxford now but we have less Character

the drive of life | the reading of newspapers | has deteriorated character
the rushing about |

Then you must draw the rein less tightly. It's in the spirit of the age [F.N. nurses
[diagonal bottom right corner]

Physical Science & Commerce
has taken the place
of
letter, ff100-01, pen. f100 Jowett to FN on Miss Pringle

f102-07, pencil notes [3:329-30]

f102
To Mr. Jowett
New Years
Sir Harry     telegram
Miss Pringle
Many thanks for your valuable hints as to "arguments" & especially your advice "not to give up any "efforts to persuade her."

I do think (tho' I have not much hope| {straight vertical line} that she is more amenable. She Considers,
Whereas at first She thought only of immediate parry and the answers which alas! I know priests too well not to recognize But some of her answers are alas! too rational - She says "I do not want to give up Truth
"but to find Him who is the Truth. That is the whole question Salvation could not be found without."

You kindly say: She needs some "greater religious satisfaction than "she has at present. Can you "offer it to her?"

I must say like her: "That is the whole question" - by "religious satisfaction" meaning, as you said, some religious organizn "because", as you said, mystical/or spiritual religion is not enough for most people -/without outward form And I may say: I can never remember a time when it was not the question of my life. Not so much for myself

as for others - For myself the mystical/or spiritual religion, /as laid down by St John's Gospel however imperfectly I have lived up to it, the mystical was/& is enough. And I have always seen it quite enough for Miss P. the lady in question I thought her much farther on than I - really living up to it - But the two thoughts - which God has given me all my/whole life have been - 1. to infuse the mystical religion into the forms of others, always thinking they wd show it forth much better than I - & Miss Pringle/this lady did - especially among women - to make them the "handmaids of the Lord [end 3:330]

And this you, that is the religious true-thinkers must

S John Latimer

[illeg]
2. to give them an organizn [3:330-32] for their activity in which they could be trained to be the "hdmgs of the Lord? I could have taken up the education/school of the poor - [Training for women was then unknown unwished for - & is the fruit discovery of the last 30 years] But I was specially called to Hospitals & Nursing the sick. both Sanitary & Nursing proper - This, I said, is the organn". which we must/begin with make to attract respectable women & make /religious/ women respectable [When I began, half the Hospital Nurses were disreputable women & the other half deserted Wives]

I was impressed, as so many are, with the fact: the forms of the Church of Engd have no longer any meaning to most educated people - educated or uneducated - her mantle is soiled & ragged & is falling off. She is now naked but does not know it. Those who attend her/services do it by putting a forced meaning, an esoteric meaning on her into these. I know men who are too religious to go to Church - others whose Is it not in the last degree important to create a name is legion, artisans, who have no religion at all. & who have implored me to publish something
for *them* -

The old/supposed
moral govt. of God,
viz. everlasting damnation &
salvation has completely
fallen away.

They ask now: what is then
the moral govt. of God - &
wish me to publish something

Is it not in the last
degree important to create
a religious organization in
which people can join?

It is not the question now
whom shall Elijah's mantle
fall on? Elijah has no mantle
/less./ it is all torn & dirty. Elisha
must have a new mantle.

---

This *am* God has not called
me to do -

[Diagonally at bottom left:]

---

Extraordinarily interesting
As are the historical, the
metaphysical, the philological
views & enquiries into religion,
these do not do it

To criticize other people's
"opinions ancient & modern
- still less to destroy them -
is not to give people an
organized religion.
You say yourself: people cannot live on mystical religion - that is spiritual religion spiritual religion face to face alone with God without * outward forms And these cannot live without understanding in some measure the {written as an addition surrounded by a line with arrow at *:

Moral Govt. of God

The book which is called the

Gospel of John, is the exponent of mystical religion. [It does not signify by whom or when it was written] It is/

the Word./ the book that speaks -

But the R.C.s are now using this very book for their own purposes - that the world may know - that the world may see - they say means some visible organization of religion (which they claim to be theirs

And you yourself say that some visible organization is necessary. for Mysticism will not do.

And the question comes cuts very deep into me now - for the best and ablest/& most religious woman I know - the most unlikely to join the R.C.s - is going to join them for actually no other reason -

Others as near to me are becoming "Positivists" after a sore struggle after "Faith"-

Is not this a crisis?

The Methodists/& Salvation Army have really an organization which by using so largely the lay element has a hold on/its people - But because
it makes hymn-yelling & not morality the test of conversion, it is almost useless as a real/religious/ progress - Is not this a crisis?

When I was quite a girl, my one idea was: not organizing a religion/Hospital but organizing a religion [end 3:332]

[f107v blank]

[f107] typed letter with hand corrections filmed twice {in someone else's hand; Important [Letter from F.N. to Jowett]

{N.B. All text marked /.../ is hand written in what appears to be pencil and F.N.s hand. Text that is struck out, has been done so by hand. Another set of hand annotations appears to be pen and is in yet a different hand}
Add Mss 45785

{at right towards top:} /1889/ {m/b in F.N.'s hand but in pen}

{at left about 1/3 way down page:}

/Religion/ (printed large) Many thanks for your valuable hints. This is the roughest concern as to argument) and especially your advice not to give up any effort to persuade the lady against becoming a Roman Catholic. She is more amenable. She considers, whereas at first she thought only of immediate parry and of answers, which we know priests too well not to recognize as theirs. But some of her answers are alas, too rational. She says -' I do'nt want to give up Truth but to find Him. He is /the/Truth.' That is the whole question. Salvation could not be found without. 
"/She needs some greater religious satisfaction than she has at present {at right} /kindly you say/ Can you offer it /to/ her?/
I must say like her,' '/'that is the whole question/'/. By /"religious satisfac-
tion" meaning you would say /as you said/ some religious organization /"/ because /" as/ you said,

£108v blank
mystical or spiritual religion is not enough for most people without outward form "and I may say I can never remember a time when it was not "the/ a question" of my life /--/ Not so much for myself as for others /--/

For myself the mystical or spiritual /religion/ life as laid down by St.John's Gospel, however imperfectly I have lived up to it, was and is enough /,/ and I have always seen it enough for the lady in question ( /we speak of/ I thought her much farther /on/ that I † in really living up to it. But the two thoughts which God has given me all my whole life have been .First- to infuse the mystical religion into the forms of others and /()always thinking they would show it forth much better than I ,and that, this lady did /)/ especially among women to make them the /"/handmaids of the Lord/"/ Secondly - To give them an organization for their activity in which they could {emphasis added by hand} be trained to be the /"/handmaids of the Lord/"/. ( Training for women was then unknown, unwished for;/ and as/is/ the discovery of the last thirty years. One could have taken up the school education of the poor but one was specially called then to Hospitals and nursing, both Sanitary and nursing proper. This was then the /"/organization/"/ which we must
begin with to attract respectable women and give religious women a form for their activity. (Thirty years ago half the Hospital nurses were disreputable women and the other half deserted wives.) No one would believe this now. Would believe the rabble rout, with some magnificent exceptions I had at Scutari & in the Crimea.

We were impressed, as so many are, with the belief that the forms of the Church of England have no longer any meaning to most people, educated or uneducated, that her mantle is soiled and ragged and is falling off. That she is now naked and does not know it. That those who attend her services do it by putting a forced meaning, an esoteric meaning into these, that some men think themselves are really too religious to go to church, others whose name is legion, artisans especially who have no religion at all, but who want something to be published or organized for them upon the moral government of God. They say the old idea of the moral government of God, namely, Everlasting damnation as the only alternative to Everlasting Salvation (N.B. this is in pen and perhaps a 3rd hand, certainly much clearer than rest of F.N.s I've seen.) (And really, compared with this, the R.C. purgatory is divine) is no longer believed. They ask then what is the moral government of God? and wish something to be published organized for them. Is it not then in the last degree important to form a religious organization with services.
and outward forms in which all these people could join together with those who are passing over into the Church of Rome, because {emphasis added by hand} the say th(at?) there is nothing between the Church of Rome and Rationalism. {3rd hand, pen:} /Positivism has tried to do something of this kind. And a very queer thing it is./

It is not the question now: Whom shall Elijah's mantle fall on? 'Elijahsh they say 'has no mantle left, it is all too torn and dirty. Elisha must have a new mantle. This God has not called one /me/ to do. But this is, /you/ that is,,/ the great religious true-thinkers ,especially those who have not left the Church of England/,/ must do. Extraordinarily interesting as are the historical, the mete/a/physical, the philological views /& enquiries/ into reli-
gion, these do not do it /this/. To criticise other people's opinions /,/, ancient and modern/,/ still less to destroy them, is not to give people /truth or/ opinions of truth of their own or to make an organized form of /for/ religions {all annotation in 3rd hand, pen until *}/us /truth to be clothed with or thought or acted out in./ You say yourself: people cannot live a/on/ mystical religion;/ that is spiritual religion face to face alone with God without outward forms -- and /So/ they cannot live or rather act /to any effect/ without understanding in some measure the moral government of God. /This is a truism/* The book which is called the Gospel of John is the exponent of mystical religion. Never mind for the moment by whom or when it was written. It is the book, /(/ the /"/Word/"/)/ that speaks.
But the Roman Catholics are now using this very book for their own purposes 'that the world may know, {emphasis added by hand} that the world may see.' They say/, 
means some visible organization of religion, which they claim to be the/irs/It is for you to form yours./

Is not this a crisis, /a danger/ when something must be done? /People say coldly Is it? They might as well ask: When there is Cholera: Need anything be done?/You yourself say that some visible organization is necessary/,/ for mysticism will not do. And the question goes /cuts/ very deep now /into me,/ for the best and ablest and the most religious woman ,I know, and the most un-likely to join the Roman Catholics, is going to join them for actually no other reason. Others as near to me are becoming 'Positivists' after a sore struggle to '/get'/ 'Faith'. Is not this a crisis? The Methodists and Salvation Army have really an organization, which by using so largely the lay element, has a hold on the people, far greater than the Church of England. But because it makes hymn/-/yelling and not morality the test of conversion it is almost useless for real religious progress.

Is not this a crisis?

When {pen hand:}/very many years ago I had planned a future ,my one idea was not organizing a Hospital ,but organiz/ing/ a Religion.

[diagonal annotation by archivist:] Important.
March 6/89 Mr. Jowett

There was no true necessity for a priest consecrating the Eucharist --any one might do it --
till the 10th century --

What Church? St. Augustine

No Papacy about 350

No confession

more ideal than now

too deep a sense of this

world & of human nature

quite impossible that he ever

to modern converts do-

represented the Church to himself

Paganism

[Miss Pringle's conversion]
Add Mss 45785

f115v

Septuagint
Congregations = translated
N. T       Church
it wd have
made a great
difference in the
relations of Dissenters
& Church

No Bishops & Deacons
some prophets &c

{vertically where indicated by |:} truth of facts
{On an angle at left:}
  M.S
  So disappointed
imploring people
not to come into the
  R.C Ch-
{On same angle}
intensity
Which makes a prophetess

f116

Mr. Jowett               May 15/89
Salvation - What does she understand
foundation of R. C. Church - perfection
  Ch. of England - very sad -
Who preached that soul was only
  existence we know of
not matter
facts that there is no individual
future existence - What?
What becomes of the bad?
  They can't be absorbed into God-

f116v  blank
Private 10 South St.

May 16/89

Dear Mr. Jowett

Very many thanks for giving us Communion yesterday. [I like the word 'Sacrament' - the Roman /Soldier's/ oath - better] I may have something to say about our conversation another time -

I was rather aghast at hearing: 'Mrs. Green knows about Miss P. but she did not 'know about' you know what.

As if it had been /were/ talked {struck out twice} /not unnatural/ about /for her to know it/ or as if Mrs. Green had heard of it now.

No one at St. Thomas'

knows it - & No one but 2 or 3 knows it at all.

It would be absolute ruin to us if any one at St. Thomas' were to hear it- She would immediately declare herself. And then she must immediately resign-

It is precipitating the catastrophe-

The 2 or 3 who know it are Miss P.'s oldest friends Mrs as earnest in their opposition as I -

Mrs. Green has never seen her. & would in no way understand the /intensity of the/ case.

Please remember that it is life or death to me to under keep it secret - to avert the catastrophe

Excuse this

Yours ever

FN.
Add Mss 45785

f118v blank
notes, ff119-20, pencil f119 (she turned the paper at right angles)

First Communion: May 19/89 6. a.m.

