Add Mss 45786

BL 08 Add Mss 45786-45790 925 pages

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

ff1-169 correspondence with Acland 1867-

ff170- on workhouse infirmaries, Ireland, Monteagles

ff1-4 Acland letter 15 January 1867 from Oxford. Dear Miss Nightingale , You kindly said that I might ask you any questions on which you could advise me. There is a proposal to allow ladies to come to our small hospital here to be trained as Nurses. What do you think of this? And under what rules should it be done? There will be great opposition I have no doubt, to any plan, on the premise that it will interfere with the present Nursing staff, and it will be said that it will be the beginning of a system of Lady training. This will very likely by the governors believed to be a religious movement?? This is all very unsure. But the proposal will be made. I shd like to take the best part I can in the settlement. It would illeg ...

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

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

FN note on back, f4v, light pencil

f4v

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

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

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

Hospital a place of very serious work & not at all a place for any religion or other focal
Acland letter to FN from Oxford 25 January 1867. black-edged I shd have earlier written to thank you for your most kind and valuable letter concerning the Nursing but that I thought I wd wait till after the Meeting (at our hospital) which has now taken place.

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

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

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

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

Radcliffe Infirmary Oxford Copy of Rules Jan 19 1867
ff10-13 Acland letter to FN from Oxford 31 January 1867 I am unwilling to delay a post in writing to thank you for your letter and for the proof of the paper to our Committee. What kind of service you have rendered to us, and to the public by that document I cannot estimate. Whatever the intention may have really been, I have had a kind of instinct that we were not to state the whole case. My endeavour to get it considered as you know failed— but your paper has come like the “Deus ex Machina” to complete it, and only just in time.

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

I am half

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

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

ff18-21 Acland letter to FN. Aug 3 1872. I spent last Sunday at Claydon and went carefully into Emily Verney’s condition. One lung (the right) is extensively tubercular, but not much excavated. The left is little affected. Her appetite keeps good and the diarrhea is rather diminished. Therefore I hope and think that life may be spared some time without great distress to her. She is bright— as ever— but weak and hectic. I came to tell you this much because she spoke much about you, and she said how kindly, how affectionately you write to her and I thought that some good news as far as I
cd give them wd soothe you also. Sir Harry is greatly dejected. Emily herself in what she said of herself. I am hoping to learn something in Norway in ?? Indian and Norwegian leprosy. There is a great hospital at Bergen for it. I have been much illeg. Many thanks for your most kind hospital, but I must return to Portsmouth catching a train at Romsey. I drove illeg. Jut heard the grievous news of Lady Ashburton’s house. I fear that too will have distressed you. I heard from her only a few days since.
ff22-25 Acland letter to FN Oxford 23 March 1873. FN red und. black-edged. I venture once again to trouble you, though indeed all but ashamed to do so. The Medical Council sits again this week. I am proposing a Draft Report for the Committee on the “Women’s Education.” I venture to send the draft to you.

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

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

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

It occurs to me that you may by chance object to some of my half statements in the Draft, [FN red pencil comment: *I do. F.N.*] or be willing to supplement some definitions, or give me some instruction as to your own wishes. [FN in red pencil: *There is no time --F.N.*]

If so wd you do me the kindness of writing to the Athenaeum, Pall Mall initialled comments written on a letter, f24, pencil.
object to some of my brief statements in the Draft {written vertically} I do. FN - or be willing to supplement some deficiencies or give me some instruction as to your own wishes. There is no no time - FN

Acland letter to FN Mar 27 1873. blue, black-edged. I have just received the valuable packet you have so kindly sent to me. I have been all day at the Medical Council, engaged as it turned out in great part on other subjects, than ours. I ought perhaps to say ‘your.’ But I had two hours with the Committee on the draft report--have advanced it a stage, and will bring you or send you tomorrow a revise of it, that you may see how it gets on.

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

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

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

I am sorry to be obliged to write now hurriedly else I could not write tonight, either to thank you most heartily or to tell you what I told. Miss Lees did not illeg I have the originals from St Petersburg thro Lord Granville, as well as Miss Lees’s translation.

I have to go out. On my return I shall read again your kind letter and reread also Mr Bonham Carter’s and return them on Sat with Dr Shrimpton’s.
ff30-33  Acland letter to FN Oxford Mar 2 1873 I venture again to send another revise. I think I have removed from it as far as I can judge passages you might object to. I feel with you how much has to be done, how much has to be thought before that can be done. It is of great consequence that this Committee shd not flinch from making some Report now, and I think we have to draw up our statements as to how the need and the difficulties of what you wish and the illeg.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FN red pencil: I hope so.

I hope you will excuse me for adding a little extra fragment extracted from the Contemporary of this month.
f36v
I fear you will be displeased that it is so meager.
   [FN comment pencil] What can he mean by this? I made him cut off much - I wanted him to cut off more. FN
initialled comments written on a letter, f 38, pencil

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

ff38-39 Acland letter to FN in, on pale blue, black-edged. Oxford April 14 1873
I am able at length to send you the little report, completed. And now will come the next step.
That requires consideration. FN red pencil: It does indeed.
Mr Stansfeld is very desirous to have some system of registration at all events.
initialled comments written on a letter, [FN red und]
of the Midwives, that who they are and when they ... known. [FN red und]
   I shall proceed now with caution. The subject must be and will be thoroughly sifted.

f38v
FN red pencil: I hope so.
   I hope you will excuse me for adding a little

f39
Extra fragment extracted from the Contemporary of this month.
   FN blue pencil: What is this?
ff40-41 Acland letter embossed Oxford 22 July 1874 I am ignorant at the news you kindly send me. I of course “flatter myself” that a grave conversation with her immediately after she had declined had some effect. Any way I am glad. Tho I still wish she had more direct hospital duties, for she is illeg with her illeg. However we shall see. Now I am venturing to tell you that the Med Council has been pleased to let the p illeg It is certainly the most responsible post in our profession I know I may count on your help as far as you illeg And your help will be given by urging us on to our work and counselling us. It is better that any president can do illeg now a day in any office. But I imagine such a one may have often power to turn them a chin up tomorrow or down the. I return Miss Lees’s letter with many thanks.

f42 Acland embossed.
Yet I imagine such an one my have often power to turn the machine up the ... or down the ....

signed letter, ff43-46, pencil

f43

35 South St
Park Lane W.
March 17/76

My dear Sir
    I have to thank you for your most valuable pamphlet on Engineering & Public Health which I do most heartily.
    The death of our dear friend Dr. Parkes fills me with grief & also with anxiety for the future of the Army Medical School at Netley.
    He was a man of most rare modesty of: of singular gifts. His influence at the School: - there was not a man who did not leave it the better for having been under him: -is irreplaceable:
Dr. Acland
But the knowledge & instruction he has diffused - from the School as a centre - has extended &
will extend wherever the English language is
spoken: & beyond.
To me he is almost the last pledge of
those times with Sidney Herbert: (who founded
the School) - He was the mainspring of that watch
But I will not take up your time with enumerating Dr. Parkes' powers & gifts: which
you can appreciate better than I.
But go on to tell you what we hear & what we fear:
To us all, & to his Colleagues & to the School itself
his loss is the greatest calamity that could happen:
especially now that economy is talking of requiring the School itself to be discontinued
[All that could be saved in money" if this were to be would be less than £3000]
In this country there is not continuity of/in improvement
Every body thinks he can do better & does worse
The proposal mentioned has cropped up in the brain of some one totally unacquainted with Sidney Herbert’s reforms & their reasons
There are now, as you are aware, three Services benefitted by the School – the Army, the Navy, the

Indian.
If they would consider the question in all its bearings before so fatal a step is taken as extinguishing
a School which has done & is doing so much good, it never could be taken
[Sir Wm Muir, the Director Genl. of the Army Medical Department is strongly in favour of
the School as he well may be.] I know no one who could help us with public opinion as you could

NB
[What I have said of this danger is: a mere rumour
& must be treated as a mere rumour]
Dr. Parkes died like a true Christian hero - at his post. & with the simplicity of one. I think I have never known such disinterestedness, such self-abnegation, such unceasing & wise exertion for others: such forgetfulness of self -

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

He actually wrote letters about our Soldier’s Valise equipment
about our soldiers’ health, efficiency & comfort: -

& many other useful things pertaining to his

various Offices - prepared papers &c, (one

which will be published 2 months hence)

till I think March 5, when he could no

longer hold a pen - For some time, even before this date

he had been able to take no nourishment: [he

died of Acute Tuberculosis] from March 1

even speaking for a few minutes in a faint whisper

quite exhausted him: on March 7 it was
evident he could not last many days:

but on March 9 he commended the School to

Sir Wm. Jenner: & dictated a letter to me

about Hygienic interests: merely saying of himself

that he might be summoned to his last account,"

before I received it On March 13 he rallied I was allowed

to send down a Trained Nurse

On March 15 he died, perfectly clear in mind

& leaving messages (by his friend Professor Longmore)

as long as he could speak

It was truly the death of a hero. Let us

And as he went to the sacrifice of himself:

(his he was only 56) with joy & praise - as the heroes

of old: so part with him.

But let us try to save what he would have saved

Excuse pencil: & pray believe me, dear Dr. Acland

ever your faithful servt. Florence Nightingale

Acland letter to FN Oxford 12 May 1879 embossed, black-edged. I was

so glad again to be allowed to see your handwriting on any subject. I believe

the Oxford ladies are about to do a really good work. They have taken this

month up in thorough earnest and only need advice and illeg

I have after 31 years thought it though it was a great wrench to give up

the “infirmary”. But I shall thereby be able to examine, I have no doubt a

larger influence for good if I am fit to do so over all insts including the

infirmary itself.

There have been numerous violent attacks on me in the “British Medical

Journal for not attaching a regular and complete medical school at Oxford. I

think Oxford has another work to develop, viz a complete organization of

general and scientific education prior to practical studies with the

opportunity of studying all the subjects which are not

part of a regular medical school as nursing, hospital construction, district

nursing, dwellings, urban and rural sanitary admin and other allied subjects.

Therefore I do earnestly desire Miss Airy to come here and help us. The

question is how this can be done. Our infirmary staff were determined not to

have a thoroughly trained nurse and prevented. But the ladies now understand

the matter we are trying illeg.

My daughter will ...I have not seen Lady Verney lately . It has been to me

a heavy heavy winter. But I am trying to illeg
I hope that my asking your advice on a subject which will I know deeply interest you will not give you much trouble.

I was last week at Portsmouth seeing my Artillery son off to Natal in the Palmyra, that most sad expedition of which I hope the end may be better than the beginning. I took the opp of going both to Netley and to Haslar to ascertain the truth or incorrectness of a report I had heard concerning the Medical School at Netley. At Netley I found a class of nearly a hundred, consisting of future army, navy and Indian surgeons. I heard an entirely perfect lecture from the good Prof Longmore the subject being the latest conclusions of Eur and Am surgery on the tr of gunshot wounds. It was a simple privilege both in respect of matter and manner to listen to such a discourse. I need not say to you that his dept of med is only one of several, each I have reason to believe, as well handled by his colleagues. In short the impression was revived in one which Netley has always produced, and which I first derived through friendship with our dear and invaluable friend Parkes, that Netley was raising the tone of the Army Navy and India Medical Services. Now the report which has reached me was that young naval surgeons were to be withdrawn from the school, that the professorship of naval hygiene was to be abolished and that Dr Macdonald the prof of naval hygiene was to be put on half pay. Though I wd have no official kn of the fact, I believe the report to be substantially true. I looked upon the result with dismay. Since Parkes 20 years ago, exposed the inefficiency of applicants for army med commissions, I believe the whole tone and position of the med service has been greatly raised, and that as matters were, the army, India and navy med services were becoming filled with highly instructed and admirable men through the influence of Netley to a considerable extent. More...

I am so much obliged to you for your clear and full statement of the case of Netley and Haslar.

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

I say nearly last cause I do believe the young illeg. FN red und .... I entirely agree with what you say about the having ships and naval hospital for the illeg if a school.... I am quite sailor enough for this, ... But this would not illeg with some enthusiasm upon the particular advantages of Netley
signed letter, ff57-62, pencil

f57

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

Dear Sir Henry Acland
You ask about the 1. Army Medical School
2. ARMY MEDL. DEPT.
        organization & wants"
Their wants" are: to be flattered all round. Without this, nothing can be done but offence And first: 2.
Army Medical Dept.
        organization & wants"
It has not organization. It has enormous centralization [There is perhaps nothing like this in Great Britain]

f57v

Wants" 1, The Army Doctors now administer & command the Orderlies i.e. the Hospital Staff --
They have no instruction in administration
2. (a) They are the Sanitarians of the Army. Unique power is thus put into their hands. There is nothing like it in Civil life
But ask them, if they have a single Sanitarian among them And if they are candid they will simply tell you No’ No practice is given them
2(b) They are the Statisticians of the Army
   If an man sneezes at York
or has typhoid at Portsmouth
it is all reported within the week
   [There is nothing like this in Civil life]
   But this splendid engine for Good is entirely nullified
   -partly by the great centralization
   Should not the P.M.O & Sanitary Officer of each District report the cases of (say:)
   Typhoid or Pneumonia &c the causes the Sanitary remedies - & the results of those remedies.

that have been applied.
 [the report to be countersigned by the Genl. Officer of the District]
   This report complete x to go in weekly to the Director-Genl., or at stated short intervals - for him to urge instant Sanitary measures upon it on the War Office
This would be one of the most beneficent destructions of centralization - this fixing the Sanitary responsibility on each District x As it is no, the figures go in weekly to the DG’s office, are there compiled by 20 clerks, & then shelved
3. The Army Doctors have to arrange say the hours of Night Nursing, the supervision of Night Nursing.