It is not only for that solemn half hour or hour that He is with you, don't think that. He is with us just as much, if we please, in everything we have to do during the day. If in our daily work, instead of doing it merely because it is our duty or the custom, we think: - He is calling us /giving it/ to this, /do it for Him/ He will help & direct us in it - What a difference it would make - nothing is The Lord's Table trifling in this way.

f119v blank

f120

[2]
If instead of all this argument & dispute about the different forms of so called /Xtian/ Churches, We were simply to ask how best we could be Xtians, that is be like Christ in the work He has set us - that is not shutting up God to one issue -one of two.

f120v
If instead of all this garbuglio about where the R. Catholic Ch. was during many of the early centuries after Christ, if He commissioned her, you were to ask yourself, does Christ wish me to /Is it God's purpose for me that I should forsake the work He /God/ has given me? is that following Him /Christ/? Or is it: She, forsook me & fled - to some phantom about her own salvation. That is not shutting up God to one issue - one of two - That is really asking His will. See 2

{FN turned paper 180 degrees}
Jowett 5 ?Buddhism
pain or pleasure cease /to be/ indifferent to either - Yes: but you can't be indifferent to wrong. to evil.
& wrong /evil/ - the highest qualities are called out by - We are to h. & th. after right: hot climate - thirst that is not a passive state. strong expression -
Dear Mr. Jowett

June 12/89

Many thanks for your kind letter - But it was too late /I fear for this/. Miss Pringle had already seen Card: Manning - & the very day before your letter had written to the Treasurer of St. Thomas' Hospl. & to our Secretary her change of Views. She is now in Jersey for a little rest. but returns this week - /What they want is an organisation wh shall show them another moral govt. of God./

Pardon me if I say that all this has not the least effect upon her - /except that of confirming her in the Ch. of Rome/ She & many other persons of her intense temperament - persons whom you know - reply th either that they do not find "the truth" or the "highest" "in themselves" - & go off to philanthropy - or, as she does, that the "highest" they /she/ can find "in themselves" /herself/
f121v & f122

sends her to the Ch. of Rome—

You say— you say this for me, not for her, I know— that you are destroying historically, metaphorically, philologically, because you think it a good thing to destroy & thus something else may arise—

O reconstruct— What these poor souls want is that there should be put before them a Moral Govt. of God— not that of the Churches

Maine himself says: the law principle of progress is the law of destruction heading to re-construction— O reconstruct before if is too late— It is too late /I fear/ for her— [3:333-34]
/I had written you a long letter/
But I never cease /for a moment/ showing fight
We have taken into counsel a very remarkable man, a former Surgeon of St. T.'s, & great friend of hers— & he has is "terribly grieved" & has written her a very strong letter— & as I did too— She proposes /now/ to "pause" "before the final step"— going on at St. T.'s saying nothing in the mean time.
/But it is not too late for something else/

"He", the friend, I don't know/think/ that he has told her this.
"is very strongly of opinion that some loving & loyal soul to the Church of England should deal with her. If Mr. Jowett did /would/ not undertake the duty could he not suggest the right man to do so?"

They think "the time is past to stand upon etiquette with her - Some such visit should be paid, & she be willing to hear the other side for the sake of her friends".

I am asked to "undertake to work this thro' Mr. Jowett". "Surely the Whole Matter might be put before him in confidence & he be asked to deal with it himself or thro' some one else". x x "Such [2] authority would have some influence with her".

I do not ask you to do this yourself - but I entreat you to recommend some clergyman of the kind described in London - to do it And I hope we are not trespassing upon you too much.

They do not know, of course, that I have already told you all-

I had /actually/ written you a long letter on the subject of reconstruction &c but did not send it. Perhaps I may write you something by & bye.
To Mr. Jowett 15/6/89

As to the word "Re-construction": it is not my word- It is Maine's- Perhaps he knows now what "Re-construction" means- [You will say "No"]. He could not have meant: 'reconstruction of old organizations founded over historical error, metaphysical error, philological error. As you so truly say: there are some things that cannot be re-constructed. But we mean putting into some visible form of organisation for those poor souls who, if they have not some visible form, have nothing- instead of the now ragged & even dirty mantles of the Churches which are falling off. Some audible form expressing the great truths of the Moral Government of God as now beginning to be understood by a few thinkers - & some old truths as old as thought but now only to be picked up here & there - but especially 'personal' & 'loving Government" - [O don't discuss nor let men haggle about words!]
or say two forms of words mean the same thing - or the same word means two opposite things.

I have been interrupted every half minute by messages/assuring them of the /'personal'/ help & /'loving' Government of Almighty Love & Wisdom call it by what name you will - That is what poor souls want And therefore they too much noise: can't think
You seem to be always pulling down the old house or always making a scaffolding but never building up the new — or organising
Qy Where is your reconstruction? You say it cannot be organized /or built up/ It must grow
Yes. But then you must sow the seed
Where is the seed? I do not see it.
There is no seed /germ/ in destruction historical, metaphysical philological

To Jowett Aug 5/89
Oxford under graduates
-Mr. Lionel Smith- "All "thinking men" "collectivists"-
[Mr. Johnson & the best tutors of Oxford
Mrs. Johnson for Women's Education
All "New" men Tories
Lectures on Political Science & History — which teach Christianity without the name of it— And how to behave ourselves — & that we must not use a word beginning with ph., because philanthropy is a wicked thing— but to be all brothers & sisters is the right thing.
[How much of this is true!]
Vol III T. H. Green
Liberal Legislation for Hares & Rabbits
note, f129, pen?

f129
In how many things is the Hindoo especially in the want of the strong Western individuality & anti-Nirvana-ism, irremediably Eastern & not to be Western-ized?

{On an angle at left:} To Aunt Mai

Jowett

f129v blank

notes, ff130-39, pencil

f130 {annotation made by some researcher/reader:} [late 1880s]

Notes apparently for Mr. Jowett (mentioned in the 3rd person, her custom)

f131 {writing down length of full sheet} [3:610-15]

Please return to F. Nightingale

"The true philosopher is so oppressed by his consciousness of the vast space around him that he is always modest; but he possesses in the life of the soul the Worthiest thing of all worthies.--That is the idea to which we give the name of God.

God in the Baconian or Positivist scheme means the First Cause, but the Baconian & Positivist view is: How has the intelligence increased the Sum of what Lucretius calls the "commoda-vitae"?

Newman & the Lives of the Saints first put before me the idea of the life of the soul- /kingdom of heaven within/ but that view may be called /just the contrary/ the Idea corruptrix of the true, for it contains as a balance to its renunciations & its asceticism the set-off of future reward - payment by results.

To the philosopher, God means the highest conceivable value; it is the thing per se, it is intellect. /love/ Whether it belongs to an individual or is a diffused essence, like - - we don't know. {in smaller FN script: (Thy kingdom is love Aristotle thought it was a portion of a diffused
essence escaping.

What becomes of it we don't know - of its psychical nature we are absolutely ignorant.

All the philosopher can do in life is to bear in mind its moral value as a possession of the possessed. If ever you have realised its existence, lay hold of it, never let it go - /God dwellth in me/ the life of the soul will give you joy beyond all other joys; if you have ever known it let nothing carry you away from it; but the world will be too strong for you. Remember that the momentary visitations of being are worth any objects of ambition - moments of realization of self,  if self it is. There is no such joy as this, hold it fast; if you once have seen your way to it, keep it fast.

The Positivists get no further than Bacon, no further than the idea of "fruit", of the conquest of nature by the intelligence - apprehending its relations- All that is only the substratum or basis of the grand development of thought which provides not only for my seventy years of life, but for the past & present; which pervades all things.

but the system of nature is only as the ground work of the higher system of the life of the soul - exists only for that
The greater part of mankind have no mind, 
or circumstances have not developed it- Yet 
the Whole of this ideal order of intellect is only 
a scaffolding on which is built up the grand 
conception of the universe as a totality governed /O yes/ 
by fixed laws. The true slavery is that of the 
"doers" to the "free", idle philosopher who lives 
not to do, or enjoy, but to know. O yes

True knowledge is connected with consciousness 
of itself - I can conceive of temporary being 
stripped off me - but how much must be left 
to constitute the pure Ego? Let us take 
this consciousness of itself, this joy in the realisation 
of self - the Beatific Vision - /* of self X/ Can I transfer 
that power of speculative seeing, of intuition, 
unaided by discursive perception or the sensitive 
faculties? Should I feel "I" reduced to that?" [see quotes]

{in smaller FN script:} /Schelling/ /informs the body/

Please return to                             Please return to

F. Nightingale                                 F. Nightingale
This is most touching— the view of the Baconian & Positivist theory how true:
But— No doubt the writer /"philosopher"/ must be correct if he asserts that the "idea of the life of the soul" was "corrupted" by "Newman" with the idea of "payment by results".
But he can /the words "he" and "can" are individually circled/ have read or considered very little of
the "Lives" or works "of the Saints", if he especially of the mystics of Spain & their School, if he includes them in this /just/ Criticism of the corruption of the pure life of the soul by the idea of payment? /Just the contrary./ It might almost be said as he says: "the mystic Saints were the first /almost/ since the writers of the New Testament who "put before" the world the "true" idea of the "life of the soul", uncorrupted — Who restored the idea of "the kingdom of heaven is within" — of heaven being a state, a condition, & not a place — of "he who dwelleth in love dwelleth in God & God in him". {the line through the previous text is fainter than usual for FNs strikeouts} "I in Thee & Thou in me" & they in us — &c &c &c — the number of these texts is Legion
Take St. John of the Cross— "Se rechercher soi-même en Dieu" he considers justly the true "corruption" of the "life of the soul". Is it probable that he should it consider hereafter as the [see] legitimate reward or payment?
He gives us infinite advice on this point. He tells us that prayer is "non ce qu'on demande à Dieu mais chercher ce qu'Il demande de nous". Surely this is the purest idea - not the idea "corruptrix. God claims from us not we from God.

Had I time & strength, I could quote these aphorisms by the score from most of the mystics. Ioanni, Quid petis pro laboribus? Domine, peti & contemni pro te.

We are to be "content d'être privés de tout ce qui n'est pas Dieu" /even here/ Is this payment by results? Yes, in the highest sense it is - For God /even here/ is the Supreme good. But He is shy, so to speak of being mixed up with other good. Dieu Le Père Eternel n'a dit qu'une seule parole qui est son Fils et il la dit /continuellement/ dans un silence éternel: l'ame doit aussi l'écouter dans un silence perpetuel. Surely this is very sublime.

"that we all may be made perfect in one". It is the highest "idea". "The will of God" is everywhere pointed out as the supreme object of our search here - How much more hereafter! It is probable that the word intellect is used /& leaves us./ in a different from the common sense When the writer /"philosopher" tells us that God means "intellect" as "the highest conceivable value". Otherwise how much higher than "the highest" is the conception: God is "love": & he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God & God in him -
How strangely beautiful it is to see the same truth expressed in philosophical terms & Evangelical /Methodistical/ hymns. "the moral value as a possession is transcendant" i.e of "the life of the soul" and "O let me live of Thee possessed In weakness, weariness & pain The anguish of my troubled breast The daily death, let me sustain For Him &c &c "Lay hold of it, never let it go". St. Paul says: "lay hold on eternal life" - Eternal life is I /suppose God's life, therefore/ & St John. "God dwelleth in us /As Thou, Father art in me/ & I in Thee, that they also may & be one in us." "I in them & Thou in me that they may be made perfect in one" But the philosopher says: moments of realization "of self, if self it is," "are worth any objects of "Ambition". Well, this is perhaps a higher conception than the getting rid of self, the killing of self. Yet St. Paul unites them both: "I am crucified with Christ: yet I live - yet not I but Christ liveth in me. & the life I now live &c. Perhaps this is the highest of all conceptions. For
"I & my Father are one".
In homely language, [for will there be even one in 100,000 or /one in/ a million who will practically understand these philosophical terms or Mr. Jowett's definition of truth? Yet these truths, if truths at all, are the most important of all truths for every man, woman & child to understand]

in homely language Daniel Quorm says:
"I want when any one knocks at the door, to be able to say: 'Daniel Quorm is gone. He is dead & buried'- And then his prayer: "Here I am Lord- Take me altogether- Make me Thine, Thine for evermore:-

Is not /this/ exactly the same truth?

A poor /dirty/ lad a carter's boy, age about 20, came to Lady {"Lady" is circled} Hope, /a friend of mine, at her own house/ After an evening class of hers /in the school/ & said: I goes into the public-house- And I gets drunk & fights. And I'm sick tired of it all. And the copy you set me was: "Come unto me &c" And I thought you meant me. And I want to come. And after some talk, he prayed: "Come in Lord Jesus; come in to my heart now"- There was a dead silence: & then he said: "He has come in, and will He /never never leave me more?"/

Was not this holding fast the "possession"? [profession?]
This lad turned out a clean, orderly man, deeply religious, exercised the greatest influence for good over his mates, married & when he was last heard of was still continuing the same excellent course—

Was not this holding fast the "possession"?
Was not this, in words of/3 letters/ one syllable, the same "truth"?

p. 2 most true the criticism on Bacon & Positivism — most welcome truth —
But that the system of nature is only as the warp for the higher system by which the life of the soul is woven, & exists only for that higher system is surely now the belief of thinking persons? not in order to pay a few compliments as scientific men do to the "Great Creator" but to believe in "nature" being there only for the "life of the soul"— "as a totality governed by fixed laws"
O yes. how true — the moral government of God the Theodicy {Theodiky overwritten with "c") — all one, "governed by fixed laws".

"The greater part of mankind has no mind" as the philosopher truly says— Then how are they to apprehend these truths, as the philosopher puts them? Thank God that they can be put in the simplest language, apprehensible by all.
O no that is not myself: the simple man, alike the Daniel Quorm, & the Lacordaire & Henri Perreyve who 'gets rid of self', as Mr. Jowett truly says, will say.

p. 3. "The Beatific Vision" query of Self? No— Yet there is grandeur in the thought — the infinite self-denial of God— that He wills each one of us to have a "realized self", a "pure Ego", not to be absorbed in Him.
I open his mind, and I find Nirvana— Mr. Mohl used to say of Buddhism— No, no one will ever make me believe that a religion whose whole aim is the purifying of self ends in Nirvana, as a state of absorption. Discoveries since his death /of Buddhist documents/ have amply justified his disbelief that Nirvana was a jelly — a man’s-jelly—
Add Mss 45785

draft letter?, ff140-43, pen. [5:108-09]

f140
{written on black edged paper
{on an angle, top left corner:} /Private/
[3] As to Statistics
Please return to F. Nightingale
{separated from rest of text by wavy line:} December 1890
Mr. Mundella says:
here we have been
sweeping every year (under
Forster's Act) some hundreds
of thousands of children
into our Schools - And we
have not the slightest idea
of the results of what
we have been doing. We
have spent millions of
money. And it may be,
more or less, waste.
We do not know how many
children forget all they
have learnt (tho' it is
supposed to be a very
large proportion) No

f140v
organization of Night
Schools or Secondary
Schools completes the
scheme of Education so
as to prevent this
enormous waste. x
We have no idea either what
is the practical result on the
after life of these children
who do no forget every
thing.
In short of the effect of our
scheme on the National

x F.N: From the Horse Guards
some sort of estimate might
come. But only an enterprising
young fatherly General has tried
to fathom the abyss - & he
finds that even among the Guards
who are by Regulation to be
"educated" (& every one of whose
recruits he sees himself) an
astonishing number are absolutely unable to read or write. [I have seen their papers

f141
life /our knowledge/ is practically nil, tho' that scheme is now 20 years old

P.T.O.

f141v

F.N. A propos to Mundella
the answers one receives from grave administrators are like those of the Irishwoman who returned a jug broken:
1. that it was not broken
2. that it was broken when it came
3. that she had never had it at all
They, the grave Adm's answers are:
1. that crime has diminished exactly in proportion that education has increased
2. that a large proportion of men in gaol are very well educated - that education tends more to increase their cleverness in escaping conviction. or when released to improve them in burglary &c
3. that (Elementary) education has nothing whatever to do with crime either in increasing or diminishing it

f142
[2]
the children's after life not being /known:/ he said: get a schoolmaster or mistress to trace for 10 years back say 1000 children
Then, he said, the Revd. W. Rogers would help.
have your Professor ready
He told me of several
similar enquiries he himself
had held. e.g. Sir James Paget
had traced (I think he said 1000)
students for him— the 3 best
were now Regius Professors
of the 3 worst, 2 had
committed suicide — in disgrace
— one was Palmer—
However, I hate anecdotes—
IV He wanted me to write an Article in one of the Monthlies- He himself had done so in the Fortnightly - & he said: it brought down such a deal of information & useful answers. But I don't think I could do that - much less send round the hat with it. 

V He said, if the R. Institution would not accept my endowment probably the Statistical Soc": would - {blot} VI - Of course, I could lengthen this letter to any extent - For you have but to ask a question, i.e pull the string of the shower bath, keep your head steady, & down Comes the shower of facts. But I do not know that I shall /have/ time -. We are very much pressed with a legal question about Registration of nurses- not to mention India. And perhaps I had better ask you kindly to consider first what I have now written to your 3 questions how to find the 1 - money " " 2 - man " " 3 - facts 

But indeed we discussed almost every thing in your note ever yours F. Nightingale {written vertically up right hand margin:} I shall be most truly grateful to you to advise me on all the things in this note, if you will be so very good
Claydon Ho: Winslow: Bucks
Jan 3/91

Please return to F. Nightingale

Dear Mr. Jowett

I wish you all the blessings of a New Year & on your work-
Statistical Professorship

I think I cannot fully understand what you kindly tell me about Prof. Marshall's answer, because in the first place it does not answer our question at all - And in the second his own book on Economics (Which ought rather to be called an Enquiry into the Moral Philosophy of ?________.)/statistics/ {The word "statistics" has been inserted into this space by FN in pencil & different script} seems to prove the exact Contrary of what he
f144v
says. [Also, I understand he is himself forming a Statistical Soc".]
He says that "Govt. ought to do it." I thought our chief point was: that the enormous amount of Statistics /at this moment/ at their disposal (or in their pigeon holes which means not at their disposal) is /almost/ absolutely useless. Why? Because the Cabinet Ministers, the Army of their Subordinates, the Houses of Parliament, the large majority of whom have received an University education, have received no education whatever on the point upon which all

f145
legislation & all administration must--to be progressive & not vibratory /see-saw-y/--to be ultimately be based. We do not want a neat arithmetical sum - We want to know WHAT WE are doing /in things which must be tested by results/: We want experience & not experiment We legislate without knowing what we are doing The War Office has /on some subjects/ some of the finest Statistics in the world. What comes of them? /Little or/ Nothing. Why? Because the heads don't know how to make anything of them - (with the two exceptions of Sidney Herbert & W. H. Smith)
f145v

Our Indian Statistics are really better [pencil:] on some subjects than those of the War of England. Of these Nothing in administration is made.

On Elementary Education I enclose a few recent words of Mr. Mundella — premising that he was not thinking of Statistical [pencil:] Professorships that "they" overwritten by "these" these were casual words & must not be quoted. Please return them to me—

What we want /first/ is not [pencil:] so much an accumulation of facts (i.e. not at present) but to teach the men who are to govern the country what are the uses of facts, of "Statistics"— You said this yourself — I think you said: [end 5:110] {pencil:}'what we want is:

letter, ff146-48, pen

f146 (black-edged paper

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

{On an angle, top left corner:} Private Professorship) Feb. 25/91 [5:116-17]
of Social?  }

Dear Mr. Jowett

My 'expert' "friend" — I never saw him before — Mr. Francis Galton, came to see me on Monday by appointment to talk over the above.

A./1/. He proposes that he should ask privately the Secy: of the Royal Institution & two or three others, (without mentioning my name,) after talking over the scheme, whether he, the Secy., thinks the Royal Institution would accept an endowment of £3,333 6/8, for a
Add Mss 45785

Professorship after the
Fullerian fashion (to secure £100 a year) to lecture upon ___________________ XYZ
I enclose what he proposes as a title-
he does not like the word "Social Physics"- (you asked the question)- he says he looked in the dictionary & that Physics is something "not changeable - stable in "itself" & does not include "environment"- [Perhaps I am mistranslating him - what do you say?]
the only word I struck out for was "practical application".
2. He was most delicate about the money - but I think, rather than lose a

well digested scheme, I could spare that sum even to the 6/8, out of my own money - & compel my Trustee to consent - Who is unhappily out of town for health -
3. He /Mr. Galton/ thinks the Stat: Socy: would follow suit & found its /own/ Professorship of S. Ph., & perhaps other /Societies/ too: perhaps Oxford & Cambridge
II. About a man:
Of course if I can only raise £100 a year, we can't have a Professor to ourselves
But, he says, there are rising men, devoting themselves to similar pursuits & enquiries
He named two Berry? of Cambridge
Professor Edgeworth
He thought Edgeworth who is Prof: of Pol: Eco: at King's College would accept the place & the £100 & do it well.

But he would talk & see III About the facts: this is of course the main difficulty. He said we must leave a large margin to the future Professor -offer several subjects & let the Prof: choose.

He talked wisely & with a wealth of illustration on all my subjects. e.g. As to what Mr. Mundella said about Elementary Education & its effects or non-effects on

Social Physics, & their practical application of Social Physics to/how can Govt/ "practically apply" them? They know nothing /of them/ but how to make a 'case' for the Ho: of C. [What should you think of a manufacturer who kept his accounts & statistics in the neatest & most perfect manner, but made no use of them as to what manufactures were sold, what are the markets of the world? Quetelet has made a noble beginning, cut short by brain exhaustion. Farr the same. Both bequeathed to me the following of it up (by a /(Readership or/ (Professorship There is a book coming out by Longstaff. Nobody has
Add Mss 45785

f148v

followed Quetelet & Farr.
As for Marshall's book, it
is most interesting - but does
not help us much.
Farr's Statistics in the Office
(over which he used to take
me 30 years ago) are, I am
told enormous {pencil:}(& unused)-

letter, f149, pen

f149

Jan 8/91
Dear Mr. Jowett:
I have tried in vain to
write you this /a/ letter - I have
begun it again & again -
always interrupted every 3
minutes. The ridiculous
expedient to which I must
have recourse is: to ask
you to return it /this/ {underline & "this" in pencil} to me -
& I will try to make my
meaning less entangled -
I am soon coming to London
It has been impossible to
me to leave sooner.
Would you be so very good
as to return my two packets
of papers on Elective
Principle in Indian Legislative
Councils- & on Infant Marriages
&C. &c
/which you kindly took for your letter to Ld Lansdowne/
either here to Claydon, if
this week, or after this
week, to 10 South St. &
shall have some Indian
business in London, & have
no means /eyes/ to reproduce them
I earnestly hope you are
pretty well. {pencil:}/Pardon this letter/
And I hope something may
come both of your letter to
Ld Lansdowne - & of 2.
Statistical teaching, that is,
of Social Physics & their
practical application
in University education

ever yours
F. Nightingale
Very glad that Mr. Balfour
did not waste his time
in coming here

Dear Mr. Jowett -
I have consulted an
expert about a "scheme", as
you put it, for teaching
Social Physics & their
practical application at Oxford
At his desire, I gave him
some of the subjects that
I should wish to be treated,
which, as you & I have
already, I believe, discussed;
I shall only put here, quite
short, & asked him to
add to them

The subjects I gave him
Add Mss 45785

were:

"2" found on f153

**f152v & f153**

{FN has written across the entire sheet instead of only the left hand side as usual.}

[2]

A. results of Forster's Act

(1) what proportion of children forget all they have learnt
(2) what results on after life & conduct of those who don't
(3) what methods e.g. in Night & Secondary Schools
to prevent /such/ a waste

B. results of legal punishments—deterring from or encouraging Crime

(a) some say, keep a boy out of gaol, whatever you do
(b) others, give a boy a taste of gaol, or he can't be reformed

B2 no Statistics exist of the career of a criminal

from first committal} say for stealing a turnip {pencil:}Black Book
to gaol } or breaking a window
to his last - to the gallows or back to honest life

B3 what effect has education upon crime?