There is no arrangement of hours as in Civil Hospls.
When an Orderly has to do his turn on night duty, whether that turn is once in 2, 3, 5 nights, he has his day duty as well. And there is no arrangement for his sleeping by day. His sleeping is smoking.
The Doctors are not taught organization of hours.

4. In the Army the Night Sentries have Rounds” to supervise them every hour or 2 hours or at short stated intervals.
There is nothing of the kind in Hospitals.
They resent a good Serjeant’s night supervision.
The Doctor (on orderly duty) does not make his rounds every 3 or 4 hours by night – or at all in most cases.
This could be done by a stroke of the pen at our centralized Head Quarters.
Quite recently, in a well known Hospital, the milk of 3 Typhoid cases was taken by the connivance of the Wardmaster by the
Night Orderly for themselves Fortunately it had been recorded in the Night book by a careful Sister exactly how, when, how much, the milk was to be given. The offence was proved. But the punishment was merely nominal.

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

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

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

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

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

9. Want of discipline/supervision in food arrangement.
The Orderly Medl. Offr. now has to inspect all the food & the meals- [Cooking amazingly improved]
But he may pass the milk (say) as fresh - And before it reaches the Wards somebody may have mixed stale with it.
Again, who wardmasters the Wardmaster?
Please return these [5] 5 sheets to July 4/87
F.N. {printed address} 10, South Street, Park Lane, W.
One question I do not quite know how to answer.
Was there not a Blue Book about the Hospitals about the year 1860”? I do not recall, (tho’ I have consulted Sir Douglas Galton) a Blue Book on Hospitals” -apart from the Barrack & Hospital Commission’s and Indian Sanitary Commn. Report. Lord Morley’s Commn.’s Report there is for wants at time of Egyptian War -

and of course the Report of Royal Commission of 1857-8 on the Sanitary State of Army which described all the then wants - and out of which the Netley School was evolved
ff64-67 FN pencil note: Please return to F.N. Acland letter Oxford 21 January 1888. I grieve to trouble you again about the nurses reg. I do not know the whole story. But I see there is a great embroglio brewing.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I hope you are really better. I wish they would order you to Lymouth or Torquay that I might sometimes come to see you out of London, when you are not so driven as you are ....
draft for a letter, ff70-71, pencil & pen

ff70 {archivist: c1888-9}  
To Sir H. Acland  
REGISTER -Shd. be dropped  
-premature at least  
(essential difference between Registration  
(of Nurses & of Doctors or Midwives  
But Dr. Acland does not even  
think midwives.  
Wd. he say so to Pss. Xitian?  
[Sir J. Paget completely discourages  
[Regn. of Nurses  
[thinks that of Doctors almost useless  
[Lpool gives Certificates up to date  
[to be renewed every 3 years  
[Does Regn. of Nurses contemplate  
[anything of this sort?  
[Moral as well as professional character everything in a  
[Nurse, kindness, patience, trustworthiness,  
[self-control, discretion  
[ how are these intangible things to be registered  
Private Nurses- is direct  
application to be made to Hospl. for her  
character? for register
Registration

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

HBC will talk to his Committee

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

Dr. Acland proposes certifying or
registering Training Schools or Institutions
rather than Nurses his own Acland
    Home & Mrs. Green’s
Bond St.?
What safe guards proposed?
A A 3 years’ service? Right x
   A stringent Exam”.? Useless
   - What against a case like Christie:
     (taken on at Bond St. at once
      without enquiry on statement
      that she had been ? 3 years at St. T’s
      Such get their 2 Gs a week
      instead of one
      [A.M.D. takes its lady Nurses
      on so from such certificates with no
      enquiry] {in tiny writing squeezed in between the lines}
      x i.e. not nothing But what does
      it prove? Medl. students can show more
      Nurses will control themselves just for those 2 years
      and what may be seen after
      No Register but the honest
      register of Hospls. themselves a safety
      or protection

      Pension Fund

II 2—(Gifts) 4 city men - Burdett’s
Pension Fund £20000 required
by act if Parlt. to begin with
?Queen’s gifts to Matrons’ Asseem
f71v

Pension Fund

? The £20,000? Not what it would seem to be from newspapers. Act of Parlt. requires deposit to be made of £20000 for doing any Annuity or Life Assurance business as a guarantee until assets amount to £40000. The £20000 may then be withdrawn. Is the interest of the £20000 together with Nurses’ payments, to make ?Sick & ? Superannuation Fund. A gentleman has offered £250 to cover this year’s working expenses. Burdett has asked H.B.C. to be a Vice President, one of 30, & he has declined continues his Registn. scheme as appendage to Pension Fund.

You would not take even a servant from a Register without writing to references we don’t take even a Pros: ?Queen’s gift to Matrons’ Asscnn.
My dear Sir Henry Acland,

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

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

How to delay Mansion House Meeting on Wednesday’

What Steps can Sir H. Acland now take as to general question?’

as much as possible in his own words.

N.B. I told him I was to write to you his opinion: & repeatedly asked him:

May I say this or that from you to Sir H. Acland?’ He wished not to write himself
£73
- Let them go on
- Competition is good
- Let Sir H. Acland speak at the Meeting & say nothing.
- Let both associations x go on:
  - with their respective Royalties.
- The royalties won’t quarrel or fight.
- It is the best thing in the world that they each have a Royalty.

1. The Hospital Association” (Mr. Burdett’s)
   out of which the National Pension” scheme came.
2. The British Nurses’ Association” (Princess Christian’s)

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

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

Then in the H. A. (Hospitals’ Association”) Mr. Burdett will wish to do everything himself because if he had been consulted before the Creation
£73v

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

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

£74

Private [2]

Sir James Paget.  I have seen the Draft of the B. N. A’S
proposed Charter - I told Sir H. Acland so.
It contains no legal rights of exclusion from practice
There is nothing in it to give legal power of exclusion,
or of getting the Nurses off the Register -”
F.N. The B. N. A. says it constitutes their Nurses a
legal professional body.”

Sir J. P.  It does no such thing: not with legal rights.
And unless they take express powers in the Charter,
the taking Nurses off the Register for misconduct
or incompetency, (as you tell me they propose) is
a difficulty amounting to an impossibility. The
revising The Register yearly & bringing it up to date is a fiction - no one knows this better than Sir H. Acland. All the Register can show, is that these Nurses once were trained & once were respectable. The Public will have to make enquiry just as much as before.”

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

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

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

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

Sir J. Paget did not allow this.

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

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

Private [3]
[F.N. told Sir Jas. Paget that the largest Nursing Interests, the Hospitals & Training Schools in London, Liverpool & Edinburgh - have already signed & are signing their Memorial for postponement of the B. N. A. Registration scheme - & have stated in it that they should feel it their duty to oppose by every legitimate means in their power" a Charter if on the lines of the B. N. A’s Prospectus.” Sir Jas. Paget seemed refreshed & rejoiced at this, instead of depreciating it - And all thro’ - in his wise” (as you say) gentle, terse & witty way, He seemed entirely inclined towards the row” & the
clash of swords -
& by no means the B. N. A. and the
Princess Christian - or towards Mr. Burdett & the
H. A. -
or indeed to the lamb lying down by the lion at all,
- let them go on, he said.
- Let all go on; - protest, memorialize -
  -fight their Charter.
- Let all have their innings.
- Don’t let the Royalties have their’s alone.
- Have Royalties on both sides.
- Let Sir H. Acland speak & say nothing.
  [I don’t mean he said all this. But on the
Whole he thought, that/or seemed to think that
the wise ones - that’s we - would be
Heads: we win. - Tails, they lose.’]
He always concluded about Registers & Charters
with saying: I can only speak by comparison
with men’s bodies - I can’t judge for the women.”
[F.N. It is another phase of that curious movement
that women don’t want to be this or that, but
to be like men.]

£77v
Dear Sir Henry Acland - I have done your behest
however badly - I have a great deal to add,
which I will willingly do, if time
allows us (you & me)
  ever yours sincerely & gratefuly.
To Acland in answer to letters July 17,18/89
You think her (Pss Xtian) wrong - Has she shown any wish to enquire into what you think right?
I can only expound the Hospitals view - Does she wish to hear it?

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

letter draft, ff79-88, pencil original Bodleian

July 24/89 Most Private
Dear Sir Acland I have to thank you as I do most heartily for 3 letters; the last third received last night with its enclosure, your letter to Mr. Wakley, Editor (or Proprietor?) of the Lancet - 
i grieve & know with more but am not than surprised that you have suffered for your exertions during that visit to London which comprised Pss Xtian’s Mansion House Meeting
To your first two letters I spared you an answer. But your kindness seems to call upon me for an answer to this.
First of all as to hard words you will, I am sure agree that the
Memorial of the Hospitals was couched in the most temperate & moderate terms/words that possibly could be composed/used - It only asked anti-registration to be heard - it only asked postponement till its reasons could be given. While the B. N. A. has deluged people with its manifestoes, the Hospitals have asked but this

Till we have heard them we can scarcely say it is rather premature /their reasons can we? that there is it not? to say that there will be common ground for combination between the Hospitals & the B. N. A. about a Public Register -

2. The adhesions of Hospitals & Training Schools over the country to the Memorial still keep pouring in - & will be published. I had seen about as many more as were published in the M.P. when I saw you - [the Times I believe is still recalcitrant in] in publishing the Memorial

One cannot hardly think, can one? that the clever wife however clever" of a stupid" country Gentleman however stupid", or any single utterance however weighty such as that of the Dean of Ch. Ch. who probably never trained Nurses himself ought to, tho’ they will, weigh against these bodies of Hospital men & Matrons - Edinburgh & Liverpool had (omit London -
You will perhaps kindly like to hear what the impressions of people by no means belonging to the Burdett/Hospls. Asscn. but who have understood & helped the Hospitals in every wise & experienced way for perhaps a generation are about the Mansion Ho. Meeting as they themselves tell me.

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

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

They flattered one another. praeterea nihil & that ilk

Register is to should perhaps be a mere Directory.

b. As to Midwives There is to be a bill in Parlt. for the Registration of Midwives as you probably know. The M. P. who told me this who has been engaged in all Hospl. & District Nursing work for 1/4 of a century, obtained that it should be put off till next season, because then it will be possible to say to Pss X.ian (& to the Queen is she is interested): Here is what the B. N. A. wants. Can you H. R. H. not slide it the matter over to the Ho: of C. Bill? & let the B. N. A. be a mere
Provident Fund for Nurses?’” This M.P. is honestly more anxious for H.R.H.’s name than she is of her own.

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

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

I have never heard any one really conversant with Nurse life who did not strongly hold this considered opinion -

d ^You have yourself strongly characterized as the Extensions”
Sir D. G.
such small windows
tubs stands
Infirmary
Workhouses -
{written on a slant}
Fulham
900 boys
Capt Brooks
G. H. V. responsible
Reformatories
open the windows
{written vertically}
Sir D. G. out of London
till Tuesday week
for a week
July 30

these, which when telling me of the one to Cambridge
e.- Nurses on the B. N. A. proposed Public Register as far as we at
present know we would not
send for either as Private Nurses or for
Institutions we are connected with”
f. & Absolutely Private
It has come to my knowledge directly from the sources
themselves that the Lady Secy. of the B. N. A.
has been actively (& secretly) at work with the
Nurses of a certain Hospital to detach them
from loyalty to their Matron & Hospital by certain representation
-that it reached such a pitch that tho’
the Matron condoned it, the Hospital Committee
were at last, obliged to interfere - and on
the offence being repeated to dismiss several
Nurses. The Matron has wisely abstained
from forbidding intercourse with the said Lady
Secy. either at her Office or elsewhere - tho’ she
knows that it continues -

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

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

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

I am afraid that if the B. N. A. continues
very much alive, something of this sort
will appear in the newspapers before the
close of the year - The people are honestly
anxious to save H. R. H. & not to injure her -
They have no connection with any Association -
but with the Ho of C. & are in no haste
to act. This is Strictly Private.
f85
4. I am sure that your great kindness
will pardon me if I say that I greatly/dearly
regret my name having been mentioned to an Editor
of a Medical Journal & what passed
in private conversation with you. by you the
acknowledged head: the Medl. Profr. to publicists the
word Confidential" is nil.
Suffer me to say that I have resisted the urgent solicitations
of some whom I most respect of those many
with whom i am most friendly - also the
intervention of Sir Harry Verney who to-day was so
convoked to make me sign as almost to make me to yield

f86
to sign the Memorial - My name has
not appeared in any wa public way
whatever connected with it -
& should not while things are in this
confused state & as you so truly say this terrible party spirited
state -
I had hoped that it would not be
mentioned without my sanction in any
way - public or what private - or in a
confidential" way which is equivalent to
publicity - I have been particularly
counselled to keep out of the row'
& have done so -
Please pardon me if i earnestly
beg your kindness to help me in doing
so  ^ ^ 5
No one will hear of this letter to you -
I trust that you are better & will
take care of yourself noif only for the sake
of your very many friends, of whom I will not say
I am one of the chief where all are chief
Believe me ever yours sincerely F.N.
In regard to Dr. Bristowe
Excuse me too if I say that the Hospitals
do not at all recognize Dr. Bristowe
as their leader organ & his being
President of the Hospls. Assocn. decidedly
militates against this instead of contributing
to his being the Hospls. leader
^ Pray if your letter to Mr. Wakley has
not been sent yet
might I ask you to take out as a great favour & kindness to erase my poor
my name

note, f88, pencil

Sir H. Acland

Now they can have trained Nurses, now the Doctors
are so highly educated, Cottage Hospitals follow
but will not supersede County Hospls.
My dear Sir H. Acland Confidential {printed address, slanted}

Telegraph
Steeple Claydon, Bucks.

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

Claydon House
Winslow
Bucks.

doubt you have better informants than I.
And I have really not had a moment.