(a) some say as education increases, crime decreases
(b) others education only teaches to escape conviction or steal
(c) /others/ education has nothing to do with it better

C. Workhouses

(1) what proportion of same names from generation to generation there?
(2) what proportion of children depauperized by /a/ large or /b/ small
Union Schools or c. boarding out
(3) what proportion of girls from large Union Schools fitted
   a. for domestic service
   b. for vice

{pencil:} go back to 3

"3" found on f151

**f153v blank**

**f150v & f151**

{FN has written across the entire sheet instead of only the left hand side as usual.}

[2] {faint pencil:}3

D. India 1. Whether peoples growing richer or poorer under us
   2. Whether physical powers deteriorating or not
   3. What manufactures or productions as good & cheap
      in India as in England—whether bought by Govt: of India
   4. Whether Native trades & handicrafts flourishing
      or perishing under our rule
   5. What result of Sir C. Wood's Education of 1853

To these my friend only added: because, he said, other
Add Mss 45785

"things must be considered first: (pencil:) See p. 4
{p. 4 found on f154}
What he said, "were some of the things which must be first considered": ___
the difficulty "to specify exactly what is aimed at in a way free from all ambiguity - & again in a way to which the Statistics available will give an answer also free from ambiguity"
[This is enlarged upon-] "Therefore", he says, "by no straightforward & expeditious method can the above problems be solved

"Each is a separate & difficult undertaking, requiring a vast deal of thought & planning, just like planning a campaign"
Way in which object might be attained: requires "(1) A man or men conversant with the methods & especially the higher methods of Statistics "(2) conversant with the existing Statistical data "(3) with his heart directed towards the Solution, one by one, of such parts of such of the above problems as he can after much thought see his way to attack successfully
Add Mss 45785

f155

{pencil:} (4)" proportioning his labour
so as to stop short when he
has reached a fairly near
approx {pencil from here to end of f}imative result -
& not to waste himself
in figures in order to
procure a slightly closer
approximation.
" He must be the master
& not the Slave of his
Statistics.

instances Quetelet
& Buckle

f155v blank

{I return now to transcribe the balance of f151. The editor will have to judge
where this bit of text best belongs.)

f151

{FN has written across the entire sheet instead of only the left hand side as
usual.}

(1.) No. of hours' work & corresponding amount & value
 of out-put in different occupations
 whether purely mechanical, partly mental, or aesthetic
 (2) effect of town life on offspring, in number & in health
 (3) what the contributions of the several classes (as to
 social position & as to residence) to the population
 of the next generation - who in short are
 the proletariat?

f152 {black-edged paper

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

2
f156 (black-edged paper)

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

"Difficulties against the two Universities
"e.g. Geog. Soc."
"Unless subject has a place in Examn:, Professor will
get no class at all.
"a salaried Sinecurist--
"would live in much isolation at Oxford"
whose "main interests are "Scholastic'

recommends the Royal Institution {underlined in both pen and pencil} in London--
to found a Professorship there -- & require a yearly
course of Lectures
[gives his reasons]

f156v

[gives details]

considers "London {underlined in pencil} the best
residence by far for an enquirer into social statistics"

f157 {turned paper at right angles}

Now of course I am not giving you all this as information - since you are the first person in the world I should ask (& do ask) about it--
P.S. {"P.S." written in pencil} Also: your generosity in leaving £2000 would probably stipulate for Alma Mater
ever yours
F. Nightingale
{in extreme bottom right hand corner, in pencil:}
Excuse scrawl

f157v blank

f158 (black-edged paper)

10, SOUTH STREET,
PARK LANE. W.

{balance blank}
Feb 23/91  F. Galton
Social Physics - What?
Royal Institution
{pencil:} /Longstaff/
3 difficulties To find the money
    greater man {pencil:} /{what man? greatest facts
Mr. Goschen
Mr. Ritchie
    set before them facts /wanted/ about criminals
    " " paupers
any other country better facts
    in better form?
Only Govt. can collect the facts.
Statistical Society - any funds?
    could they set on foot any branches
    of enquiry?
What facts would answer our questions?
    how they could be obtained?
    facts from Prisons?/French system/ English system - non criminatory
    Schools
    Customs
    {pencil:} WorkHouses
prevent their career
being known
{all at right after "French" written in pencil}
inferences drawn from such
e.g. effect of punishment on crime
others e.g. effects of education on crime
So complex - can't isolate cause & effect
1. form estimate of sort of facts which
govt. could supply
Human nature bad subject for Statistics-
  Can't get distinct account of it
  runs up into so many forms of physics
& is so involved in circumstances
  e.g. you can't distinguish effect of education
from efft- of race
  climate (pencil:) /can't you?/
  drink
  can't arrive at definite conclusion
  ? /Any/ Statistical genius devoting himself to
these Secrets of nature (pencil:) /who?/
  What are the subjects to which Statistics
applicable with chance of discovering any
certain truth
Dear Miss Nightingale

What do you think of the enclosed--subject of course to any corrections of your own--as a printed leaflet to be sent with a private letter to a few competent friends?

I think it would start the matter on safe and good lines, so that in a very brief time, after the receipt of the answers, it might be possible to take the open step of disclosing your name & of summoning a meeting of the more
helpful correspondents to finally discuss details for your consideration—viz whom to ask to write the Essays.

If I am moving too rapidly, you must check me, and if I have misstated the sum available, you will of course correct it.

The more I think of the first step mentioned in the Memorandum, the more reasonable it seems to be. It would excite much interest, comment, and constructive criticism, & would give abundant

very sincerely yours
Francis Galton

At the request of an intending donor, whose name is for the present with held, I have drawn up the following memorandum to elicit the views of a few competent persons before further steps are taken.

I should be greatly obliged if you would favour me with your opinion on or before **********. Stating at the same time whether you would permit public use to be made of it

Signed Francis Galton  42 Rutland Gate

MEMORANDUM  The sum of £4000 is now available
Add Mss 45785
to further the scientific study of social problems
from a statistical point of view, if a plan can be devised which is likely to lead to important practical results.

The problems in question are scattered over a wide field. They refer to education, pauperism, disease, crime, and to numerous similar subjects, and especially to the measure of success that has followed various acts of legislation upon them.

It is fully recognised that no one of this vast range of problems can be attacked with hope of success, without a great deal of previous consideration and knowledge of disturbing conditions. Still it is believed, that by grappling with such problems one by one in succession, beginning with those that seem to offer the least resistance, much valuable result would accumulate from the labour of even a single competent inquirer. The question is: how to expend the sum in question to the best advantage?

A plan that provisionally commends itself is to allot (say) £200 or £300 in honoraria (say) of £50 each, to a few selected writers who should severally draw up a list of what seem to them to be the most feasible problems in the branch of inquiry with which they are familiar. It would be their part to think out and to draw up reasonable plans of campaign specifying the available data now in existence, and such other data as would be required, and which at the same time might be procured, without serious difficulty.

Their essays might at first be published in any way acceptable to themselves, as in magazine articles, but with the reservation that, after a few months, parts or the whole of them might be republished in a separate volume.

It is thought that the simultaneous direction of the minds of (say, six) highly competent persons
Add Mss 45785

f165

[2]
to different branches of the same general scheme, would greatly assist in its inauguration and in drawing public attention to its importance. There is also some reason to think that the now available sum might in the meantime be increased by the contribution of others. Limiting ourselves however to the residue of the £4000 upon which we could count with certainty, and which if placed in trust as an endowment would yield a little more that £100 a year. What should be done with it?

165v & 166

Two results ought to be aimed at, the one to ensure that the memoirs it elicits should be critically discussed by competent persons, as at a meeting of the Statistical Society; the other that the results of the investigation should be given in a lucid form such as would be intelligible and attractive to an audience like that of the Royal Institution. Considering the good work done by the Fullerian professorships of the Royal Institution, on a similar endowment to that now in view, it seems not unreasonable to offer to that body the residue of the £4000 for a like purpose, that is to establish a Professorship of [social economy] renewable from time to time at fixed periods, and charging its holder with the duty of delivering a certain number of lectures annually.

Another plan is to endow a studentship at a University.

A third plan is to institute an annual lecture or course of lectures, like the Hibbert lectures.

A fourth plan is to institute an annual essay, to be read before & published by some learned Society.

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f166v blank
f167

Social Physics Professorship {on an angle:} /Wm. B. Coltman/
March 16/91

Money: Guarantee from me--a written guarantee

1. form a Committee - of names likely to attract subns=
2. select a working Committee from these to publish a statement for of the necessity for & objects of the proposed Institution, & collect subns=
3. afterwards consider whether I should give a Capital Sum or what?
4. Or undertake to guarantee £100 for the first one, 2 or 3 years, as might be thought desirable
5. Mr. Jowett's £2000 /left/ for Scholarship or prize at /Oxford/

Names:--D. of Westminster
  --Sam Smith M.P. (rich) interested in Continuing Elementary Education {emphasis in pencil} (Mr. Rathbone)
  --Mr. Phillips of Manchester (rich interested in Reformatories {emphasis in pencil}
  --Col. Howard Vincent (rich 1st Offenders' Act. interested in Prison Statistics {}"
  --Mundella --------------------------- Education
  --Lord Brassey Want of Education Statistics {"} {added in pencil; written over angled note below}/--Lord Brassey

{on an angle at bottom left, pen:}

/Objects
El. Education results
Crime: Punishments }
  Gaol effect of}
Reformatories
Prison Statistics
Workhouses & Schools
? depauperizing
{on an angle at bottom right, pencil:}

Rolls Purpose [?] XIX Century
April
  Sanitary Admn
  Socy=
  The Deanry Yard
  Arthur Acland
  Technical Education
Hooker 2nd Secy of Stat Socy.
Henry Cunynghame - Pamill Comm
bar
Statistical Abstract /official/ March/90
include
Herbt. Spencer: Bolton King
Toynbee Hall men would help Henry Ward
Lowe [illeg]

Mr. Galton's letter
   Where their rooms?
   Could your Professor work there?
   What Lectures?
2. R.I. Yes: Lecture there & paper
   Where would he work?
   Could endowment be at Stat. Socy.
   & lecture at R.I.?
Could he give RESULTS {underlined 3 or 4 times} of Statcs= at R.I.?
e.g. variations in Crime from year to year?
   & Why it was so?
   & Why it was not so?
X R.I. Lectures so unspeakably more interesting
to a General Public than Stat. Socy papers
so condensed
3. No Elementary School master or mistress
or High School Mistress time to trace back
1000 children for 10 years
   Mr. Jowett's 1600
4. No Staff at Education Office for Statistics
Records of every child - but no one to follow it up
5. Professorship in London?
6. Where is the Black Book? Home Office?
7. Brewery /Distillery/ Record of every Brew for 100 {overwritten in pencil to read:} 120 years
   under 16 heads - Why it failed - Why it succeeded.
   --Ah but that's for drink - we can't do that for morality
   {all underlining in 7. is in pencil}
Add Mss 45785

**note of conversation with Jowett? f169- , pencil**

**f169** {black-edged paper 10, South Street; Park Lane. W.} {written above return address, top right corner:} Mr. Jowett {written beside return address, at left margin;} Professor should be expected to give not more than 8 or 12 lectures in the year & to publish a paper every year. Thirdly the subject seems to me very difficult. It is so large & the inferences to be drawn from it so uncertain I look at it in this way. During the last 40 years I have had about 1600 pupils at Ball Coll Could I or any one draw up Statistical facts about them which would lead to trustworthy results e.g. of the proportion of length

**f169v**

of life or of distinction in after life {"in" written over ",&"} in University honours I doubt it but it may be worth considering The first question to settle is the subjects to which Statistics are applicable We see of course that they must be definite & that they must be isolated or capable of being isolated The 'theory' or 'philosophy' of Statistics has not been sufficiently examined. It is no use like Mr. Herbert Spencer to Set a label on each man
or on facts of history, if we can't read them in this connection. I think that for the first five years it might be better to confine the Professorship to a department of the Subject e.g. Crime or Education & then have another for the next five years. It seems to me that no one can collect Statistics: on a given subject or know what it is useful to collect unless he have a great knowledge of the subject e.g. physiology.

One interesting subject would be: the collection of facts bearing upon the relation of body & mind, Lunatic Asylums &c. It would be well to have plans for the collection of facts or criticisms on the defects of the Public Offices [FN. keep clear of criticism at first X or the effects of new laws [do something] say about Bankruptcy, changes in the Poor Law- & popularizing them ? Another subject: "The results of Statistics"- What of the Statistical Society? [No criticism but help FN] Is it a useful body? & can we
get some money out of it
to found prizes or the like.

[FN Prizes a signal failure
except in France - e.g. India]
- Whether it might not be well
to include in Statistics or
at least to recognize as a
sister subject (of? direct
?production) the experience of wise men
upon their own subjects
altho' they cannot be reduced
to precise figures- "What
everybody knows & nobody
thinks of" also

"the experience of great physicians
the great inventors or the
like - .

As in my heroic virtue I don't
propose Sanitary things, because
of the plenty of machinery /at work/ for these,
so I don't want Bankruptcy &c
at present - only directly practical
things - such as moral Sanitation
(as you say, e.g. Crime & Education)
& Poor Law I'm quite agreeable to
And I don't want at present
"criticism" of "Public Offices",
Official or Unofficial - or
negative things [I should
have been just where we
were 35 years ago - Should
not I? - if I had "criticized"
the W.O. /or nursing/ instead of working
for it, by others & myself.]
Don't be literary /yet/ in these
things, as they are trying to
make us Nurses. FN
Add Mss 45785

continuation of memorandum at f163-6 above, ff173-75, pen

f173 {writing across entire sheet}

Subject
8 or 12 lectures a year - publish a paper every year.
subject so large & inferences so uncertain
1600 pupils at Ball: Coll: in 40 years
how could Statl= facts lead to trustworthy results?
e.g. of proportion of length of life
or of distinction in after life in
University honours

1. to settle the subjects-
   Statics= must be definite - "capable of being /isolated/
2. 'Philosophy' of Statistics not examined
3. no use like Herbt= Spencer to label facts of history
   if not read in this connection.

5 years to take Crime
5 years "  " Education
A man must have a great knowledge of the subject
   to know what are useful Statistics to collect
Subjects:
1. relation of body & mind: Lunatic Asylums
2. facts on defects of Public Offices
   FN steer clear of criticism & do something
3. effects of new laws about Bankruptcy
   changes in Poor-Law
   & popularize them
4. results of Statistics - What of Statl. Socy.?
   FN No criticism but help.
   Is it a useful body? & can we get some money out of it
   to found prizes or the like? (F.N. Prizes a failure

f173v blank
Subjects recognize as sister subject experience of wise men upon their own subjects without precise figures 'What every body knows & nobody thinks of' " of great physicians inventors &c

F.N. directly practical things Crime Education Poor Law don't want criticism } but as e.g. of W.O. } work at it or Nursing } don't be literary yet

Prof: Edgeworth just became Prof: Political Economy at Oxford
Dear Mr. Jowett

I ought to report to you in some degree what is taking place about the "?" Professor =ship or Lecture-ship.

Mr. Francis Galton came to me again yesterday. He is going kindly to prepare for me a sort of rough note for a statement of the necessity for & objects of the proposed Institution - such as might constitute an appeal.

[But first he says we must have a name intelligible to the vulgar - He does not like Social Physics for the reason I gave you.]

Could you kindly without much trouble return me a half note sheet, in his handwriting, of a proposed name enclosed in my last letter to you, which you answered? [I foolishly took no copy of it]

If you could return me the whole letter, it would be as well; but don't trouble.

Mr. Galton has consulted several experts. And one thing I am rather sorry for. The general opinion has veered round from Edgeworth to Llewellyn Smith. Do you know him? Is he a pupil of yours? He is an enthusiast.
in these things - He was a writer in C. Booth's book
He bestirs himself at Toynbee
He is young. He is a Secretary to somebody-

Mr. Galton says: make a beginning: make a start:
that is the thing now to do
Let us have an intelligible programme - & then ask subscriptions.

He aspires to
1. Lectureship at R. Institution
2. Scholarship at Oxford.
   He says: if you are interested in it, certain to succeed
3. (pencil:)/regular/ Professorship somewhere
4. Endowment of a course of annual Lectures - like the Hibbert

But, he says, we must always remember how little can be done by money to secure original work.

He says: the thing is to get together a number of youngish men {balance of f written in pencil and another FN hand} with enthusiasm for the subject & keep them together by ready sympathy & appreciation...
[And this is what you do]

ever yours
F. Nightingale
Add Mss 45785

copy of Galton's proposed circular, f178, pen & pencil

f178
{writing across entire sheet}  Mr. F. Galton April 21/91
{pencil, another FN hand} Copy
Suggested Circular to be sent to half a dozen or so eminent
authors, with a private letter to each, asking about precise
subjects & persons

________________________________________________________________________

CONFIDENTIAL, to advise as to details.
It is desired to promote Statistical Inquiry into
the efficacy of Legislative Acts, intended to promote
the moral well-being of large classes-

With this object in view, it is proposed during the present
year to offer £50 to £75 in remuneration for each of 2 or 3
essays, severally referring to selected branches of either of the
following topics

    Board School Education
    Treatment of the Criminal Classes, especially of boy-offenders
    Effect of Poor Law & Workhouses, /whether/ depauperizing or not

A statement and discussion is desired in each essay
of the nature & value of the Statistical information now
accessible, and of such other information as exists in an
unpublished form; and again of such as has not yet been
collected but which might apparently be procured
without serious difficulty.

It is then expected that the writer would discuss
the ways in which these data should be treated so
as to lead to sound & to practically important
conclusions with the minimum of difficulty-

{Publication of Essays as already suggested}
Should the results of this first attempt be encouraging,
it is proposed to follow it up by further action in
future years, perhaps of a wider character.

{To be initialed or signed} F.N.

{written in pencil in another FN hand} Initialed May 23/91

f178v blank
Add Mss 45785

letter to FN, ff179-81v, pen

f179

[5]
Balliol College
Aug 14, 1891

Dear Miss Nightingale

I am glad to hear that you are at Embley - There is a great pleasure in being reminded of old times, though there is also a sadness. I have a strong recollection of your Father who was a fine old gentleman & of his Sister Mrs. S. Smith who had my aspirations after higher things. I am very sorry that the Shore Smiths are in difficulties. They ought to have been able to keep up the name & position of your family

f179v

We have hunted everywhere for Lord Lansdowne's type written letter & Miss Knight says that it is useless to make any further search. It was headed 'For your eyes only' nevertheless I shall show it to you, if we can find it. Meanwhile let me tell you some thing about its substance. Lord Lansdowne is very liberal. He says that he agrees with 'our' letter in every respect. The change of the age for marriage he acquiesces in but does not expect that much practical result will follow. In another letter he says that
I think you say you never knew what the human body was before - No more you did. Don't you think you ought now to take stock of what strength you have & what tries it most - Is it seeing Undergraduates or others or doing business? And what hinders sleep, Sleep that knits up the ravelled sleeve of care? & avoid it- Seeing people late?

Not but what man does not live by bread alone - Gloria

And every man must be his own brain-filter just as the stomach is its own laboratory - And no one

God bless you, my dear individual friend-

ever yours

(which does not sound like the 'spoon' business--I am sure I am not 'ever' Dean Liddell's)

ever yours

To me often reflecting on: if there is another world, there is no individuality

must contradict it, IF he is honest which few people are. We lie to ourselves-

Glory to God in the h- how do we give that glory - not by singing or saying the G - in E - but by doing what it says there as so you do-bringing peace on e & S.W.
or as Gordon said b. &c these poor people

Also by preserving the powers that God has given us till the last moment - that is glory to God - Whether we eat or drink do all to the g of G - /How deep & true/ especially in illness For so He giveth His beloved sleep of our body by letting Him guard the city/of our body/& by guarding it ourselves accordg by His rule {written upside down} Gloria in excelsis
Mr. Jowett May/1892

Thank you for your most kind letter.

"The proposal for registering Nurses" is no longer a "proposal" but a stand up fight before the Privy Council - counsel engaged on both sides - all the petitions against the "proposal" against the "proposal" gone in - whose name is Legion - The "proposal" is for a R. Charter which would give the power to fix the conditions of training & certificate-ing, tests & examinations for the whole Nursing profession a power which I believe query do the Universities of all Britain possess? The money but above all the time & strength wasted /compulsorily by/ for the opposition to the R. Charter, instead of being allowed to go about its real business of training & organizing Nurses & Nursing is incalculable. I have done my part, sent in the statements asked for some time ago - & till the cause is called on, dismissed the subject from my mind- For I have enough to do with India, seeing women-heads of nursing, the interruption
to which I regret more than any thing - & many other things-.
There will be only one thing worse for us than a victory (because of the ill blood raised) And that is a defeat.

But there may be great good done by rousing our side to an increased earnestness about
1. providing Homes for Hospital, for Private, for District Nurses, while engaged in their work of Nursing.
   [This is at present only done by Hospitals- & a few for District & Private Nurses. Doctors understand this least of all.
2. full (private) Hospitals Register tracing career of Nurses trained by them

It is not strange that people understand the subject /so little,/ (as little as they do India)- because it is so technical- & they think it is all technical The promoters of the R. Charter least of all. They do not understand that there is
   a. Hospital Nursing
   b. Private Nursing
   c. District Nursing
      (1) in cities
      (2) in the country
   & d. Maternity or Monthly Nursing for the poor. Whose ignorance does life long harm.
Of these, a.- the Hospitals need no Register but their own which is or ought to be kept so full, giving the whole career of each Nurse after her training (with remarks) that it is out of the question submitting it to the public. If then Hospitals have bad Nurses, it is their own fault.

The same thing may be said /mutatis mutandis/ of c. District Nurses who, after Hospital training, are or ought to be trained in a District Home under A trained District Superintendent.

The Register therefore takes /is/ only for b./ Private Nurses.

(a.) It can take no notice of course as to whether the Hospital Nurse is living /& working/ on her own foot or in a Home- Yet the Private Nurse is the one (of all others the one) who wants moral & comfortable helps the most to prevent her becoming an irresponsible nomad.
The who
You say truly/ of nursing [blue]/ a woman's/
"employment which is interesting to them
& also inclines them to goodness & a
good life"
Yet how to create this good
life?
The whole of the reform {struck out in pencil}
of Nursing which began
about 30 years ago
was based upon this, as {emphasis in pencil}
much as or more than
on giving technical training, {emphasis in pencil}
Namely, to make the
Hospital where all
Nurses must have their
training a home of moral
& spiritual helps, physical
comfort for health, decent /proper/
accommodation for decency,
good surroundings, careful
& motherly superintendence,
good companions-- a home
where no good mother
of any class need fear for

to place her daughter.
The result of this has
been beyond all expectation
But there is still so much
to be done - Hospitals
are still on such different
levels. {emphasis in pencil}
(b.) The Register /{pencil} Princess Christian's/ which has
been published, & in
which little or no care
seems to have been taken
to verify the nurses' own
statements, does not
affect to make any
Add Mss 45785

f187

[3] distinction between Hospitals for better /or/ for worse -
[You might as well say that a man was An European, with no
distinction as to whether he was a Russian or a Spaniard]
The least harm that will come of this is that nurses will flock to the Institution which will give the easiest certificate at the least trouble of training. But, as above said, the R. Charter, and I may add,

f187v blank

f188

the "Articles of Association" of the British Nurses' Association (Princess Christian's) aims at far more than this. It aims at what, as far as I know, no Professional Association (and this {emphasis & insert in pencil} /one/ is wholly untried) has ever aimed at before-
3. A Nurse's work is not a profession but a calling

f188v blank

f189

[4] To return to the subject of "homes": as so often happens a friend has done us an enemy's turn-- a man of singular ability who in fact raised all the money for the Nurses' Pension Fund-- who edits a journal called "The Hospital", without knowing anything about it.
He has opened a "home" (from not being a "home") called the "Co-operative" Nurses-- for Private Nurses, which is exactly the reverse of all the essentials stated above-- a Register for Nurses without a Home-- They take a week's lodging, if they are 'out of a Patient & become in fact {pencil} these irresponsible nomads, without esprit.

def

The danger of becoming selfish is great Even the Short-service Soldier whom all Nurses in their Short service tend to resemble has his Regiment in whose honour he may be supposed to feel some interest. But they have none, according to this plan The extension of "Homes for Private Nurses on sound lines aided by the Nurses' Training Schools and Hospitals affords at present the best prospect of meeting the requirements of the public. {to end of f written in pencil}
The only object of these "home"-less irresponsible Nurses seems to be "forcing up wages [end 12:549]
Add Mss 45785

note, f191- pencil

f191

Hi/g/ham Oct 1/92 [3:506]

6 months' notice--very serious

[on angle] Better try
See him at Oxford
me to write to the Bishop in answer to his to you
injustice to Mr. Higham
injury to the Church--i.e. himself
fear of publicity
Sir H. should take /good/ legal advice against the
Bishop if he can present & the Bp refuses to [end 3:506]
institute- /No/ A private enquiry of the Bp's can
velvet gloves - men of the world go on to 2

Over

f191v

Bp of Ripon would ordain men who did
not believe in the miracles
or Resurrection & Ascension

f192

to prove is that it will do no good & a great
deal of harm X
X FN It will exclude a great many good
Nurses who could not pass any sort of Exam:
& admit a great many wholly inefficient who
will pass a splendid Exam: & have been trained
You cannot give your Hospital character
except to a very few confidentially
FN [illeg Toryish?] moral faults are not committed
now by Nurses
Dr. Moore - An inferior sort of practitioner

f192v

Mr. Jowett
Cannot refuse a certificate or testimonial to men
going into orders- even if they have been
sent down = on /a/ moral fault
Low standard must be X
this will probably be the same 30 years hence
You must have a low standard
People will probably go to a Physician in the
Hospital. Whose Nurse she may not have been
FN Then you want to give the Royal seal to this
low standard- What you will have
Answer to Mr. Jowett

All you say may be true, but they say: We don't find [ ] that highest & best within ourselves - R. I dislike [ ] myself.]