But what I venture now to suggest to you is this

There was an excellen unanimous meeting at St.
Thomas on Feb 27 of a very large proportion of London Hospitals & other authorities Medical & other who unanimously passed Resolutions against any present Registration & the application to the B. of L., Sir R. Alcock moving the first –

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

But not withstanding the agreement of so large a number of [illeg] authorities Medical & technical, Sir M. Hicks Beach very wisely feels that he must have medical authority to set against that of such names as Sir J. Paget, H. Acland, Sir J. Paget & Sir D. Duckworth

No one can wonder or feel aggrieved at this And what I venture now to suggest to you

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

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

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

The 2nd suggestion I venture to make: is that as the D. Of Westminster’s protest is one of the strongest
against the Registration, & the D. is Chairman of 
District Nurses & of the Q. V. Jubilee Nurses 
this does away with any ungraciousness - the D. 
Sir R. Alcock & Sir Jas. Paget being the 3 
principal persons on the Q’s gift - & the first 
two having pronounced so decidedly - 
But the world is full of cross-purposes: none, 
I think, more curious than this - Sir M. H. B. is 
esting very properly his authority on 3 great men 
I am addressing the first - Nestor as you know, 
I saw at your request - I had a delightful 2 
hours with him. If I had wanted arguments on our 

side I shd. have taken his -{printed address} Telegraph 
Steeple, Claydon, Bucks 
excepting / including this that he gave her name 
he gave her name names are given to 
a “busy body going in at Court - And I derive 
from him the conclusion that Registration must 
come (when we are gone) years & years hence & we must work 
up to it “Well, mister, says, ‘What you zay, I zay too” 
As for Sir D. Duckworth: Confidentially he 
has said the Pss knows nothing {printed address} Claydon House, 
Winslow 
Bucks. 

About it or she does knot know what 
she is about - 
All this is in the strictest confidence - 
audaciously I suggest to you {written across the bottom & side of the page} 
But 
whatever 
you think 
well to do 
you will 
I am sure 
kindly think 
How well not to name the
Did you know Sir S. Northcote's story about the Cornish Jury? I think I/you could make as good a story about your 3 selves as the Jury whom Sir H. M. Beach has appointed to decide the matter of Pss Xtian v. The Hospitals

“Well, mister,” says he, “what you zay, I zay tu”

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

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

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

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

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

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

... Princess Christian. [hard to read], She told me she had been to see you and remarked that you had not alluded to this affair FN red und. and we agreed to... I return to Oxford [hard to read]
Add Mss 45786

Ff101-02 Acland letter to FN from Oxford, 22 April 1891 obliged by your little note re registration

Ff103-04 embossed Oxford Acland letter to FN 23 April 1891 with FN underlinings
I am very sorry you will have had to write two letters. I ought to have said the .... The leader in today’s Times is written I doubt not by one of the Registration Committee, who is a master of modern articles. I fear it means a great strife. The committee is a large one with ... good name and John Bull will not admit he is wrong and ... It is idle labour to speculate at resent but i see it will be sufficient to charge after the Princess Christian portrait engraved on the Register in the Motto. It is an ... to be regretted. However I shall have your advice. I have

Ff105-06 April 25 1891. My dear Miss Nightingale You will like to know something of what happened yesterday at Marlborough House. FN unds
   Shortly after I arrived Mr Burdett came and Sir James Paget, the Prince and Princess were most attentive to what was said to each and asked many questions. The result was that great difficulty of the ....

Ff107 - envelope Acland to FN May 8 1891, with FN note:
Wants
information
about Registration
midwifery
B.N.A.
& about Lady Dufferin’s
Fund
ff108-09  Acland letter to FN from Oxford embossed 9 May 1891 with FN blue pencil note and underlinings
Please
return to
F.N.
I was in London yesterday hoping to ask if I mt impose. But it was impossible and today I had to get ...This last was partly because I wanted to be within call tomorrow if Dr illeg wanted me. But I have a most ... I have to be away for a special ..I shd have been very glad too cd I have ... illegs red und. Re Charter not settled

f110  Acland letter to FN 19 Jan [a guess] date, 1892 FN blue pencil note
Please return to F.N.
letter, ff114-17, pencil draft letter to Acland, original Bodleian

f114
Jan 18/93
10, South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane, W.
Dear Sir Henry Acland

Yes, please, on Monday.
Will 5.15 suit you?
Are the Certificates which you are kindly going to present to Nurses at St. George’s in the East?
Of everything in “what is to be said” at a particular place depends on what the training is, ene
what the length of service, what to be certified -
[they give Certificates are given after 6 months service at Hospitals of the Metropol: Asylums Board Hosp. where there is no
no pretence at training!! And these are accepted at the Hospitals!

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

And 2. What is the moral & technical discipline which she will receive when armed with her certificate, of which the public does not know the value, she leaves her Infy. Or Hospl.

We are glad to think that the Medl. Profession are in some degree awakening to this -

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

People would think this disastrous, ridiculous in the Army. There there is the company, the Regiment, the Corps, The ‘Tommy Atkins’ &c &c &c. No one thinks
that the soldier is vouched for by belonging to the Army, the “Profession” -
It is 1000 times more necessary where the Private Nurse is, after she has left her Hosp. but is still in her “Profession” becomes an “irresponsible” atom nomad [People little know what the conversation of these Nurses is]

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

one the other day.

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

I could multiply these instances as inf.

As you ask me, I venture to think that this one thing to call Nurses to “now” is
1. the need of what no certe. can certify, no
Examn. Can touch

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

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

We venture to think
that Nursing in the Social

(or “State”) sense is not
a Profession at all, but
a calling, as you are
aware -
A Physician of the Hospl
which has put itself most
forward about “Registration’ & “Profession” expressed his
opinion forcibly when
he said that it could
end in nothing but an
“inferior class of Medl. Practitioners”
especially in the country.

As to “India” to turn
a class of Nurses up-coming
without other supervision
but the Doctor’s takes one’s
breath away. [in one
branch of this matter the
Add Mss 45786

f117v
consequences already have been disastrous]
Lastly, how much has been purely ‘doctrinaire’ in all these discussion
Registration & Certificates advocacies. The advocates have not themselves believed in it.
Your kindness to Sir Harry & the younger Harry is beyond thanks.
{printed address, upside down:}
10, South Street, Park Lane. W.

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

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

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

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

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

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

**ff124-26** Acland letter Oxford 23 June 1894 The plot for me has thickened as regards the Nursing Assoc. [FN red und] I have just learned that the assoc is to hold its annual meeting here on 25 July: the Princess Christian coming. I am asked to take the chair. I do not see that I can refuse. Paget and I and two or three more were made vice-presidents directly HRH had illeg, i.e. a few days after the division at Guy's Hosp.

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

But you probably know and have seen the Charter.

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

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

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

**f127**

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

We wished to avoid as much as possible all matters of content &. We did not as some would have wished add a further clause indicating that we still adhered to our objections that any such list of Nurses so proposed wd afford no trustworthy guide to the Public & Medl Profession & will
The mere facts of the dealing with individuals shows it to be worthless - worse applying to the Institutions.

She misapprehends the whole bearing of the case be detrimental to the progress of sound principles of Nurse training & to the interests of Nurses themselves.

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

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

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

Acland letter Oxford 1 July 1893. FN. Blue pencil No. 2 I wrote on Saturday before leaving for my daughter in law the captain’s wife who is naturally in a most. At the natural disaster of the Victoria which her husband illeg. And there she is alone will two children for illeg. ...more on Queen’s daughter. Much FN und. Shall I write to the duke of Westminster? I do not see that I can do more. But what can he do?

Acland letter Oxford 4 July 1893. embossed. I am really concerned at
not having a line, not even a rebuke from you.

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

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

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

....Meeting here Monday morning.

FF138-39 Acland letter 22 July 1893. embossed. FN red pencil. No. 1

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

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

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

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

FF142-43 Acland letter Radcliffe Library, Museum, Oxford 26 July 1893 FN re pencil No. 2

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

FF144-45 Acland letter 26 July 1893 FN blue pencil embossed.

No. 3

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

It is certain that now the self constituted body has a very difficult and
grave task to perform. Whether the central advisers are equal to it remains
to be told. I wonder whether you read the heart breaking events of the
Victoria.

note, f146, pencil, notes from meeting

f146
Sir H.A  July 27/93
Appearance of the Nurses? noisy, untidy, hair, rings
   Some sort of uniform,
   badge pretty & not of worth to joining Assocn. For
   -same tone in the whole

3 years’ training? means what?
Dr. Thorne to see?
[Rank means knowledge - Highest rank = highest
   Knowledge
   H.R.H. so gracious & charming
Difference in Hospitals?
Is not the main difficulty that they do not
understand the difficulty of their task?
Sir D. Duckworth {written up the side of the page}

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

What I am clear about is that the volunteers have undertaken a very
difficult
FN pencil note: say rather impossible
now national task and that this org for the purpose is however good in their
intentions a very unfortunate one.
This is no more than I have felt from the first. But it is I think now so
serious as you have always said that it is in the interest of some 20,000 or
more nurses, and of all the sick in this country illeg men like Wm Rathbone
and Mr Bonham Carter and the duke of Westminster to work at things as they
are under charter. I feel the Princess is so strong and so good that if the
best arr is made known to her, she will try to carry it out. I think as far
as I can judge the Fenwicks are illeg and Sir W Savory the leader. But I also
believe if you and the Princess can meet there will be some common action for
good. Her followers or rather leaders will not go against her convictions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FN note, ff152-53, pen & pencil

f152
Commentary on Mile End Infy training papers sent by Sir H. Acland – Jan. 1894

All the papers sent do not constitute ground for a certificate of competency.
“household or domestic matters only”, it is reverting to the old system, now thoroughly disproved by experience.

The “Nurses must be responsible” for the state of the wards to the Ward Head Nurse” for whose responsibility the Matron is responsible which she may exercise thro’ the Assistant Matron -But According to this No 3 the Assistant Matron is responsible for the Nurses to the Matron who is not responsible. The Ward Head Nurses are the stones to the whole situation, thro’ whom the trained Matron acts Paper No. 4 Nearly “Examination for Nurses” Nearly all these questions might be answered by a person of good education who had never touched a Patient.

“Copy” No 5. The Examiner himself seems clearly to point to this in his letter of July 27/93 He places a Nurse in “second Class” who “wrote the best answers on Nursing”!! And the solitary occupant of Class first is proposed “as a model”, tho’ he states that the “questions on “Nursing” (generally) “were not answered so satisfactorily
Private all the papers sent do not constitute ground for a Certificate of Competency

Mile End Infy Training
This Certificate is defective for the following reasons according to our view
1. because it has no Matron’s signature
2. because “conduct” & “attention to her the Nurse’s duties”, being put last & as only “also satisfactory” is, to say the least of it, unsatisfactory
3. because “Examinations” really prove only general education & not nursing power.

What is a competent Certificate?

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

note, f154, pencil gray paper

Emp Fred is in acc is in accord with one that your proposals are not practicable
Sir H. A.
With reference to a Control
body wh
shd decide on what
Hosp'l are capable to
train or not we shall
be guided by certain
viz regulations such
as you suggest should be laid down
by the RBNA,
the Queen’s Jubilee
Fund Council &
myself - the time
is not ripe for any
such scheme --The
public opinion of
Hospitals could not
submit to any dictation

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

Furneaux’s Physiology

Charteris’ Practice of
Medicine “ ”
Husband’s “ ”

f155v dubious hand continues, pencil
& what is more
important, the Hospital
Managers are not
yet imbued with the
perception of what is
requisite for he
proper conduct of a
Training School-
these illeg
arrangements with
not teach them
The task of the Corporate Body wd be in a very invidious one & could not be carried out in practice.

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

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

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

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

Now for the subject of your letter and its several propositions. You may be surprised but I virtually accept them each and all. My letter was virtually an ultimatum. I cd not think any power other than the Queen cd untie and adjust the forces that have so long contended. From your letter, which gives your own write and illeg ...T shall take some opp of telling the Princess Christian this is my conc and the future ...the “corporation” Acland a“vice president” I have not been able to remove? Dr Thorne.

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

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

**F163** Acland note. PS Since writing I hear from the empress that she is in England now for so short a time that she will not be able to enter fully upon this. But another time, later, hoped to ....you will see her Majesty.
note, f164-65, pencil

**f164**
Sir H. Acland 19/12/95
70 Nurses & Household
Are the Medical School &
Hospital combined
as at Cambridge? already
Residents come from Medl School
improvement
County, University & City
combined
Lack of money - no Nurses’
  Home - for Nursing as other
  Dept.
Representation on Commee.
  necessary - now all
  Doctors - Mayor - more
  powerful Commee wanted
will pacify the Univy &c

**f165v**
[2]
Connect Ex --Hosptl with
  Ratcliffe - now in a [Radcliffe]
dismal block with
  separate Commee.
Acland District Nursing
  Connect with Queen’s
Jubilee without
  separating it from
Acland -
Why prefer the Acland
  Private Nursing Home to
Ratcliffe for students?
To live on your Probns
-all small Hospls mischief makers

**ff166-67** letter Oxford embossed illeg 1898 I send you by book post the
various little retrospect by Keith and fear a very poor addition to your
library, but still in this time of change and progress worth your looking at.
I was and am very grateful for all your kind help and advice on Thursday.
It leaves much unsettled in my mind as to my duty about the medical missions,
and after I have seen Sir Wm Hunter and the master of Balliol again I shall
write to you. I suspect that Oxford from various causes cannot do much. The
inf e.g. is not a training school comparable to St Thomas or at Edinburgh.
I have no clear return after all what illeg We cd ...the Eye Hosp which is
a really good thing paying to the inf over £100 a year

notes, ff 168-69, pencil
Sir H. Acland  26/7/97
Dr. Quain: Private Nurses
    so sad
Mr. Wainwright: Private Nurses
    so bad
    Nobody makes the
distinction
    launched into the wards
with nothing but self
no loyalty: no discipline
only on the threshold of training
    but it is a new thing
women are to influence thro’
love & kindness - Queen a woman
not men, thro’ cannon
Mr. Birdwood
Nurses - conduct [2]
   Missionaries - not that
dogma - thro’ what they are
   Doctoring - ditto
revolution in the World
Gowers Sir W Dr
   for nerves & heart

Note South Metropolitan District Schools

Of course
   he admitted that
   By & bye
Well that’s just what he says
that his idea is quite as
much for us as for his
   Workhouses -

There is a proposal to apprentice workhouse
   girls in London Civil Hospitals with the
view of their eventually becoming trained
Nurses & in this way to get a living
   Their highest age is 16 & it is
proposed that they should not become
Nurses in their own account until they
arrive at the age of 25. Will you
tell me what you think of the feasibility
of such a scheme. Could you find
hospital employment for girls of these
ages which would be useful to them in
after life? Would there be any question
to their introduction into hospitals specially
because there were students at the Medical
School. (In short if the proposition
were made to you to undertake say
half a dozen of these apprentices could you
do it with fair hope of making them
Nurses after 9 years service.
The whole question of apprenticing girls to London Hospitals for 9 years with the view of their becoming Nurses is of so much importance that I shall not write you my opinion in full for a few days. I see difficulties and until I have had time to go more into the question perhaps you would not object to delay taking any further steps.

draft, ff173-74, light pencil

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

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

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

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

3. Liverpool Workhouse - In this case you have a Lady Superintendent & trained nursing staff. The Governor & Guardians would render every assistance in the experiment. Indeed one of the objects of the charge at Liverpool is to be able to train paupers for Nurses & no doubt they will be trained. In this case there is an organization which in some sense supplies the religious element of St John’s House.