How am I to find it? How will it come there [ ] within? What they want is to show them a Moral [ ]
Govt. of God /Seeking then/ by which they seek it, /finding then/ by which they find [ ]
it, following them by which they are brought to follow it. [ ]
Mrs. Sd desperation of Drummond's book - /e.g. Chap on/ degeneration [ ]

But how /the way/ to get out of it? No way- [3:604]
No use saying The kingdom of heaven is within - if [ ]
there is no King with a moral govt. to create His [ ]
kingdom within - We can't - to make us observe His Law-
No use otherwise to say: His Law is]

His presence- We can't give ourselves His presence] [ ]
by saying it - Any more how much less then we] can give ourselves the Queen's presence - [ ]
What is the Moral Govt. which leads us to it [ ]
which creates it in us? [ ]
We can't be born again of ourselves any more [ ]
then we can be born of ourselves- [ ]
You confuse the two meanings of the word Law-- [ ]
the Law which compels [ ]
the Law or the Presence of God which is the Register of]
His thoughts

To the
{balance of f blank}


This is the charm of the R. C. Ch. to them - this organisation which is constructive in their eyes - You are destruction - to make a ladder to heaven. there are regular steps in their best books laid down - Montée du S. Carmel - there is a whole organisation to mount them with. What is the way to reach your best & highest within? A Plan? No? then in the Name of goodness, give me a word. I'll use any word you like - But it's telling me nothing to say there are two meanings to every word - there are two ways of saying everything [end 3:604]

Mr. Jowett | God's moral govt. [3:604-05]
"He governs the lower part of His world by fixed laws stopping short at the /higher/ upper part by ideals" words in anxiety to define F.N. But how are these /ideals/ to be attained?
{added beyond a wavy line in a column down right half of sheet:} /and what is to become of the millions who cannot even form an idea of an ideal? And what becomes of the bad who could [see] not help being brought into the world? F. Newman
"F. Newman says we cannot claim from God that He will lead the beings brought into the world by the lust of two people to the ideal or perfection? That is not the question at all /Is not/ The question (which almost every body /over/looks) is: Does not God "claim from us that He will bring an ideal--perfection--out of these poor wretches who cd not help being born

You believed a great deal more than
this when I first knew you
"at least my Lord, you gave me cause
to think so"-
You believed that there was a great
deal to be found out about God's moral
Govt.- you believed that
the mind can do something but not much
to overcome the body"
that is "thro' the weakness of our mortal
nature" we can do nothing without Thee".
Yes: but it is God who is to supplement this
weakness—God in the third party who
enables the soul to overcome
the Sin that doth So easily beset us
{on an angle in bottom right corner}
/lying
worshipping the
Goddess of learning/

But how to attain these ideals?                        ]
That is God's moral Govt. isn't it?                   ]
We are not left to ourselves to attain                   ]
these - We cannot even make them without His fixed    ]
/laws/                                                 [end 3:605] ]
Fixed laws are only /the register of/ the thoughts of God]
There must be fixed laws which enable                 ]
us to form these ideals, to attain them                  ]

resign yourself whether you are to live 5 years
Resignation such a poor virtue                      ]
does not God claim from us more than that?            ]
/if/ we really believed /what we say/ that He /is/ was Almighty Love}
we should not talk of resigning ourselves to the  ]
/supreme/ Perfect Good but of seconding it              ]
{on an angle at bottom left}
/to examine His ways e.e. His laws
    His thoughts
    His fixed laws/
Add Mss 45785

**f198v**

definition of an individual  ]
We know very well what it is ]
tho' we cannot define it ]
Leave the definition alone ]
{on an angle at left}
/You can't
Get on a line
if you are always
stopping to define
That is only
If you sit down upon tin tacks
you'll /soon/ only get up again
{on an angle in middle, bottom of f}
/Quetelet
my will/

**f199**

Jowett  [4]

pauperism declining
But is it?   Those magnificent schools
only returned children paupers grown up to the
workho:   same names -   Boarding out - the
          simpler success
{on an angle here:} /training/
beggars banished from the streets   {on an angle here at right}
Is pauperism diminishing?   /What do
drunkenness declining?   Elementary Schools /for LIFE
vice  disappearing?   You asked me/
Quetelet - Education in Gaol does not reform
the criminal - It only enables him to escape
conviction another time - There are fewer convictions
not more reformations   not "   crimes

**f199v & f200**  (written diagonally across entire sheet)

Whether I
thought observations
were nothing -
It is because I think it
everything - for the individual
to learn how to observe in life
for the public, the statesman, to observe
what is the result of their measures,
their vast organizations for Pauperism
Crime
Education
Insanity - no training
The science of Politics is no Science at all. It is wholly Empiric not to say quackery - party Politics Cannot it be made a Science? Look at Ireland

/Ideal Law
And they leave out the highest part of the Ideal which is God /

July 3 Mr Jowett for a few days/ 

Booth's Pauperism in the E. of London House to House Visitation

Jowett materialistic philosophy "You say that the body forms the mind that the mind rises a little above it but not much"- I don't admit this X O then surely there must be fixed laws for the mind as well as for the body We cannot be abandoned to the body We abandon ourselves to God so to speak

X For as the outward man decayeth the inward man is renewed day by day - Is that a fiction? It might be the experience of every one if we knew the laws

Soul You talk so much of circumstances making the man - but when the man, the soul, is made - & the circumstances are with drawn -- is nothing left? Surely that is a poor, lame & impotent conclusion

blank
Mr. Jowett        Oct/93         1 Défauts de ces qualités
               2 "Natural" Laws-But the
              (what I say to them) /3/ undergraduates are the farthest from
the thing     natural
/3/ The man was for him greater than the doctrine
instead of the doctrine making the man (Balliol
(Home Ruler
/1/ To bring up the University life up to the level or down
to the level of the best enlightenment of the active life
of the world {written at right angles here}
Oxford was in the worst rear /Epigrams
He made it     in the fore front  No good/

2 To bring together the University life & the life of the
world - so that the University life shall be a direct
(or indirect) preparation & School for it.
And to keep up the lives thus formed for their own sakes
& that of the College

making Mr. Jowett absurd = the story of the walk [2]
Défauts
God was good - because he was good
but not from any proof afforded by the moral
government of the world
Not a sparrow falls to the ground
Fluffy
God does not want us-
no individuality in future life

In Loving remembrance
of Revd. Professor Jowett
the genius of friendship
among many trials
above all the friend of God
who has now received the crown of life
Florence Nightingale
Oct. 6/93
Add Mss 45785

**f207** Evelyn Abbott letters to FN regarding publication of Jowett letters

**ff213-14** Evelyn Abbott letter to FN 13 March 1890 [1896?] [not FN hand]
"In one of his notes- he notes himself -
he had been reading the "De
Imitatatione Christi"- "Could I,
in ten years time, write a new
Imitatio, adapted to our own days."
Had he done this - what a work
we should have had! And I
hope that by careful sketches from
his published & unpublished work
writings - something which may
take the place of [ ] book may
some day be compiled

**f214**

**f217** in Abbott letter reference to H. Perreyve, that Jowett had only heard of him through her. Reference to a Jowett recommendation that the statistical professorship be called her father’s name.

**f204v** blank
f205

f205v blank

**f206**
E. Abbot & F.N. {Evelyn}
re Jowett's Life

**f206v** blank
Thanks

I 'rejoice without ceasing'

that you think an Imitation of Xt
adapted to the times can be
made out of Mr. Jowett's
writings. I remember Mr. J.
being very much struck with
what Henry Perreyve used to
say, tho' he had never heard
of him before. H.P. was a
/remarkable/ young French priest who had
he lived would have been
greater than Lacordaire.
He died quite young, in
'65 or '66. His best known
work is La Journée des
Malades - But his preaching
power over young men was
marvellous.
f215v

He used to say 1. that the only influence you could have for good /& to bring about the love of God/was by [the following in a circle on f216] either over a man or a world seizing the spirit, the élan, of the age. Now, he said, the spirit of this age was obviously, progress, ill understood, liberty, tho' blood stained. Seize it - show that it was the spirit of Christ, of St. Paul, the ideal of God - God put it there. It is the spirit of all progress [?]
trades Unions

f216

St. Paul: Christ shall make you free
I think tho' Mr. J. would have put it in different words, that was his spirit with his young men. He took tried to take every /young man according to his genius
his mind, his élan (that was Mr. J's strength
quotations & also perhaps his weakness

f216v

Imitation
Everything is so different now that we have discovered this beautiful /little/ world to be the cradle of babies - not the universe - the universe of philosophers or of ascetics
He ought to be free -2- H P. Rom VIII {may be XIII}
have explained      John VIII {may be XIII}
what truth is - Mr. J.
H. P. used to say
that 2. this is the age
of unions, often retrogressive
sometimes blood-stained-
often destructive of property of bien être
But why cannot there be
Unions of the educated for
good - He pointed out
that the Oratoire of Paris
might be made a place
where every man might make
use of his gifts for good & for

There was something of this
in Toynbee Hall if it would /but

H.P. spoke of bringing back
men so wildly dispersed in
mind to God the Centre,/the sanctuary/ whence
He creates, inspires, renews
all our hearts being.
I have often thought of Mr. J.
in his great characteristic
of taking in the whole lives
of his undergraduates
instead of merely their
college life, in his efforts
for them.
    And there was, I believe,
a humility & gentleness
which made him master
of them as courtesy & gentleness
Mr. J lives of his pupils
always does more than the most masterful spirit.
The sacrifice which God asks of us, said H.P. is of that self-estimation which is the torment of our lives-

Now this was eminently Mr. J.
I simply dwell upon H.P., because his words are so much better than mine not because Mr. J's character was in the least degree formed by him [I believe he never heard of H.P. but from me- And- he often came

to my father's place in /Lea Hurst/
Derbyshire. And there I remember having one, but on a passing talk with him about H. Perreyve.
My father died in '74 But Mr. J. was at Lea Hurst a few times after between '74 & '79 that when I was there with my mother /She died in London /early/ in '80 And he used to look at my books, I have a letter of his on my father's death, but cannot find it. He was very anxious in '90 that I shd start a Statistical Professorship at the R Institution in London & call it by my father's name Alas! it is not done.
but withal with a certain reticence
one instance: he really lived like
a monk. his principle was to keep
nothing for himself. His food even in illness only [illeg]
much -- even his books £2000 -- £ 5
his servants, even when he was very ill
But -- he was dead against eccentricity
hardly any
& no one would have found out his
principle. his clothes always neat &
clean. Sir W. Markby
he never wrote
& hardly ever spoke
about this kind of thing

Mr. Jowett's Sermons
A friend said to me
"It's not like preaching
"It's not sermons
"It's more like the ideal
of undergraduates talking
-- especially the "Eating &
drinking". He shows them
the Act; he shows them
the Life, not the dogma.
He does not say: This do,
& that /think/ believe. But
he says: Here it is
-- what do you think?
The effort it was lately
years perhaps few think
He would be so glad to

know he does know
how his College is being
carried on.
NOTES ON MR. JOWETT, EDUCATION, ADVICE TO UNDERGRADUATES
PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; UNDATED

Mr. Jowett /
  his mother wd not let me be
  "  sister  sorry
Master always master of himself
  long schooling of himself
His fear of emotions missing the train
man is greater than doctrine
  "  " Statistics
Buddhism in the air Theosophists
Jews    woman
Stanley -- behaved very oddly
Davidson voted against himself
{written vertically}
  /  note books
Immortality
  impersonality x
what else?
x his own personality was so
enormous that he did not
feel it
all but master in 1854
  4 years dining in his room
immense
Unquenchable courage
indomitable perseverance
Who is like him in uniting
University with life?
Balliol was education
not only lessons
f229v

2

advice to the undergraduates. how long do you read?
that's too long. have you joined cricket, boating?
No: then you ought -- healthy body makes healthy brains.
Do you know any one with Mr. Jowett's power of making University
the entrance to life?

[above 5 lines struck through]

Silent walks -- yet the men felt he was thinking of them
little good Letter takes a whole day to write
but it is work which

run up Snowdon. Ld Lansdowne
Johnson. Father Ignatius

Immortality
how little we can do here. You must not say that to others
so enraged me No it was ignorance
never said anything of a bad ruler but that he was foolish
young A.H.C.

f230v

He would ask the men: how
much do you read? that is too long. What friends have you? None? You should not
have many but a few. But then he would introduce 2 men
together. What boating, cricket, athletics have you joined? None? Oh you should?
what is good for the

To exercise the body is good
for the brains

Cricket field £ 3000
{written upside down:} Alyce Bull
Headley Park
Hants

f231

July 22/93 last party
great " "
August illness came on
Sept 10 left Sir W. Markby's
Mr. Gell
16 to Mr. Campbell's
Injections did not reach the place
Add Mss 45785

He helped the poor Armenians &
Orientals who came
He paid for poor men
He had parties every Saturday till Monday. He would look at the book. What undergraduates were going out, & he would ask them after dinner & introduce them to the great men -- & he would take care whom he should introduce to who. He got scores of small posts under Gov't P.T.O

Boswell
Sir R. Morier 55 to 58 70 [illeg] first man he had during Long Vacation

both Gov'ts for men Who then rose Tutorship 20 min past 6 25 " 7 charm of him then He would see every undergraduate at least once during term And he asked to his parties not only Balliol men but Oxford men. clever young men, Professors whom he would like to introduce to the great men.

It is incredible the pains he took to introduce young men to /gov't/ people, for future life. Who will do that now?

wished to have a Monument in Westmr Abbey went in a Victoria from Station 5 miles to Headley with Sir R Wright talking had a presentment he Shd in not return to Oxford
Add Mss 45785

swelling above left side
f233v

[5]
Davidson gave the casting vote against himself to Caird.
Caird gave up £1900 at Glasgow for £600 at Balliol
no private fortune

he & Sir R. Morier gave £30 [£50?] alternately to help a poor man

Is Dr. Caird a clergyman? Organist?
O but he was musical __Sister

f234

[6]
Archbp Tait on his Mr. J's Mastership on his death=bed Jowett you were right & I was wrong [so Tait repented???]
did he teach Matthew Knight? his Will good & useful lives what did he do as Vice=Chancellor? His annoyance
Who succeeds Mr. Jowett as a Register Officer? Not Resser

f235v

2? {cut off 7?}
Clough )
Stanley } Scholarships from Rugby

annoyed about 18 Eton boys/ men taking off their names --did not like to meet Dissenting Ministers'
sons incredibly & hopelessly naughty 1887 October Browning -- his illness here J. how God works good out of evil Pilgrim Father He: No he takes the better part of us Beatitudes Wesley
Add Mss 45785

£236

not a Department but a man
Immortality
Truth
Arnold & Jowett
who like him?
follows in his train?
Mrs. Campbell
Oxford will not be saved
by her women
be loved Sir R. Wright because
he set him on foot
did the Epistles & Plato Essay
because he could say what he
liked
I thought my friends would rally
round me

£237

Mr Jowett

God was not particular about being
named himself if Truth or Love would do
instead
-- 1861
| Mrs. Green's Extracts from Epistles
| Xvian Doctrines & Practice, Essays & Reviews
| Stroke of Genius servants' wages
| give all that thou hast
| service = Secondary Education: Fletcher
--
Simon de Montfort } -- enthusiasm of education
Mr. Jowett too  }

£238

Pontius Pilate What is Truth?
Not answered because he did not care
but Mr. Jowett shd have answered because
I did care
Well,
What is truth?
/ He has learnt so much from his illness.
But he hadn't only the power of the body
/ only spoke to Lord Selborne & one word to Lord
Bowen
Add Mss 45785

**ff239**

[8]
Did not an influx of High Church &
R.Cs. follow Arnold?
Will the same follow Jowett?
He never had any pupil  Toynbee Hall
following /up/ God's moral gov't
periods of depression
feeble memory, he said
with tears
God has not given me intellect enough for the
Too many Epigrams
not too many aphorisms
disappointment

**ff240**

NOTES ON SHOWING THE IDEAL CHRIST; FIXED LAWS; EDUCATION
PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED 1895

1895
To show forth the ideal Christ
in sermons  {vertically:}  R. Catholic
in person  sister
not to moralize
not only to say God acts by
fixed laws
but to show how those fixed
laws act for eternal good

God takes the best of us
  Yes but He also works
good out of evil -- progress
out of conservation
  Cavaliers
  Reformation

millions deny a moral Governor
  at all  [illeg]
educated young ladies
Mr. Jowett never denied
Now little education/bringing up there is

Mr. Jowett's was Education

lower étapes
The poor are dragged up
Very few are brought up
    of these who not called
    the educated classes
    Marc't [?]
the higher classes-- the Ten Thousand
    Are not educated
they are plastered on
    conduct not theology
a perfect God    Plato
    Mr. Mohl    We don't know
    Mr. Jowett what is perfect
horror of
    System
not in letters -- in conversations
his letters were usually /epigrams/ aphorisms
    on conduct. because there was
no immediate answer as in
conversation
Mr. Jowett hated / had a horror of/ system. His idea for his undergraduates, the permanent idea of his whole life was -- conduct, not Theology or even Theodikè To show forth the ideal Christ if he could in his sermons -- in his person (tho' this last of course he was not the man to put into words) not to moralize, not to preach Christ but to show forth Christ / in life/ this certainly was not this his standard idea? 2. There never perhaps was less education or more talk about it than now -- education in the sense of "bringing up" -- But Mr. Jowett's was education. "bringing up" in the highest sense of the word. (instruction) The lower classes, are as they are called, are "dragged up". Even the present Elementary Education including Technical Education, good as it is in the hands of some devoted schoolmaster, is not exactly
2. cont'd & cannot be, without the home, a "bringing up". And it will take a generation or two to see if the Instructor tells upon the mothers & fathers of future generations, upon the homes of the future. Still less bringing up is there for Pauper Children. And the

The old apprenticeship seems to have been better than in good hands than the new Technical Education with no record of results. Of what are called the educated classes very few excepting those who are in the hands of rare mothers who ought to be crowned by the nation are "brought up". Are the others only plastered over? In some large Ladies' Colleges male & female, does not this process become a reach high art but not an Education?

In the "higher classes" as they are called than "Ten Thousand" the plastering appears to reach the highest Art. But is it true the character & conduct are declining? Mr. Jowett's was pre eminently a "bringing up". It included a "home". the whole life -- It was his life And how successful he was!
& cannot be without the home, a bringing up [Still less is it so with Pauper Children. The old Apprenticeship in good hands was better Of what are called the Educated classes very few excepting those who are in the hands of /rare/ Mothers who ought to be crowned by the Nation are "brought up". They are/ appear to be/ plastered over, and in some of the Ladies' Colleges this process reaches the highest Art, but not Education. In the "higher classes", as they are called, the "Ten Thousand" -- the plastering appears to reach the highest Art.

it was his life Mr. Jowett's was eminently a "bringing up". including the home -- the whole life How Successful he was -- To this he devoted his life. How pleased he would be to know, perhaps he does know †† -- that you were are continuing his labours -- vastly more pleased than to know that you were /are/ writing his life!

3 He thought it unprofitable to work out what nation or who has believed in a perfect God. M. Mohl, a Wurtemberger, who learnt all the Oriental languages he could, in order to write some sort of history of religions (a history of God, tho' he did not call it by that name.) who was consulted, tho' a staunch Protestant, by the Jesuit Missions Etrangères in Paris. as an authority superior to their own, thought the same as Mr. Jowett, But M. Mohl, who died in '75/ in answer to a question of mine, said that Plato had the idea of a "perfect God" -- I told this to Mr. Jowett, thinking to please him. But he did not take it up. I think he merely said that "perfect" was only a word & /that/ we don't know what is perfect. There were two men
something tragic.

4 who might have worked out the Great
Problem, the Great Theodikè, & gave
themselves to translation,/ a tragic end./ Is not this
something like being blinded by being
looking at the Sun?
    After all, Mr. Jowett was right. to
show the ideal Christ -- not the perfect
God.
    I wish I could give you these things
in his letters. But they only came out
in his conversation. His letters as you
know were usually aphorisms or
epigrams on conduct, because the ball
was not given back to him as in
conversation. But I often felt extreme
disappointment & exhaustion in
conversation at his not giving back
the ball.

5. He says in one letter that one can
only say: "God acts by fixed laws"
that is not like taking an Index or the Title of a
book for the book? The book should show
how these "fixed laws" "sacrifices" no bed one
but work out the eternal good -- God has
eternity to work in, we have not, at least
as far as this world is concerned.
5. Liking to this is: he used to say: "God
takes the best/ part/ of us & works by that."
    Yes, but He also works good out of
ever, progress out of conservatism.
    A Bishop gave the two following instances
The Cavaliers were the best: but it was
good for the nation that they did not win.
Luther was not the best. but it was good
for the world that he won.
We come back to the old story: there are
hundreds of thousands who cannot see
that God is good -- But there are millions
who don't believe in /deny the existence/ of a moral Governor
at all. & among those, some of the most highly cultivated young gentlewomen of the present day.

6 There is nothing very inspiring in denying the Miracles, or denying a Moral Governor, or in negation at all.

There was no negation in Mr. Jowett.

But one must regard it as /not strange/ how how painful that the sisters of two of the great reformers of the present day (of whom Mr. Jowett was one) became R. Catholics.

7. But Mr. Jowett was right again.

For how little in our whole lives does Logic reckon -- tho' Hegel, as Mr. Jowett offered, thought differently.

(Fashion to prevent us from thinking even what

7. /Is not/ This is the age of acquiring but ^ not thinking Is pretty exact

Every thing is to be what is to be thought for us: Reviews of books which the Reviews had never been read

Leading Articles of newspapers, Reviews of Reviews

Reviews to tell us what to think Reviews to tell what not to think

Leadg to nothing

Abstracts, Summaries, Commentaries, &c. &c. &c. Spirit gives from -- Spirit of

Now Mr. Jowett always thought: for himself he was always original.
ff248v-50 NOTES ON JOWETT; LOGIC; HEGEL; INTRODUCTIONS TO PLATO
PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN; DATED 1895

ff248v Mr. Jowett [following 7 lines struck through]

not to preach
    but to show forth Christ
conduct not theology
how little in our whole lives
does Logic reckon
horror of system
could not the introductions
to Plato be brought into
the life? he said he
put his thoughts into those
because he could say what
he liked
What will become of the Extracts
    that you don't use? Will they go
to Mr. Lewis Campbell?

ff249

R.B.N.A.    2
{following 5 lines struck out}
this is the age of not
thinking -- every thing is to
be thought out for us --
Reviews -- Abstracts, Syllabus
    Synopsis -- Commentaries.

conduct, not theory or
    science
Dr. no idea of this
    here not now
Mr. Jowett was always trying to & improving his own character for the sake of his undergrads. This is very rare in middle aged & his work men & still more so in elderly & old men.

2 There never was more talk about education than now. Is there more real education, in the sense of "bringing up" bringing up for the future life. The improvement in instruction is enormous, in books, & primers & manuals for instruction, & in the method for instruction. Is the education making equal strides? But Mr. Jowett's was real education -- upbringing in the highest sense of the word -- upbringing for the man's future life which he never lost sight of. The "lower classes", as they are called, are "dragged up". Even the present Elementary Education, good as it is in the hands of some devoted schoolmaster who has something in his head besides grants, including Technical Education is not exactly...
f251v

[7]

Question 1.

Could not the best parts of the introductions to Plato be brought into the Life? he said & so not be lost? he said he put his thoughts into those because he could say in them what he liked

Question II: what becomes of the Extracts you have made that are rejected for the "book"? they will not go into Mr. Lewis Campbell's or any one's hands?

ff252-53v NOTES ON QUIETISTS?; INDIA JURISDICTION BILL PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

f252

Mr. Jowett July/64

10, SOUTH STREET, {printed address}

PARK LANE W.

"I suppose there have been persons who have had so strong a sense of the identity of their own actions with the will of God as to exclude every other feeling, who have neither wished to live nor wished to die except as they fulfil His will Can we acquire this? I don't know. But such a sense of things would no doubt give infinite rest & almost infinite power. Perhaps
quietists have been most successful in gaining this sort of feeling, but the quietists are not the people who have passed all their lives rubbing & fighting against the world. But I don't see why active life might not become a sort of passive life too, passive in the hands of God & in the fulfilment of the laws of nature. I sometimes fancy that there are possibilities of human character much greater than have been realized, mysterious as they may be called of character & manner & style which remain to be called forth & explained. One great field for thought on this subject is the manner in which character may grow & change quite late in life.

These explosions are like Epidemics. they have a tremendous force for a short time & then the air is cleared & the body is incapable of taking them again. I have often thought how completely the Ecclesiastical Titles Epidemic cured as of No Popery. And so it will be in India.
Jowett Oct. 1864

A Poet does not understand that he ought to be a prophet. No English poets seem to have felt this. They have wit & sentiment & imagination but no moral force. Clough might have been great.

I don't see why there shd be one anxious moment one mental pain in our lives. At least when we have determined to give everything to God Then we have fairly won & ought to enjoy -- rest.
The thought that should fill our minds is His all pervading truth & love. The result is with Him. Why shd we vex ourselves with the details of our work? or seem to deny at each step the general principle on which our minds really repose?

Jowett March/65

Nothing more required to be stated than that prayer is a mental, moral spiritual process, a communion or conversation with God or an aspiration after Him & resignation to Him, an anticipation of heaven, an identification of self with the highest law. the truest idea, the blending of true thought & true feeling, of the will & the understanding, containing also the recognition that we ask for nothing but to be better, stronger, truer, deeper than we are.