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

These then are the possibilities of the case. After you have considered the points I should be very glad to have your opinion of the extent to which
any or all of these matters of training could be rendered available for workhouse girls. I apprehend you could only retain these girls after their training has been completed for Workhouse paupers by an agreement to serve say for 5 years. But then could girls under age make such an agreement?

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

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

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

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

I trust the board will thus be able to enforce better ventilation, more order, and better accommodation for the nurses and assistants. Yours faithfully H.G. Lumley G.H. June 1 1865.
The facts are I fear too bad, but I don’t see what good could come of asking a question. The proper time will be when the New Bill is introduced. We must then see that these cases are made.

Mr. Farnall

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

Mr. Farnall

Table 1 - Col 7 & 8

These columns put together, all cases which receive relief & all classes of costs you must divide into subdivisions as follows:
1. Able bodies
2. Sick
3. Infirm. aged, Invalids
4. Insane
5. Children under age

This is necessary to justify the General Hospital & Asylum rate

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

A General Poor Rate without a general system of relief like the present would be an unmitigated evil, a Hospital & Asylum rate.
f179v
Miss Agnes Jones
has told you so
You have made yourself
a very hard bed

f180 JS hand, pencil note

to pass an order to abolish the treatment of
all sick in Workhouses & to empower its
Guardians to send them out to Civil Hospitals
where there would be consolidation & some
chance of nursing
to rent out some & to try to nurse the invalids
in existing Workhouse wards would do no good
the sick poor should be treated either in
consolidated Infirmaries where they
have the advantage of good administrative
nursing & treatment at a moderate cost
or you must do what I have said about
it
Until you have decided, it is of no use
discussing the question of Nursing - because
you cannot nurse in the great majority of
the existing Workhouse Infirmaries. I have
already obtained & sufficient experience to be able to
say that whatever arrangement you make, your
Governor of the Hospital must not be the
Governor of the Workhouse. If all the

f180v
power of the existing Poor Law were
vigorously worked you could obtain
some improvement, but only apparently.
The great cardinal improvement is the
separation of Sickness from Pauperism
& its separate treatment management
Until that is done the Workhouse
Infirmary will remain a public
scandal as it ought to be.
It has occurred to me to send you a slight correction for my last letter.

In your table of classes you put together aged & infirm. My proposal for the Hospital & Asylum rate rests on the assumption that the rate is required to pay for those pressing who require more or less constantly medical attendance or other care. Now aged persons not infirm or diseased might be left to the Parishes until they come to require Medical attendance more or less constantly & then they would be passed into Hospitals or Asylums & become chargeable to the general rate.

You state I see that the weekly charge for the various classes amounts to 3/10d 1/4.

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

Otherwise the ratepayers may object to the increased cost.

---

There are 30 boards of Guardians in the Metro District.

2nd these boards... have 41 workhouses:

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

f183 contd; Strand 600, Whitechapel 680;

Kent: Greenwich 1044; Lewisham 300

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

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

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

- temporarily diable say 6000
- old and infirm 20,500
- imbeciles or idiots 1800
- able bodied 1850
- children 3000
The average cost of each of these persons per week, in relief alone is

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

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

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

The total money spent for all purposes in relieving the poor in the metropolis for the year ended Lady day 1864 was £876,281
notes, ff186-87, light pencil JS hand [6:260]

f186
I send you a specimen only of
Miss Jones’ letter to me about the
Liverpool Workhouse nursing.
You will see that the root
of all the troubles is just what
I told them would happen from
the very beginning - namely that
the as Miss Jones has no
proper official position &
was in fact only an intruder
within the Workhouse by tacit
permission of the Committee
in consequence of Mr.
Rathbone’s high local position
and what the Governor had
an official position &
responsibility, there would of
necessity be clashing.

f186v
If the experiment is to be put
fairly tried what should be
done is simply to give
Miss Jones an official
position & make her
responsible for her
nursing just as any
other officer is responsible.
The governor must of
course have some general
authority, but he should
never interfere with the
superintendent or her nurses.
Miss Jones should be
supreme in her position over
the nursing, & if the Governor
has any or any body
has any reason to
f187
complain of her nurses they
should do so to herself leaving
her to deal with the case
& if in her default the
complaint should go to
the next authority which
I suppose would be the
Committee. Mr. Rathbone
proposes to go on for two
years to come well
let this or some similar
system be tried for that
time & judged by its
results. No Governor that
ever was created can be
head nurse of any establishment
whatever. It is simply an
absurdity to think so.

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

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

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

f197

Before I could reply to your note asking me to
write to Lord Derby about Workhouse Nursing
I received Dr. Smith’s report; which if acted
on will so alter the whole aspect of the question of Workhouse Infirmary
Nursing & Management, as to render
any further interference of mine quite
useless. Nothing which I have
seen regarding workhouses has more
distressed me, or has undermined really
effective reform apparently now hopeless
than the appearance. Of this report.
I shall say no more about it now except
that I should look on its adoption as
until I hear in what manner
it is proposed to deal with the
report at the Poor Law Board Mr. Farnall
Private & confidential
ff198-201 Farnall to FN Jan 9 1867 embossed from Doncaster
A miserable mule will be the result of the C Space Committee sittings--
sittings--nothing but sittings--and ...I hear that they think the altering of
the structures of some of the old wkhs and so separating as well as they can
the infirmaries from the rest of the House will be as good as fresh
hospitals!! And also that by sending more sick people to the voluntary
Hospitals they will have adopted the best practicable measures. What a
confused and confounded plan - what a mule in short.
I wonder what sort of a report that was I think they had drafted on
Saturday -- was it a jumble? I hear it was and I doubt it not.
I dare say they have decided upon something but that something--what is
it? Is it something more than nothing? Possibly. Will Hart be down upon them?
You know they refused to admit him to their counsels and now therefore his
power to strike a blow for the good cause and his own honour is come. I hope
he will not fail to do but I am half afraid he has turned his little coat
and I am half afraid his assoc has “shut up.” If this is so and if all those
people have become dumb dogs, they will desire everybody to be equally
silent. There is but one hope and that is in mighty Bumbledom himself. I
think he will raise his voice and bring himself back out, cruelty, mismgt,
stupidity and arrogance, illeg illeg the rest of the tomfoolery. I think he
will parade himself before the public in such a sort that the public will
take a sly at him and hand him clean over whether the C Space committee like
it or not. My hope is in bumbledom now. But what a pass are we come to. What
to learn of the illeg. ... “If you don’t do it we will.” There is the tone of
a ...

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

f204 Printed Appendix Edward Smith FRS No. 9 with comments

ff206-20 embossed Farnall letter to FN from Doncaster 25 January 1867 Messrs
Corbett and Markham have just finished a joint report on the London
workhouses. I wrote to the office for a copy and anticipated some fresh
 vexations from reading it. But instead of sending it Mr Owen, the man who
does the propriety business for us (he is originally a journeyman saddler in
Wales) writes to me in this fashion “the report of Mr Corbett and Dr Markham
is only just to hand-quite in a rough state. I do not think it will be
treated other than as strictly confidential till the president is prepared to
commit himself to its recommendations.”
“How best to do it” in short, but the best of the joke is that Mr Hardy is
preparing to commit himself -- of course any recommendations in this illeg of
legal and medical wisdom is dictated by the gentleman who is now supposed to
be going to get ready &c &c I suspect that the great idea in this president
is go in strongly to whitewash the guardians and to blackwash everybody else.
Corbett we know is rich in illeg civility and even the gds of London and the
can digest an enormous amount of any sort of food--begin to think that they somehow believe and see that Mr Corbett is an impostor. He went to the London Whk the best WA taken all together in London to the other day and being more out of his senses than usual desired the officials to withdraw several of the beds in each room, but he did not tell them what to do with the poor sick wretches in those beds. I suppose the fear of C Space is upon him, and seems his disinterested orders. I can see him rushing about the wards and I can hear him pouring out his commands and one thinks of course of the last pipe that burst in one’s home through the sudden thaw. Mow Corbett is evidently a great lawyer and for Markham a great physician and under them illeg circs I shd like to direct their illeg observations to the state of the sick paupers (if paupers the may be called) at one of the illeg to the state of the sick poor in their homes. Not a word for their miserable holes of habitation. I believe all of them to be in positions the least favorable to recovery in easy comfort from their beds down to their dress. Oh these illeg what can this parish do for them? Why he cal kick them and “there’s an end to it.” Poor creatures they always like to see the doctor-- he orders them stimulants which their best friend drinks for them and mutton which is cooked that nobody can eat it for them. It is necessary to think of and to ask for the outdoor sick people. Hart has thought about them, but I am sure he can’t get on without making arrs, illeg ....

Ref to Husson.

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

Ff216-19 embossed Farnall letter from Doncaster 10 February 1867 I believe I have got Mr Hardy’s scheme into my head and therefore I venture to tell you what I think about it. He says we have 26,795 people in the London wks and that 20,731 of them are disabled people. These London wks accommodate at present 28,850 persons, giving each about 400 cubic feet. Mr Hardy admits that, upon an average, they shd each have 800 cubic feet, therefore our London wks shd accommodate only 14,425 persons, but he means to take out of the wks about 4300 persons, and then he will have in the wks 22,495, but as the wkhs are calculated to contain only 14,425 what will he do with the surplus of 8070? They must remain where they are, and so there must be in the
London works upwards of 22,000 inmates while there should be only about 14,000. In other words, the sick wards of these works all remain very illeg and overcrowded as usual. That is an imposition still the House cheered.

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

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

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

FF220-24 embossed Farnall letter to FN from Doncaster 14 February 1867 re workhouse sick

FF225-29 embossed Farnall letter to FN from Doncaster 15 February 1867. I go on with yesterday’s history. You will know that I now talk of 19 small hospitals on ground which is available and

FF230-34 embossed Farnall letter to FN 27 February 1867 pleased to get a note from you and never expect you to answer any note of mine until you can do so ...

FF235-38 embossed Farnall letter to FN 3 March 1867 from Doncaster. re Dizzy and his Reform Bill and Hardy’s bill

FF239-40 embossed Farnall letter to FN 6 March 1867 from Doncaster re Villiers 45786 f239. I intended to have written to you yesterday but I was obliged to go to E Hull and got back here too late for the post. What I desire to tell you is that Mr Villiers does not appear to be to thoroughly understand that if the sick poor are taken out of the hands of the Gs and are maintained by a gen rate there shd be est a firm central admin authority to manage the sick, altogether apart from Poor Law adm. This was Lord Carnarvon’s view of the case but it is not impossible that you inspired it. I have written clearly to Mr Villiers on this point of adm. But I shd be glad if Sir Harry Verney cd of his own accord explain to Mr Villiers what your views are on this important subject. Mr Villiers seems to suppose that if the sick poor are placed in the common fund they wd still be paupers and be consequently under the mgt of a bd of representatives of the ratepayers and the sick poor shd be wholly rescued from the pauper illeg to be treated in hosps, be supported by a general rate, to be under the mgt of a central bd illeg ...qualified for the work and paid for it. If Sir Harry cd, that is if he entertains this view, show this to Mr V I think good wd be done. I send you a note which I recd yesterday from Mr Case of the PL Assoc.. Who was sent
to illeg the illeg Corbett. ....I send it to you with a request that you will return it to me and, as it is marked “Private”....I assure you that I have ...