The human race is inspired. But how short the moments of inspiration have been -- a little stream in Greece & Judaea -- dammed up after a century or two in the original fountain all other progress but the dilution of this water of life. Great men like Luther & Bacon have been inspired, but how muddy the inspiration has been with the previous elements. Even Spinoza is a schoolman warring against scholasticism (I mean in such Things as his notion of substance, & the importance that he attaches to more logical demonstration.
Jowett 1865 March 8

Theodikè "Idola Templi"

a new division of Bacon’s idols

among them all the metaphysical puzzles

of Theology, including the doctrine of the

Trinity & the real presence in the Sacraments

vacuum in the mind that would be ready
to receive anything: -- the immaculate conception

or the incarnation of Vishnu

Jowett [2]

I read thro' the Old Testament (begun

Jan 1 at the rate of 5 chapters a day

-- one of my tasks) with increasing wonder

1. at the beauty & interest & moral greatness

2. at any body being still willing to

hang the life of a man on the inspiration

of Scripture.

Jowett March 9/65

Idea of Law traceable in all the Old Greek

philosophers. Heraclitus & others. They seem to

have had a sort of intuition of future knowledge

Were they not prophets as truly as the Hebrew ones,

not anticipating the future of morality & religion,

but the future of philosophy & knowledge.

Socrates the first who said distinctly that

whatever is is best.

1864 Nov 4 Oxford

down to him

The world requires infinitely

more courage and infinitely more

cautions

not to speak ill of people

This consciousness when you come

to act (or talk) with them

lessens your influence with them
To be true to human nature & to fact, Religion requires to be
1. Spiritual -- the religion of communion with God -- [but what is God? FN] reason to reason heart to heart
2. Material political legal: the religion of universal law in all its gradations moral & physical, or in transition from one to the other

The place of Jacob Boehme is the heart of God.

Turn Over

April 15/65

Easter Sunday. I don't suppose that we either have or could by any possibility have sufficient evidence of the Resurrection to justify us in resting religion upon that, if we could be justified in resting upon anything of the sort. x The Death & not the Resurrection of Christ is the really strengthening & consoling fact -- that human nature could have risen to that does show what it is divine
How curious it is that adversity & suffering should be "the blessing of the N. Testament; & this is probably the only Xtian doctrine not to be found somewhere in Gentile anticipations of Xtianity

Mr. Jowett April/65

Hegel the Almighty Logician
strong practical sense -- yet conceiving all things in the form of categories and believing the categories to be God -- the first & only historian of philosophy x x x x x the strongest conservative, destructive, orthodox, heterodox, Christian, anti Xtiian system that ever was
Mr. Jowett 1865 after Hilary's death
And now let us who are left try to rest
in God more & more & to complete & perfect
our lives more & more, trying to think & feel
gently about all, as not having intended
many things hurtful & painful to us, & believing
that though we are weak & fevered, God
who has done so much for us will fulfil
our work

1867
radicals. There is something that
is not quite intelligible in his
colleagues neither actively supporting
nor opposing him.
Think of all this also in connection
with the conservative reaction of
six years ago.
ff262v-63v

NOTES ON RADICALS; TORIES; CHURCH OF ENGLAND
PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

f262v

Mr. Jowett March 19/70

What an evil in the country a huge party like the church party is

They (Dissenters) think that the Church help to keep down the truth as some of themselves do

f263

[2]

Browning -- When I have done that I shall try to do something better still, & so on as long as I live. And I like to think of myself as beginning & not ending

May/67 At what a rate the chariot of democracy is driving. Household suffrage lodger franchise, one year's residence

x x x

Think of the effects on the Ch of England. (that of Ireland is gone any how) & on the whole country -- the exultation of the Idée who has

f263v

revenge all his personal wrongs x x x x x he has got his pound of flesh out of these Tory magnates who have scoffed at him x x x & really done & great service (not taking into account the means)

x x x

People have often said that he (Gladstone) would be the leader of the Radicals, but they never guessed that he would accomplish it by making the Tories
Mr. Jowett 1868
The Chapter on "minding baby" is excellent: only wrote tracts like that for the labouring poor & you will do an incalculable good
I particularly like the parenthesis (though he's not our baby) in which a world of morality is contained
Spinoza! thought of an infinitely present God & then of a consecutive God
My boy -- asks whether good would not degenerate if there were evil, just as peace would corrupt, if there were no war.

Rough
Something should be said of the power of Individualism in practical life as opposed to the necessity of Churches, Societies, organizations service & perhaps in some degree the cramming manners in which {written vertically} the Exams are [illeg]
Every year England is presenting more openings at the Universities, in commerce, in Secondary official positions & every year India is becoming dearer & more expensive & less attractive. The consequence of this is that every year there will be a regular deterioration both of Civil & Military officers It is not the competition nor the age, but the character of the
I don't trust the reports of any one about any one & only half trust my own eyes so that I am unable to form any judgment.

Mr. Jowett Sept. 11 ?65

3 things clearly
1. The moral nature of God i.e. His nature, justice, truth, etc.
2. The fixedness of the laws of nature
3. The endless power which man has of improving or deteriorating his own condition by working upon moral principles through or with the laws of nature.

Perhaps you wd say that no 1. involves optimism -- the restoration & regeneration of all mankind including Chinese Hottentots etc. (but always excepting Government clerks).

I think that this is probably true, but it is one thing to leave the consequence to be drawn and another to insist upon it.

The truth is that I am afraid of drawing to much upon another life & assuming a knowledge which we do not possess.

About that I think our attitudes!! of mind should be one of faith & hope, binding up in an indissoluble union our notions of immortality & the existence of God with the existence of right.
not tiring myself with mere drudgery
or shrinking into a coterie
or caring only for the affection of admiring friends. Few persons have worked
harder, & yet I have wasted a great deal of time & have not managed well
I see nearly every undergraduate once a week
Jan 30/70 The whole entirely under my control
And I hope to take a particular & individual interest in every man in college. That is my aim
the good effect on me & I hope on them
Mr. Jowett Jan 5/95 Oct 23/69
21 years ago
More & more for myself I see two or three things which this late trouble (his mother's health) rather tends to impress on me. First that I must be absorbed in my work & use all means towards this (not neglecting health) & shut out all trivial thoughts & personal feelings of all sorts. Secondly that I must aim at perfect calmness. As you get on in life, this is the only way in which strength can be husbanded & made effectual. Thirdly that I must try to act more simply & on a larger scale, not

NOTES ON SERMON BY JOWETT PENCIL; HANDWRITTEN BY FN

Mr. Jowett Sermon on Oct 16/92
Nettleship [?]
"Christ Himself must be regarded as what in modern Language wd be called a latitudinarian
1. neither in Jerusalem nor in this mountain
2. Except a man receive the kingdom of God as a little child
3. In spirit & in truth proofs that the faith of Christ does not consist in niceties of doctrine but in a pure & holy Life what an entire omission there is in the Gospels of many opinions & statements which are popularly considered to be an essential part of the Xtian faith
The simplest notion of Xtian teaching is that wh: approaches most nearby to his own
[2]
He (relationship) wd have regarded man as having a better self, a better mind, a higher consciousness in wh: the element of religious truth were contained
The lower consciousness is the sum of the material

Jacob Angel wrestling
Add Mss 45785

conditions of man's being. the higher is the spirit of God dwelling in him
Jowett [5]
Justice is not blind. On the contrary.
She must see & examine.
God cannot but claim from us to examine
His ways (laws) Resignation is blind

pony
carriage
Lizzie Life = living water to so many
? profane
And except we are "the way"
But {upside down} laundresses
to our pupils & dependents
we are nothing

as a father thinks not only {upside down} Grace Phillips
of his sons' University careers Welsh girl
(as too, many tutors do) but of their
lives' whole careers -- his parties!!! his "natural"
life

1 Something from Plato
line of the Bible
line of Plato
3. Love never faileth
2 above all, his LIFE, his fatherliness
not his preaching or doctrine
"I am the way -- etc. etc. the bread Christ's
doctor answer
Stephen Remarx {written vertically}
Sir Harry Hon & Revd
& Eliza Adderley
Magazine [Goodwill? illeg]
"ye are our epistle written in our hearts
known & read of all men"

2. Cor. 3. 2.

Mr. Jowett was indeed "written in our hearts"
not his preaching not his Theodicy
for he had none
his life was the extraordinary unconscious
influence over College, University & the world
I am afraid the expression "living
epistle" is not in the Bible, this is the
only verse I can find.

Add Mss 45785 added bits

22/10/95

Dear Sir W Griselby

Will you kindly present /convey/ my
very best thanks to the Trustees
for their great /goodness/ kindness in
sending me a copy of the "old"
"Master's" Sermons. I have
read a good bit of them. They
always /It may/ strike One as strange that
a man whose whole life was
/in/ one enthusiasm should /address/ wish
his flock
Sermons in such carefully /scrupulously{?}//studiously/{below}
restrained
practical & unimpassioned
manner. {goes nowhere} I suppose /Perhaps too/ he thought
that only^ ^reaction came of
excitement - even devotional
exct. & that one must live
not preach, one's religion to be
effective.
right to speak it all on
^others:
  Pardon my writing /so many words/ I could
not but write tho' I have been
much interrupted by work.
  But his enthusiasm was in
^the true sense of God in
us.
{following 12 lines written vertically, paper turned sideways}
they were different
in will {illeg} but
one {illeg}
He said /probably/ he did not
like a religious book
by a man of high
political career which
certainly had great
merit & made a man
noxious {??} because /he said/ it did
not pull people together
but separated them
still more.
{paper again right-side up}
as far as showing what they
were alike in & not what

effect - dearer to Christ
than that of Lazarus.
An enthusiasm /without dogma/ for the God of
truth, holiness & love.

3 In these days when we hear
  so much of unity of the
Churches which after all
only ends in /means one great ecclesiastic/ the Pope of Rome
being unus {?} as has been /truly/ said
liking & so little of the unity
  of spirit as taught by
is as well to /Christ/ one may /remember how he,
a man of such experience,
a man of the world in the
very highest sense, clung to the
unity of the spirit in Christ!
sense & cared only for that
of the unity of the Churches.
He had no catchwords:
His life was one enthusiasm.
He never /even/ kept any money
for himself, tho' he was an excellent man of business
{line leading from tho' to following line}
this was not from carelessness /neglect or/
but a {illeg?} conviction of what was right
for as you know two things done for effect
But he had a horror /sort of/ of singularity
- no meaning of holiness or the
{illeg on several levels} But /His/ /very/ {illeg} was
scrupulously /carefully/ neat & /a model of/ cleanliness.
2 In his Sermons one sees how
scrupulously he refrained from recommending any
enthusiastic singular course
but was intent on putting an ideal into the College /routine, & {illeg}/ {illeg} & translating Christ's precepts
enthusiasm - God in us for us into this age. And what a resurrection he had

He would not even have a Servant on account of the expense to go with him when he was quite too ill to go alone on his tours of visits.

Perhaps too he thought that excitement, even /Devotional/ Response excitement was nothing - & nothing could come of nothing & that our {illeg}
He was an incarnation of the spirit - not dogma or what he sometimes called pinning our faith on "metaphysical puzzles."
Mr. Jowett Jan 7/94
I wished for the moral govt
of God, bringing good out
of evil, as all history shows
The Pilgrim Fathers
Progress out /of bad works/ so as my
Mr. Jowett said, No, He
always took the better part of
us.
(on a slant above) All Dissent
But this was the secret of his
power. He was always
finding the better part of us
His extraordinary perseverance
from a youth to age -
E Abbots apprehends the extreme
tenderness /charm/ of his character.
Does he apprehend its extraordinary
strength.

connecting University education
with a man's future career
unique in this

The kiss
Add Mss 45785

f223

[2]
The charm /of character/ before his
Mastership
a "feeble memory"
God has not given me
intellect enough for the
Moral Philosophy book
he could do his Plato when
ill. 3 half hours a day
his putting his Nurse to work
188 ? 7
so enraged I was /indigestibly/ ("light" food)
that I asked him whether that
was willfulness /contrariness/ - And he
answered like a lamb: No, it
was ignorance.
doctors to the genteel people
doctors to the slaves
he preferred the slave-doctors

f224 [3:547]

Mr. Jowett
I think he had more character
than any body I ever knew - not that
he did /no obstinacy/ not change /&/ somewhat unaccountably
his opinions about things & people - but that he
spoke as he thought & he did as he spoke but X
He mastered life - it was not life that
/did not/ mastered him - that was what the
spirit of life was in him - He was
master even when most Depressed
also: it was he who put life into Plato
not Plato who put life into him. [end 3:547]
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