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

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

**ff243-46** embossed Farnall letter to FN 11 June 1867 delayed writing you because I have from day to day hoped circs wd permit him to tell you that I had accomplished my desire to be recalled from the York District and to be enabled to reside here with my family, and do my duty from hence.. Today however the last I heard of the flag I have been flying is torn away and I must reconcile myself to my present district until --- until when I wonder? I cannot tell. In the meantime I shall endeavour to let this place (which is today looking very beautiful, quiet, and full of green shade, and singing birds) and transport my family probably to Harrogate for 12 months. This beats up the scheme for my life for it interferes with the education of my children and poses me with new and not pleasant places. But I am not in any harm [?] even to illeg much less to grieve over this business. If however I was to say that I did not keenly feel my position I shd deceive you. I do. I have served the P.L. Bd for 20 years. I have been sent to five different districts (no other inspector has been moved at all excepting Mr illeg) I have been selected in all emergencies to do difficult work and I have done it. But there comes a man from the illeg with a single word useless all I have worked for that all was London, London not for my own sake but for that of my children. I have often thought of you when I have been thinking of myself, and in less than an instant I feel ashamed of myself for daring to be dissatisfied or even disturbed. Turn we to higher thoughts than a beastly pain. I have est a splendid district school in Lincolnshire, working with it the important ... Lincoln, Boston, Newark, Grantham and Sleaford, and ... I shall draw nearly 400 helpless little children from the rotten air of wkhs out it of the sweet fields and I shall help them to grow in form and stature and show them how best to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their own brows. There is consolation in this is there not? And when my pains and penalties are passed I shall look back with [Lincolnshire?] illeg with hearty ease. I am taking 6 weeks holidays so as to try a lot this illeg place and to arrange for the departure hence of myself and Bessie “for one year certain” I suppose. [fin]
ff1-55 FN and JS Mill, and copies of correspondence
ff56-151 Villiers
ff152-95 Wyatt
ff196-269 Lord and Lady Monteagle

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

f1
Private

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

Dear Sir

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

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

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

At all events I am inclined to try, altho' quite aware that you ought, for your own sake, to decline even looking at it, if it troubles you -
Many years ago, I had a large and very curious acquaintance among the artisans of the north of England and of London - I learnt then that they were without any religion whatever, though diligently seeking after one, principally in Comte and his school. Any return to what is called Christianity appeared impossible. It is for them this book was written.

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

I beg that you will believe me, dear Sir
One of your most "faithful" adherents,
(signed) Florence Nightingale
I acknowledge the justice of your
f3

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

F.N.

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

Richmond, Surrey, S.W.
26 June 1860
Dear Mill [John S. Mill Esq]

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

yours ever
Edwin Chadwick

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

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

J.S. Mill

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

Blackheath
Sept. 10. 1860
Dear Madam

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

I should most willingly do my best to be of use to you in the matter which you speak of, if you think that I am a suitable person to be consulted about a work of the kind. In one respect indeed I am very well fitted to test the efficacy of your treatise, since I probably stand as much in need of conversion as those to
whom it is addressed. If in spite of this (or perhaps all the more on that account) you would like me to read and give my opinion on it, I will do so with much pleasure.

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

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

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

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

30 Old Burlington St
W
Sept 12/60

Dear Sir,

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

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

Without farther discussion,
I accept, from so great a master of
language as yourself, the interpretation you have put upon some words in my "notes on nursing", I will alter these words in the next editn. But, as a matter of fact, I protest against you’re a assertion that there is no such class as the one I designate as talking a "jargon". You have not been, as I have been, a "scratting" female, (I use the significant old Derbyshire word) among a world of "scratting" females (and very odd ones too).

To every word of an article, called by your name, on this subject, I heartily subscribe and defer. This is not the "jargon" I mean. I refer to an American world, consisting of female M.Ds etc., and led by a Dr. Elizth Blackwell, - and though the latter is a dear and intimate and valued friend of mine, I re-assert that her world talks a "jargon", and a very mischievous one - that
their female M.D.s have taken up the worst part of a male M.D.-ship this of 30 years ago and that, while medical education is what it is — a subject upon which I may talk with some "connaissance de cause", — instead of wishing to see more doctors made by women joining what there are, I wish to see as few doctors, either male or female, as possible. For, mark you, the women have made no improvement: they have only tried to be "men", and they have only succeeded in being third rate men. They will not fail in getting their own livelihood, but they fail in doing good and improving Therapeutics.

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

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

But this is no a priori conclusion against the principle.

Allow me to be faithfully & gratefully yours,

F. Nightingale

Dear Madam

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

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

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

I confess that no religious theory seems to me consistent with the facts of the universe, except (in some form or other) the old one of the two principles There are many signs, in the structure of the universe, of an intelligent Power, wishing well to man and other sentient creatures. I can’t however shew, not so many perhaps, but quite as decided indications of an intelligent Power a Power with the contrary propensity. Most (not to insist on this) the will of the benevolent Power must find, either in its own incompleteness, or in some external circumstances, very serious study to the entire fulfilment of the benevolent purpose. It may be, that the world is a battlefield between a good and a bad power or powers, and that mankind may be capable, by sufficiently strenuous cooperation with the good power, of deciding, or at least accelerating, its final victory. I know one man of great intelligence and high moral principle, who finds satisfaction to his devotional feelings, and suffers under the evils of life, in the belief of this creed. Another point on which I cannot agree with you, is the opinion that law, in the sense in which we predicate it of the arrangements of nature, can only emanate from a Will. This doctrine seems to me to rest solely on the double meaning of the word law, though that double meaning cannot be more completely and clearly stated than you have done. It is much more natural to the human mind to see a divine will in those events in which it has not yet recognized insensible constancy of sequences than in those in which it has. No doubt, this instructive action is erroneous; and Will is, in its own nature, as regular a phenomenon, as much a subject of law, as anything else: but it does seem rather odd that unchangeableness should be the one thing which, to account for its existence, must be referred to a will; will being, within the limits of our experience,
the thing of all others most liable to change. Indeed it cannot be
unchangeable, unless combined with omnipotence, or at all events with omniscience. With all that you say affirmation of the universality of law,
and in refutation of objections on the subject of free will and necessity, I
need hardly say how heartily I agree. I have made a few cursory remarks in
the margin of your book, but what I have now said is the chief part of what I
had to say. I do not yet return the volume, because, unless what I have said
of it takes away your desire to show me any more of the work, I hope to see
the remainder. If so, however, it should
be soon, as I shall leave England for the Continent in about a week. I have
not time or space left to say much on the other subject our correspondence.
My opinion of the medical profession is not, I dare say, higher than yours.
But it would be dealing very rigorously with the M.D.'s of whom you have so
low an opinion,
to expect that they should already have made any improvement in
medical practice. Neither, when we consider how rare first-rate minds are,
was it to be expected, on the doctrine of chances, that the first two or
three women who take up medicine should be more than what you say these are,
third rate. It is to be expected that they will be pupils at first, and not
masters. But the medical profession like others must be reformed from within,
under whatever stimuli from without; and it surely has more chance of being
so, the more the entrance to it is widened. Neither does the moral right of
women to admission with the profession, at all depend on the likelihood of
their being the first to reform it. On this point, however, we are agreed. I
am, dear Madam,
very sincerely yours
J.S. Mill

ff19–22, copy of ff13–18, on printed stationery 1, Devonshire Place, Portland Place, W. tel 2039 Mayfair, Blackheath Park
handwritten copy of unsigned letter, ff23-26, pen, lined paper, original
Boston 2/6/3

f23

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

W.

Sept 28/60

My dear Sir

I cannot tell you how I feel the extreme kindness of your letter, and of your consenting to read so very tedious and unfinished a "treatise". I have ventured to take advantage of you, by sending the second part, which is only a kind of Diary of application to my theories to life (from the time I first read your "Logic" - up to seven years ago, when I first entered active life and had no time for thinking). The third part is merely a summary of the two others. I am sure that you will not suspect me of false modesty, when I say that the "want of arrangement" and of "condensation" I feel to be such that nothing but my circumstances
can excuse my submitting it to you in such a state. and nothing in your kindness impresses me to much as your consenting to read it in such a state.- I am quite sure I could not do it myself. I remind myself of a flute player, who once (gravely) said to me, that his "playing was so disagreeable to himself that he would like to go out of the room in order not to hear himself play."

2. Your words "say any one to whose feelings and intellect it (my creed) may be able to recommend itself" impress one painfully; because I feel so much that it will do so to none. It wants an organisation of life to carry it out. We have seen the most absurd creeds sustained and spread by this "esprit" of organisation in the founder.- we have seen the most able and enlightened opinions remain the opinions of one, did
because that one did not attempt
any re-forming of life to carry them
out.

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

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

3. With regard to your two
grand objections as to the truth of the
theory, which is of course the one
thing important, I am deeply obliged
to you for having stated them so
clearly and fully - I am not convinced.
I do not attempt, because I do not hope
to be able, to offer anything to a mind
like yours which you have not
often thought over before. But it is
very useful to me to see where, to a
mind like yours, the argument is
unconvincing and "does not at all tend to
remove the difficulty".

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

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

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

30 Old Burlington St.
W.

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

My dear Sir,

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

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

Ever yours gratefully,
F. Nightingale.
Blackheath, October 4, 1860

Dear Madam,

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

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

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

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

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

I have returned your treatise today by the book post. I am
ff32-33 copy of ff28-31 on Devonshire Place stationery

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

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

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

£38

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

Dear Sir,
    I can't tell you how much pleased
I was, nor how grateful I feel, that you
should take the trouble to write to me.
    And, if I ill-naturedly answer
your note by asking a question, it is
because I have scarcely any one who
can give me a "considered opinion", (since
those who were always with me are dead).
    That women should have the
suffrage, I think no one can be more
deeply convinced that I. It is so important
for a woman, especially a married woman,
especially a clever married woman, to
be a 'person'. But it will probably be
years before you obtain the suffrage
for women. And, in the mean time,
are there not evils which press much
more hardly on women than not
having a vote? - and may not this,
when obtained, put women in opposition
to those who withhold from them these
rights, so as to retard still farther the
legislation necessary to put them
in possession of their rights? - I
do not know. I ask the question very
humbly and I am afraid you will
laugh at me.

Could not the existing
disabilities as to property and influence
of women be swept away by the

legislature as it stands at
present? - and equal rights and equal
responsibilities be given as they ought
to be, to both men and women? - I do
not like to take up your time with
giving instances, redressible by
legislation, in which women, especially
married poor women with children,
are most hardly pressed upon now. I have been a matron on a large scale the greater part of my life, and no matron with the smallest care for her nurses can be unaware of what I mean. E.g. till a married woman can possess property, there can be no love and no justice.

It is not possible that, if woman's suffrage is agitated as a means of removing these evils, the effect may be to prolong their existence? - Is it not the case that at present there is no opposition between the two elements of the nation - but that, if both had equal political powers, there is a probability that the social reforms needed might become matter of political partizanship - and so the weaker go to the wall? - I do not know - I only ask and very humbly and I can scarcely expect that you will have time to answer.
I have been too busy for the last fourteen years (which have never left me 10 minutes' leisure - not even to be ill) to wish for a vote - to want personally political influence. Indeed I have had, during the 11 years [illegible] I have been in Govt. offices, more administrative influence than if I had been a Borough returning two M.P.s - (notwithstanding the terrible loss I have had of him who placed me there).

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

But I could not give my name without my work. This is only personal [I am an incurable invalid.] I entirely agree that women's "political power" should be "direct and open". But I have thought that I could work better for others, even for other women, off the stage than on it.

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

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

J.S. Mill, Esq., M.P.
Before I decide either one way or the other on the female suffrage question -
I wish to know why all the existing disabilities as to property & influence of
women cannot be swept away by the legislature as it stands at present.
That great evil & injustice exists there can be no doubt. and/also that
equal rights & equal responsibilities are most desirable for both sexes.
But it appears to me that if this womans suffrage is agitated
as a means of removing these evils the effect may very possibly be
the reverse reverse of what is anticipated. At present there is
no opposition between the two elements of the nation, but if both had equal
political powers, the social reforms required would become apparently

matter of potential partizanship & the weaker would go to the wall.
Sir J.B. [?]

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

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

Every hospital from 20 up to 500 or more beds requires the same general constructive arrangements for administration, & the same number of officials. All your expenses administrative expenses would be doubled by having two hospitals instead of one, and I am very much mistaken if the public would subscribe to support two institutions for doing work which could be far better done by one. In short there is no one advantage to be gained by having hospitals for each sex. If in every thing is disadvantageous & if I were asked what to do with two existing hospitals in which one for each sex, or disease I should say unite them by all means.

I would most strongly advise you to have a general hospital for all ages, sexes & cases. You will do infinitely [illeg]
Mr. Mill's letter  30/1/68

granted J.S.M.'s premises, his conclusions
are drawn in the most masterly manner-
But - let him look in the Advertisements
of every day's "Times." And he will
find occasion to doubt every one of his
premises
Take the present state of
  Railway Legislation
  of Poor Laws
  of Labour
  of Trades' Unions
That women ought to have the suffrage
there is not a doubt
But will it have the result he expects?-
  There are three countries
    America
    England
    Switzerland
with the freest political Institutions
in the world -
Two, at least, have perhaps the worst
social evils in the world
Mr. Mill says: - the remedy for these is
  political freedom -
One might answer: - how has political
  freedom worked down there in the
  Palace of Westminster?.
The meaning of our word, political liberties, is: - that those who have no ideas or no strength of character shall be 'free' from all influence of those who have ideas or who have strength of character.

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

To return to the Advertisements (taken permiscuous) in to-day's "Times."
1. the course of Railway Legislation - "Capital authorized to be raised."
   "228 millions £ Ordinary Shares
   134    " Preferred "
   [I take merely the rough outlines]
We all know what the course has been
We all know how Parlt. has passed Railway Acts without the slightest enquiry.
We all know what the result has been.
We all know that it has fallen heaviest
on English women. Whose contributions to investments were perhaps half of all that Capital. It is scarcely an English woman at this moment not suffering from it in her income.

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

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

2. Advertisements
   
   East-End Distress
   Poor Law completely broken down -
   Private Charity completely broken down
   & worse - for it has increased the evil.
   "Workhouse Test" completely broken down
   Labour Test ditto.
   [Not only are they torturing these poor fellows with unproductive labour at unremunerative prices.
   But the Torture-test is of no avail.
   For the Workhouses are overflowing & the people are starving.
And the least harm of the overflowing Workhouse is the burden on the rates (9/ in the £)
The harm is - the withdrawing all these heads & arms from production.
The "Workhouse Test" has saddled the country with pauperism - more perhaps than anything else except the want of Education.

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

3. Trades' Unions
Take the answers these Shipwrights gave themselves (to the offer of employment on two Ships)
These men (knowing that ship-building is an irregular & fluctuating employment) pitch their expenditure at the maximum rate of their wages
& then won't take less -
The remedy to this is, of course, Education.
But what will Mr. Mill's vote do for all these starving women? -
All these Legislations, all these Railway, Poor Law, Trades' Unions Legislations or non-Legislations are the working of the Reformed Parliament - of the freest Parl. we ever had -
[not the result of that freedom, of course - but the result of the greater difficulty in bending many wills than few to the right course]
Yet the remedy, Mr. Mill says, is more political liberties. It is not political liberties we want. It is legislative honesties. Give us honesties first - & then you may offer us liberties. I want my bread first. And then you may give me my vote.
Is it really possible to believe that these Legislators could not, if they laid their heads together, frame an Act by which the work man might make his own bargain as to wages with his employer — with an appeal to Courts of Justice or other authorities? —

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

And all your political liberties are a farce.

As long as your Legislators can find no legislative remedy against the tyranny of Trades' Unions, who decree work to be judged by quantity, not quality — who decree that superior quality of work shall not be paid for —
the first element of liberty is wanting -
For this is - not to steal from me my power of production.
[Who steals my purse steals trash. But who steals my power of production steals all I have.]
I was interfered with in my power of production when I was a girl - So are all women.]

4. Is it possible to believe that at least in exceptional times of distress the State could not give productive work at remunerative prices, as in Lancashire - not on the principle of 'Ateliers Nationaux'? The unproductive work seems to me as great a blunder as the Trades' Unions ever made.
Sir

I need not tell you how much I have been shocked, as who has not been shocked by the dreadful death of Poor Daly from injuries inflicted, (I use the expression advisedly in the Holborn Union Workhouse. I feel the case to be to a certain extent my case, because I have been put in trust by my fellow countrymen with the means of training nurses, whose duty it is to nurse, not to seem to nurse, and although the subject of nursing the sick has been discussed earnestly ever since the beginning of the Crimean War, we have here ten years afterwards a case such as we saw when we began in the Hospitals of the East, but not after. I am emboldened to address you on the subject, because I see by todays Times that the Holborn Guardians have referred the case to the Poor Law Board. You will no doubt examine into it thoroughly & find out who is to blame. I have no desire in the slightest degree to influence your decision. My object in writing is quite different, it is to bring before you the whole question of Hospital nursing in Workhouses. In our I would be the last person to add to the difficulties of Poor Law Guardians by declaiming against their inhumanity. They have a difficult task
enough to perform in steering their way between pauperism & real want, but fortunately there is no such difficulty when the poor pauper becomes sick. From that moment he ceases to be a pauper & becomes brother to the best of us & as a brother he should be cared for. I would make this a cardinal distinction in Poor Law relief. It is in some sense admitted already. Work house sick wards are generally better than the others, they are more comfortable, there is better diet, I happen to know that in many instances every thing but one that money can get is supplied, but that one deficiency may at any time lead to great suffering or as in this Holborn case to death. That want is efficient nursing. On reading the evidence before the coroner it is impossible not to see that there was no nursing in the case which was worthy of the name. I am afraid that nearly every Workhouse in England could tell a similar tale. If you could only get to know how many poor have died because they were not nursed you would be shocked. You are perhaps aware that at Liverpool the evil of the pauper
system of pauper nursing is now working its cure. One noble man there has devoted £1200 a year for three years to introduce trained nurses into the large Workhouse Infirmary. Simply with the view of giving a blow to the old system & to shew to these Unions what it is possible to do in the way of improvement. Manchester it is expected will some follow.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I have the honor to be,

Madam,

Your faithful servant

Miss Florence Nightingale

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

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

My note to you was founded on the proceedings before the Coroner’s inquest about Dalys case and since then I have seen the letter of the Medl Off. in the Times. This has confirmed my opinion that what in Dalys case the was considered nursing I would in no sense consider so. Knowing as I do the practically the present state of nursing, I should very much doubt if there is much nursing material in any Workhouse hospital, or indeed in any Workhouse. Pauper nurses are no nurses. In the Liverpool case there will be a staff of trained professional nurses, just as much trained in their deportment as the
Med. officers, & an attempt is to be made to select & train workhouse women as nurses provided the material be forthcoming not only with the view of nursing the sick poor, but of enabling the women so trained to earn an independent living as trained nurses outside. It would not be difficult to draw up a code of instructions for any enquiry into the present state of Workhouse nursing if you saw your way to such an enquiry. You might try it/ the enquiry in a few of the larger houses to begin with.

From the P.S to your letter it appears that you desire to have personal communication with me on the subject. I am hardly able to see any one, but I consider the whole question as one of so much importance that I would make an effort to see you here if you should happen to desire it
Whether there should be a registrar or not in a hospital depends partly on the number of cases & partly on the means of paying the registrar. There are paid registrars in the Great London Foundation hospitals but in these cases there are funds at hand to meet the costs and also the great amount of work requires a special officer. I could not without some enquiry state whether such an officer were in my opinion required at Norwich, and it would hardly do to propose that one should be appointed unless I were certain that the funds were forthcoming.
The general defective state of nursing even in many good hospitals where for years the need of good nursing has been recognized. The demand for better nurses who for hospitals & other purposes which greatly exceeds the present supply.
The now acknowledged fact that nursing is not a natural gift, but an acquired art founded like the healing art on scientific & practical knowledge.
The absence of information as to the present state of nursing in Workhouses.
The fact that the Liverpool Guardians unanimously agreed that it would be advantageous to introduce trained nurses.
The effect which an efficient system of nursing in Workhouse Infirmaries would have on the whole workhouse administration.
The probability that a few trained nurses in a large Workhouse would call out any talent which might be in the house among the pauper nurses, & lead them to prepare themselves for nursing as a profession.

Generally that as far as practicable in improvements in civil life should be introduced into Workhouses so that they may keep pace with outside improvement & the unexceptionable nature of the object sought for in improving Workhouses & nursing.
A. To insist on the great principle of separating the Sick, Insane, Incurable & Children from the usual pauper population of the Metropolis.

B. To advocate a general metropolitan X rate for this purpose & a central administration.

C. To leave the pauper & casual X population & the rating for them under the Boards of Guardians, as at present, - these are the A.B.C. of the reform required.

Centralize all the Sanitary powers {line drawn beside the following four lines and X in the margin} at present exercised by the Guardians.

Release them from these duties.

x how many of those called incurable are not incurable.
a life’s Hospital experience has taught me -

Old age is, of course, incurable -

I mean to return to this.
entirely.

Provide a scheme of suburban Hospitals & Asylums {drawn beside the four items and an X in the margin}

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

Pay for them by a general School & Asylum Hospital rate.

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

Children should all belong to the central authority from the moment they enter school until they
are; provided for. They should never enter the Workhouse after entering the School.  

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

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

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

To return. All those classes which suffer from any disease, bodily or mental, should be placed under a distinct & responsible administration amenable directly to Parliament.
Uniformity of system in this matter is absolutely necessary, in order that the suffering poor should be properly cared for, & in order that vacant beds & places may be filled up, wherever space exists.

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

All the Officers of these Infirmaries & Asylums should be appointed by & should be responsible to the central authority - which is responsible to Parliament.
Sickness, madness, imbecility, & permanent infirmity are general afflictions affecting the entire community & are not (like pauperism) to be kept down by local knowledge or by hard usage. The sick or infirm or mad pauper ceases to be a pauper when so afflicted, & should be chargeable to the community at large, as a fellow creature in suffering.

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

[May I make here two remarks by the way? -

1. the state of the dwellings of the poor, the sanitary or rather un-sanitary state of London in general is not often taken into account
in the ill health it produces, e.g. consumption, weakness of intellect, -
rheumatism - We only think of the "violent" & "sudden deaths"
of Typhus & Cholera. Yet the poor cannot drain their own streets, nor reform their own dwellings. It is not hard to visit our short-comings (in making London unhealthy) upon the disease they engender by calling it pauperism, by treating the sick or imbecile like the able-bodied lazy, immoral paupers & tramp, living on other people's labour? {The above paragraph has a vertical line with an X in the margin}

2. What might be done in the way of cure, I say nothing of prevention, must be at present quite unknown.
   We built the Herbert Hospital (Military) for 650 beds. There were 596 Patients in the old Woolwich Hospital. This winter, in an unhealthy season, there
were but 100 beds occupied in the Herbert Hospital.

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

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

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

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

I say nothing of the waste of Pauper Nurses - the waste occasioned by their dishonesty & reckless carelessness - or of
the Malingering of idle Paupers - e.g {blue} making their legs sore - malingering which exists to a far higher extent than ever it did in the Army.

Sick, infirm, idiots & mad persons require special constructive arrangements, special medical care & nursing & special dieting.

[Of all these they have little or none that is worthy the name in the present London Workhouses.]

They are not "paupers." They are "poor & in affliction."

Society certainly owes them, if it owes anything, every necessary care for recovery.

In practice, there should
be consolidated & uniform
administrative arrangements.
Sickness is not parochial;
it is general & human, & its
cost should be borne by all.
[N.B. Those who come from
the worst dwellings are always
the most sickly.]
For sick you want Hospitals
as good as the best Civil Hospitals. You want the
best Nurses you can find.
You want efficient & sufficient
Medical attendance. You
want an energetic & wise
administration.
As you say, look at the "Assistance
Publique" at Paris. That is
something like, tho' not
exactly, what you want.
[All the great Parisian Hospitals,
the Schools for half the Medical
Men of Europe are managed
by this central authority.]
It has its Bureau of admission.
It knows where there are vacant beds; it distributes its sick accordingly; and it provides the cost.
You will do no good without some such administrative authority - as I am sure I need not say to you.
Form a board with elected members, if you will. But keep it distinct & independent of the Guardians - because, as already said, sickness is not parochial but general.
All the officers of these Hospitals should hold direct from the Board an authority - & should not be under the Guardians.
I must say one more word for the Children - at the risk of repetition.

Get all that remain in, out of the Workhouses. This is a state question. You want to prevent the generation of paupers. Take all the children, train them in Asylums & Schools to work, put them in the way of getting a living. The Colonies would take the whole of them, especially the young women, thankfully.

But get these out of the Workhouses.

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

[I could whisper the case of one of the largest & best managed Workhouses in England, particularly proud of its Union School, tho' within the walls of the its Workhouse - which Union School furnishes a constant supply of paupers to its Workhouse & Workhouse Infirmary. This ought NEVER to be.]
As to the able-bodied paupers in Workhouses, as to persons receiving out-door relief - to deal with this group requires special local knowledge. A Central Board could not do it. Leave these to the Guardians.

But look what this amounts to. It is 64000 + 1850 = 65,850 (by a recent Poor Law Return.) persons in health receiving relief.

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

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

Apparently the matter would arrange itself thus: -
1. properly appointed Hospitals for sick.
2. Schools & Asylums for children.
3. Asylums for aged poor
4. " for Infirm & Incurable poor
5. " for Idiots & Imbeciles
6. " for Lunatics

1. a few workhouse beds for able-bodied
2. Machinery for out-door relief.
A. Hospitals for sick should be separate buildings or Pavilions.
B. Aged & infirm Imbeciles & Idiots with Incurables, might occupy different & detached Pavilions of the same building.
C. Lunatics should have a quite separate Asylum.

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

N.B. I take no account of great casualties e.g. frost, great commercial distress. A more flexible system is then wanted, something more like the Manchester Relief Board. Suppose the Union & the Poor Law Board to possess the power of calling into existence "an Extraordinary Relief Committee" which should charge the extra rate on the whole of London.
My dear Miss Nightingale
Thank you very much for
the peep behind the curtain
that you have given me!
What the broth will be
when its ready, one can
hardly guess, but, up
to this time, I expect
that the numbers that
have been cooking
it, has not falsified
the proverb. If one could
see all the private instruc
tions to the Commission, I
can’t help thinking, that one
of them, wd be to the effect,
of not leaving things as
they are (any how) but
not make them any
different, either =
I see an announcement
in the Medical Journal
that the P. L. Board
intend to purchase 3
hospitals & send fevers
& infectious cases there
from the Workhouse,
But, in the 1t place
one may say, what
is that (3) among so many?
Again, who is to pay
for the 3? & thirdly
how are the 3 to be
be managed & maintained
unless the fine folks
in the West End, are
made to contribute their
share to the 'keep' of
the Metropolitan Poor
(wh has not appeared in any programme that I have seen)
However, I am most
likely the least, to
hear any of their plans
(that is if they know it) &
I shall be indebted

to you entirely, for any
information I get on the subject
I am only afraid, that
owing to your doctoring, I
shall never see this
original 'Sketch' as it
reached you!
What I hear. let none
of the Commission, some of the
Poor Law Board, say
(which it hardly required
so much wisdom, to
announce as new) is that
people are not cured
by Space alone! &
that there are other
conditions quite as essential
to the well regulated
hospital, [illeg] for sick to wh
Space is as nothing, but these
being secured, the old
abominations could
not recur - wh of
course all means
that they ought to keep
a large proportion
of the old Houses & construct a few new ones -
As to the deliberations
of the other Commission
wh began again to
day, they will be very
important this week -
- for the last 3 days,
people who are likely
to know were all
asserting positively that there
wd be no Reform

Bill, & if not, that
there wd be changes
of another kind, in the
beginning of Feby!
& that is the prevailing opi=
=ion amongst their
leading supporters at this moment no
doubt - You will I
daresay be able to
gather from the Times tomorrow
what they did/decided to day - &
if I hear it upon any other
better authority - I will inform
you - If they do not propose a measure
  I can’t think they will survive it.
   I am yrs very sincerely
    C.P. Villiers
signed Villiers letter, ff72-75v, pen [6:401-02]

f72

Private 39 Sloane St

Wednesday morning

30 Jany [18]67

My dear Miss Nightingale

I return the paper you were

so good as to allow me to see,

& I am ashamed to say,

that it makes me feel that

I did not understand the

question before! - It is the

most instructive & exhaustive

paper/document, I have had

the advantage yet, of reading,

upon this very important

matter & I cannot bear to

think, that it may be considered

by the foolhardy people

as 'wholly unfit for publi-

cation' (as the Reporters, some-
times say) & wh, I can

conceive may be the view

taken of it, at Whitehall!

where the case is being doc-

tored, after their own fashion.

It is so distinct, & reasonable

& would, if presented to them

fairly, test the sympathy

with the sick Poor, & wh some

persons are making such loud pro-
fessions of but, wh, I am afraid,

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

their own bad workmanship costs them, in the long run, & it is your case, that economy is promoted, by doing all that is possible at once, to save or recover whatever is out of gear in the human \[illeg]\/animal - However, it is of no use talking of our own/national defects - we hate to do any thing, on a great scale, or on principle, or at \[illeg]\/once! We love compromise & tinkering = &, I have no doubt, that Hardy-cum-Mark= =ham are/is the appropriate oracles for the English public \[illeg]\,
I take a great interest in the subject, & if ever you feel at liberty to let me see/have this Paper, again, I should be much indebted to you for it. It has never been out of my possession or has a soul seen it besides myself - I only wish, that if their plan does not satisfy you, that it could get inserted somehow, in the Englishman’s Bible, viz the Times - but the world might really understand what proper attention dance, or nursing means, & requires in any Establishment pertaining to heal the Sick - These Gentlemen certainly keep their secrets well, tho’ I have no doubt it is to be somewhat ascribed to their Workhouse plan being like their Reform Policy, viz nil being got decided yet - I wanted {illeg} to learn some-
=thing about rating Charitable
Institutions the other day
& ‘the Legal advisor of the Board’ felt
a delicacy in giving me
a reply, fearing, that I
might ask him some
=thing else, & abt the new
plan for the Sick poor!
Knowing the state of
their nerves, generally,
with respect to strangers now,
I have not mentioned
to a human being,

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

ff76-81v, C.P. Villiers February 1, 1867, 39 Sloane St. Private. I shd
amazingly like to hear what you say to this seven months child, born in the
workhouse in Whitehall and of which there has been such promise! If it had
been thoroughbred, it wd have spoken for itself, I think, without so much
palaver--in the midst of which things may be found, of which in the mind of
the author shd tell against the production. He sees objection to hospitals
for it seems the general maladies which infirmaries do not and he is
therefore against the plan of the “association” which suggested it to contain
1000 each, therefore he proposes to erect buildings to contain 800 each
(exclusively sick) again great hospitals (of 1000) must be at inconvenient
distances from the poor, because there cd be so few--but places containing
800 might be without number I suppose! Again it is necessary to have trained
nurses and at all events a staff of paid ones, but, curiously enough (he
says) the mortality is higher in hospitals where these are to be found than
in workhouses where they are so deficient, and greatest of all in workhouses
where the most perfect system of nursing has been tried! Then it is said that
no doubt the Guardians are unfit people to superintend a hosp or the
treatment of the sick, therefore he will provide for nominee to sit with the
Guardians and who shall be rated at 100 a year! And people need not be startled at the novelty for he has known justices of the peace sit with Guardians in the country who are amongst the largest ratepayers in the parish! (No allusion to the good they ever did for it) Well I! Perhaps there is to be a matron for the new infirmary, but what qualifications and rating is to secure her being a fit person or, if she is not being interfered with by people who are not so. But this perhaps is unfair, to say, because he has provided for everything; he understands medical schools are much wanted. Therefore in the neighbourhood, there shall be what? I can’t understand exactly, but some place for medical students, who have access to the 800! and who it seems may expect to find there a suitable physician who is attracted there, by the circes of a school being in the neighbourhood!

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

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

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

I thank you sincerely for the instructive letter you have just sent me—and for your kind offer of replying to any farther queries which on my ignorance I mt wish to trouble you with before the debate on Mr Hardy’s bill. I really have not the conscience to do it, I feel that I know more about it all than I ever did before, thanks to you, and feel heartily ashamed for having been so uninformed hitherto, but what with illeg and wanting proper opportunity and having a illegs I am sure that I can neither say anything tomorrow the least worthy of the occasion and I shall if possible postpone my ‘say’ till one of the many other opportunities wh this bill will provide of speaking. I don’t think Mr Hardy’s bill will escape without considerable criticism, but of course it will be read a 2nd time.

In fact everybody is engaged about the Reform Bill which D’Izzy is to hatch next Monday and in the operation as many hope will eject 2 or 3 out of the nest in which we have all been sitting. The advantage of Mr Hardy’s proposing the bill is not his party, who wd have opposed it, had they been out, will now all swallow it, and some useful things will be launched, that they can’t recover, at least I suppose they will support him, tho the story is that they are not a happy family at all on that side and some are expecting to be ‘ruined’ as the maids say if they illegs Mr D’Izzy longer! PS I wonder how bad E Hart is? I can’t make him out. How he has got any influence with the press I can’t think. He runs with ‘hare & hounds.”
“hutted” easily alongside of the infirmary, but would not the illeg of the mortality being high in these asylums where 800 are to be congregated apply to all hospitals or all congregations of invalids or diseased people under one roof.

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

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

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

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

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

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

f100 {archivist: 1867} [10:761]

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

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

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

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

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

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

f108
Mr. Gathorne Hardy
Sir

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

He appears to be unacquainted with the centuries of consecutive experience which have led to the adoption of a certain minimum of space for the sick, and he rests his argument for returning to the hospital practice of the middle Construction of the Middle ages, on
certain experiments of Dr. Angus Smith on the amount of carbonic acid in sick wards, which

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

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

In as far as regards the nursing & management of sick in Workhouses, I can speak/say most positively, that if any improvement in this direction is to be carried out, it must be done under a separate organization and management from that of the Workhouse. In nearly/Above a year 18 months ago I my fund trustees have found provided a Matron & 12 nurses to try the experiment of introducing trained nurses & training others in the Liverpool workhouse. The cost has been borne by Mr. William Rathbone. their governor is a first rate man, /an excellent officer and the committee willing, but practically although the nursing has been a success, the administration has been far from satisfactory, & thus I believe all parties consider
that the best thing to do will be to separate the sick administration altogether from the Workhouse administration. One main object we have all had in view in trying this experiment has been to introduce trained nursing into the London Workhouses, but unless the administrative & structural improvements required are carried out, now it will be absolutely useless to make the attempt.

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

f110
The report of the Barrack & hospital improvement Commission gives all necessary information as to the questions of space ventilation.

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

f110v
applied to questions it cannot solve, but after minute & laborious enquiry extending to all the leading hospitals in England & France.
The question was then purely a practical one & it is so still.

In the report herewith sent you will find the whole subject of the relation of ventilation to space discussed & all about shafts & inlets. Practically as regards hospitals you will find that with 1200 cubic feet per bed nothing short of keeping the windows open will preserve the wards sufficiently fresh for sick men in the prime of life, but what are you to do with poor feeble old people who could not stand this. Surely 1000 cubic feet is not enough more than enough to ask for such cases; But his would only after all be the fixed datum, so to speak.

In order to use the space so as to combine warming with ventilation you would require special construction arrangements.

These opinions I have already expressed both to Mr. Villiers & Mr. Farnall and if I can render you any assistance in the great work in which you are about to enter, I shall most willingly do so to the extent to which my feeble; health will enable me {the following paragraph has vertical lines drawn through it} and I have also stated my willingness to do what I can in the way of providing nurses, although the demands on us are so great that that
ff113-15, July 25, 1866, on embossed House of Commons, Private. Gathorne Hardy. You owe me no apology for calling my attention to material points connected with the subject in the consideration of which I am so much engaged. I shd say this to anyone who wrote in the same spirit as yourself, but I am really indebted to you who have earned no common title to advise and suggest upon anything which affects the treatment of the sick. Your note arrived at the very moment when a gentleman was urging me to lay upon you questions relating to workhouse infirmaries and I shd not have hesitated to do so if needful even without the cordial invitation which you give me to ask your assistance. At present I have not advanced very far from want of time as while Parliament is sitting I am necessarily very much occupied with other business and I am anxious to remedy if possible present and urgent grievances before I enter thoroughly upon legislation for the future. I shall bear in mind the offer which you have made and in all probability avail myself of it to the full. Believe me Madam yrs vy faithfully Gathorne Hardy July 25 1866

ff116-17, January 29, War Office, note “Tomorrow” draft, ff116v-17, pencil {in JS’s hand}

\nox\[a\] 6:402\]

To Gathorne Hardy.}

I am afraid from the information contained in your note that the common purpose of certain influential persons on your committee has been hurt. It appears to me that as I have helped you to what may be called the general principles on which your plan should be based that, I should now cease further interference until the committee has come to some distinct conclusion & then if the committee choose to request my opinion on any specific points it will afford me the greatest pleasure to give it.
I fear your scheme will not meet the case. If you proceed with it at all you must do so in the largest spirit. I send you the Hospital Regulations which will show how we manage in the Army. A similar system would do for London provided you laid your hands over the whole surface - and took powers by your act to do whatever is required to carry out principles in my paper. Otherwise I fear you will fail.

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

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

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

draft, f120, pencil rough JS hand

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

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

Then to provide suburban institutions

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

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

As regards able bodied & casuals, I would leave them to be dealt with by the Parishes, recouping the outlay out of the Rate General rate & keeping a firm hand over them.
Well you talked to me a long while the other day about a conversation you had had with somebody - about taking the 20000 sick & infirm out of the Workhouses & putting them under the P.L. Board (with an uniform rate) which was just what Mr. Farnall said (to me) And I told you so -And you were diabolically cross.

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

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

I would now let this go out, but it seems to me that as I have not objected that my name should appear on the title page that in your circular you might avoid the absolute anonymous absolute, by signing it The Compiler on behalf of the Committee of The Liverpool Nurses training School & home

This would at once give it a status and command attention.
ff121-30v, printed Metropolitan Poor Law Bill, {archivist: Gathorne Hardy, Feb. Mar. 1867} with FN comments

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

f125v
FN written at bottom of bill on its p 6:
31. Substitute “The respective Unions or Parishes from which the inmates of the Asylum are sent shall be charged at the rate of pence pr day towards the maintenance of each inmate sent by them.” Mr R
[The danger Mr. Hardy fears of people being sent by parishes unnecessarily into the Hospital, is easily guarded against, & justice & efficiency secured by requiring the parish to which the sick belong to pay the cost of the ordinary maintenance of a pauper, such cost to be estimated at a very full rate, & let the Common Fund bear the extra cost which accident or sickness may entail in keeping them & tending them as Patients in a well-managed Hospital.]

f126v at bottom of bill on its p 7:
Or the same object may perhaps be even better accomplished by a clause allowing to each such Hospital a subsidy out of the common Fund equal to the estimated difference between the cost of an ordinary pauper & that of a Patient in a well-managed Hospital—such subsidy to be contingent on such a staff of Medical Officers & Nurses, on such dietary & general efficiency as is required by the P.L. Board. A periodical report by competent Inspectors to be as it is with schools, necessary to qualify for such grant.
Mr R.

f130 FN wrote in margin of bill at clause 77 for ratepayers resident in the union or parish
substitute resident in the Metropolis
Mr R.
notes, f131v, pencil [this is FN commenting on bill] [6:410]

f131v

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

Mr Hardy states
7046 temporarily disabled
13685 old & infirm (include Cancer, Consumption &c x which from their
long continuation
   bring even the most careful to poverty)
Yet of these he only proposes to relieve out of the General fund 2800
(2000 lunatics & 800 small pox & fever Patients)
   Mr R

P.S.
I am as stern a political economist as any man & would make the able-
odied pauper either really work or starve which is not done now.
I hate waste of any sort & am convinced that the amount of money, life &
character muddled away in England, by unmethodical & inefficient
management of affairs, public & private, is fearful.
Whether to make a fortune or organize successfully any public or other work
the principles are very simple - Let the system be one by which good or
bad management is promptly brought to light. Let those who are to carry
it out be chosen carefully, trained carefully, paid sufficiently, & entrusted
with means of doing their work efficiently - And success is certain in
the long run.

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

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

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

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

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

I should have serious scruples in addressing you on the subject of the provision for sick poor in the metropolis were it not that I had been for a considerable time previously in communication with Mr. Villiers, who I also saw on the subject. I am cognizant of almost every step which has been taken, & have watched with the keenest interest every approach to improvement in the management of Workhouse Infirmaries. The trustees of the Nightingale fund have moreover funded a Matron & Nurses for the Liverpool workhouse Infirmary, where the first experiment on a large scale of introducing trained nurses on a regular administrative plan, is now being tried: and one object of this experiment has been to pave the way for providing & training nurses for the London Workhouse Infirmaries. But on carefully considering the various accounts which have from time to time appeared of the state of these
places, it has appeared to me that without extensive structural & administrative changes it would be utterly impracticable to carry out the required improvements in the management & care of the sick.

One document I have just seen is Dr Smith's report with his proposals for improving the workhouses. With In so far as concerns the Infirmaries I feel most reluctantly compelled to dissent altogether from the spirit of his proposals & to state that if they are acted upon, I can scarcely conceive how improvement such as the public has a right to expect can be carried out.

It is quite evident from all the published documents that great changes will have to be introduced before the evils of the present system can be removed, & I have ventured to write to you to state that I shall always be glad to render any assistance which my weak health will permit, in which may to however humble an extent aid in removing the great stigma which now attaches to our treatment of the sick poor.
There is an expression in your note which seems to indicate that you and I are not quite at one in principle as to the management of the sick poor, having claim to attendance & care under the poor law.

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

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

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

Now what we contend is that the moment any one of these people in either class becomes sick, they cease by the very fact to belong any longer to the Workhouse Category at all. They are a new & very special class of persons requiring quite another kind of care than they could obtain under any workhouse
arrangement, & it is for this class that for the first time we ought to provide such hospital accommodation, attendance, nursing & care as we would desire to see provided for any poor persons in whom we take interest. We deny the existence of "sick paupers," or "pauper sick" altogether, & we intend never to rest until this distinction is done away with, and a suitable organization provided for treating these sick people in which no [illeg] idea shall find a place. It is not creditable to us that we are the only people in Europe among whom the idea of treating sick even from amongst the worst social classes on the same level as the idle, dissolute or debased, or even the unfortunate is recognized.

We have rescued a draft, ff137-38, pencil {in JS’s hand}

It is proposed that the rating shall be general over the Metropolis, & why should the election of Managers be local.
12. Whatever are the nominated to be one 3rd or one 4th of the board
14. How about Contracts & peculations by "relatives or friends" of Managers
15. Does the expression "fitted up" include alterations or additions to buildings? or only furnishings & inside alterations
17. Why should not these buildings be charged to the entire Metropolis This clause may become oppressive to the poorer parishes
19. Owners will not be likely to submit legal questions to the Poor Law Board
The whole Act is a mistake

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

and for this purpose the Guardians are to be replaced by other Boards of Guardians, partly elected, partly nominated.

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

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

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

- Lunatics
- Fever
- Smallpox

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

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

Practically, the measure can't be improved. The fundamental principle of it is altogether wrong.
It is quite evident that every word of this Bill must be most carefully considered by persons who have had official experience of the working of the P.L.

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

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

Private Mr. Hardy's Bill

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

And for this purpose the Guardians are to be replaced by other Boards of Guardians - partly elected, partly nominated.

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

The real principle is:- that sickness & personal calamity, being not of local but of general concern,
should be paid for by a common rate
- dispensed under one central management.
The only Patients to be provided for
by the Bill out of the common rate are:- Lunatics
Fever
Small-pox
together with Medicines, Medical Officers' salaries & salaries of all officials &c
Taken as a whole, the Bill adds a (penny) rate to the Metropolis without any adequate result.
And it leaves the main question - as to the provision for the other sick poor - just where it was - the only security for better treatment being that there will be a small minority of P.L. nominees on the proposed new Boards.

Practically, the measure can't be improved. The fundamental principle of it is altogether wrong.
The fundamental error of the Bill consists in providing separate large Hospitals for Fever & Small pox. One would think that the 18 per cent Mortality of the existing Fever Hospital last year (14½ per cent excluding cases which died shortly after coming in) would have been sufficient justification for providing no more such shambles. Every one acquainted even slightly with the Hygiene of these diseases knows that the lowest Mortality rates are obtained by having a few cases only together.

Now, there is no reason whatever why each of the proposed Sick Asylums should not have attached to them it one, two or three separate small wooden huts, or brick huts. And in this way the to provide for all classes of cases with as few establishments & as small "Establishment charges" as possible.

The first amendment then, if the Bill is to be amended would be to get rid of these provisions for Fever & Small-pox. And, if this were done, the Bill would be
simply a proposal to classify the inmates of Workhouses in separate Asylums - to consolidate the buildings & administration for sick properly so called. & to add a certain number of *ex officio* members to Guardians elected on the Boards of management.

But - it is not very obvious to what extent the sick would benefit by this change, more than they would benefit under the present arrangements - if the P.L. Board only had powers to see or order that everything necessary were done for them.

Eg. that the existing Infirmaries were extended & improved up to the requirements of modern science.

While, on the other hand, the Bill totally overlooks the fact that the charges for improved buildings & improved administration to be made on the associated Parishes & Unions may amount to a larger sum than the poorest of them can by any possibility bear.
This point should be most minutely enquired into.
So far as our own examination of the P.L. returns enables a judgement to be formed, it would be simply impossible to work the Act without raising the rates in the poorer parishes.
 Depend upon it, the key to the whole reform is to separate distinctly between an avoidable calamity, personal or mental, & pauperism - to provide for the former just in the same way as the main drainage of the Metropolis (which is of common concern) is provided for by a general rate - and to leave pauperism like district drainage to be paid for by a local rate.
Were these principles adopted, then I would have as few efficient sick asylums as possible - consistent with convenience of position for the poor. I should have one Board of management for the whole of them, just as there is on the Metropolitan B. of Works. for Metropolitan improvement - to be composed partly of elected members from Parishes & Unions, partly of nominated members. In this way you would have uniformity of system - you would always know where vacant beds were to be found - you would be able to check the expenditure in all the Hospitals much more readily - you could preserve uniformity of administration in all Nursing & Medical arrangements - you could get all your contracts taken at lower rates - & your administrative authority would have that weight required for carrying public opinion along with it.
 As it is, the Bill is an "instalment", but "in the" wrong "direction".
 N.B. The results of treating fever in huts are well understood to be the most favourable known.
Mr Villiers

Supposing a system of Govt. Workhouse Infirmaries, will there not be some difficulty in arranging the mode of admission, the places of admission (by Medical Officers) in so large a Metropolis? -

Again - a man is admitted to a Workhouse, & has some trifling ailment (Rheumatic pains) after admission - (he is admitted as a pauper, not as a sick man) - how is he to be dealt with under the new system? - is he to be sent to Hospital?

Again - it constantly happens now that a man & his wife are admitted into the Workhouse, who apply for admission in order to have their children sent to Hanwell School. They leave them in a few days, in order to get them new clothed - then take them out & pawn their clothes.

This is a constant occurrence now -

Mr. Villiers sees much difficulty in having wards for casualties (accidents & sudden illnesses) in the Metropolis, supposing the system of Suburban Infirmaries carried out - Because, he says, each must have staff - He thinks such cases ought to go to the (already existing) Hospitals.
Mr. Villiers does not believe that the increasing the pay of the Medical Officers (for Workh. Infies.) will do much good. Yet, he thinks, this is the only point the Ho. of C. will understand.

He says:— the only object of M.P.s is to keep their seats —
that nothing but a public cry (which has now subsided — & which needs to be kept up by 2 or 3 untiring individuals, who now do not exist) will induce them to think much of Workhouse Infirmaries —
& that they will be perfectly satisfied with any half measure or no measure at all Mr. Hardy may choose to give them.

Dr. Markham managed the translation of Mr. Hart from "Lancet" to a much more moderate paper, Brit. Med. Journal — because Mr. Hardy found the "Lancet" cry inconvenient.
And Dr. Markham has managed to muzzle many others of the inconvenient protest-makers.
Mr. Villiers believes that Mr. Hardy's plan is exactly the opposite of ours - that it is to draft off Lunatics, Infirm & Aged, Children etc - & to leave the present Workhouses for the 6000 or 7000 sick - together with, he believes, such cases as those mentioned, where a father & mother come in to get their children clothed. [He believes that the expense of any new buildings (for the Aged &c), if any, will be charged to the Consolidated Fund - that the sick will be left in the Workhouses, as before, - charged to the rates, as before, - under the Guardians, as before.]

Mr. Villiers believes that the Asst. Secretary, Mr. Lumley, of the P.L. Bd., is at this moment drawing a Bill.

   to the effect that

1. the Board is to become Permanent
2. an increased number of Inspectors which will give a great deal of patronage
3. a re-arrangement of the Auditors system, which will give Govt. a great deal of patronage -
drafts of the same letter, ff145-46r, pencil, in JS hand [6:466-67]

f145

I have lately heard of a Board of Guardians attempting having sent a woman for a t whom they were desirous of appointing as midwife to a Workhouse for one months training to in her office after the Nightingale fund had declined to receive her for a less period than 6 months, which we know from experience to be necessary.

Looking at the amount of suffering & probable loss of life which might be entailed if this precedent were adopted elsewhere I would beg to suggest whether the Poor Law Board might not prevent much mischief by requiring that no midwife be employed by any Bd of Gds unless her qualifications & certificates have been previously approved by the Board. I should feel disposed to apply this rule to all cases & its practical operation would be that these a better instructed class of women would gradually be available for the purpose
It has recently come to my knowledge that a Board of Guardians has attempted to obtain the services of an imperfectly trained woman to act as Midwife in their workhouse. They wished that we should take her for one months training which we declined to do & they sent her elsewhere. It has occurred to me to address you on the subject lest a precedent be established which in the end might lead to much suffering & to loss of life among the poor. Apart from this danger I can see no objection to the employment of properly qualified midwives in Workhouses or in Parishes. We train women for such purposes under the fund, but practically we find that it requires 6 months careful training to qualify a woman merely for the nursing responsibilities of such a profession. Until a sufficient number of trained midwives can be provided it would certainly be better to continue the present system of requiring the Medical Officer of the Workhouse to take the lying in cases, and in the mean time it has occurred to me to suggest whether the Poor Law Board might not caution boards of Guardians against employing women
To Mr. Hardy
{the following paragraph is crossed through with a single vertical line}
It has come to my cognizance that certain Boards of Guardians have attempted to obtain the services of women to act as midwives in the performance of those duties usually allotted to qualified Medical Officers, & for which these Officers
{Following carries on from f145v, in JS’s hand}
unt until their recommendations and qualifications have been submitted to the Board. It appears to me that the Medical Inspectors of the Board would easily decide as to the Competency of any woman offering herself for such an office & that it would be highly desirable that he such applications should be referred to them for and opinion.

{FN’s hand} Happy is the man whose father is damned.

f147, letter by Ernest Hart dated February 11, 1867, re Mr. Hardy’s bill in the British Medical Journal
Private & Confidential  April 13/77

Sir,

I very meekly feel that I am venturing on what you might think a quite unwarrantable intrusion but that your great kindness encourages me to plead my reasons before you.

Capt. Douglas Galton was 'served', so to speak, with a (very courteous) 'notice to quit' the Army Sanitary Comm: during a brief absence in the United States: of which Comm: he is, except Dr. Sutherland, the oldest & most experienced member, & an unpaid member from the beginning.

He has more experience in Army Sanitary things than any man living, except Dr. Sutherland: and in Army Sanitary Engineering & Army Sanitary building works than any man, without exception.

He would be irreplaceable: for another man, however able, would not have his experience in the work of the Comm:

He worked with Lord Herbert from the time that Sidney Herbert began his labours of Army Sanitary reform - now 20 years ago: when he was placed on the "Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission": the first fruits of Sidney Herbert's R. Commission "on the Sanitary State of the Army" in 1877. 1857.

On the "Barrack & Hospital Impt Comm:" which consisted of Sidney Herbert, Dr. Sutherland, Capt. Galton, (& Dr. Burrell who is dead,) Capt. Galton sate, or rather travelled, then as now as an unpaid /working member: for he did not enter the War Office till some years after.

That Comm: developed into the "Army Sanitary
Comm: "when, in consequence of Sidney Herbert's second Royal Comm: "on the Sanitary State of the Army in India," (which he did not lived only to place in the hands of the present Lord Derby, who 'reported' in 1863) the said Comm. undertook I.O. as well as W.O Sanitary affairs.

Capt. Galton has thus been 20 years, & not as a member of the W.O, at the work.

I believe it was I who first named him to Sidney Herbert in 1857, - which I mention, not because my naming him but his own ability was the -2-

cause of his appointment on the Comm:,

but because it seems to plead after a manner my excuse before you, as having been familiar in a way no other person now living has been from the beginning with Capt. Galton's work.

I have only to add that I write this without Capt. Galton's knowledge, but that I know him well enough to say that it would be a grief to him not to continue his unpaid services.

Let me again hope that you, overlooking what may seem my impertinence, will favourably consider this matter:

& that you will believe me Sir

ever your faithful & grateful servt

Florence Nightingale [end 15:519]

The Right Honble Gathorne Hardy M.P. &c &c &c
Dear Madam

I beg you to be so good as to accept my best thanks for your most kind note of the 22nd; to have won the approval of a lady, of whom every Englishman feels proud, is most gratifying, and it will, I can assure you, tend to encourage me, in the performance of the duty, which has fallen to my lot, and we do need sometimes require a little cheering on, for the malice and misrepresentation of those, who formerly filled, and lived on their parochial offices, is unceasing, while the better class of ratepayers and aloof and take little or no interest in our efforts to bring about a healthier state of things.

You will be doing our poor an inestimable service in co-operating with us to provide a superintendent and a trained staff of nurses for our new infirmary. Under our present system, we find it impossible to obtain the services of either efficient or trustworthy women, we hope the new hospital, with its 520 beds, now being erected at Highgate, may be ready for the reception of patients, quite early in the year 1870, and while no money has been wasted on ornament, it will comprise I believe every requirement, likely to aid restoration to health.

Our lying-in wards will remain permanently at the present workhouse, but after the removal of our sick, we shall be able to afford very improved accommodation to this class of patients.... (re Bonham Carter etc.)
ff156-57v, November 12, 1868, W.H. Wyatt letter from 88 Regent’s Park Road, asking for FN’s comments on plans for the new Highgate Infirmary

ff158-58v, November 18, 1868, W.H. Wyatt letter from 88, Regent’s Park Road N.W. informing FN that the architects for the Infirmary will forward the plans to her

45787 f159, November 20, 1868, letter by John Giles on embossed 28 Craven St., Charing Cross stationery, from the architects enclosing the plans for St Pancras Inf. Messrs John Giles and Brown present their compliments to Miss Florence Nightingale and have the honour of sending herewith the drawings of the St Pancras Infirmary. If convenient to Miss Nightingale they may be kept a week or ten days.

Messrs Giles and Brown are pleased to have the opportunity of thanking Miss Nightingale for the very valuable suggestions contained in her book on Hospitals She will perceive that in the report on a fever hospital forwarded to her yesterday they have endeavoured to overcome some of the difficulties pointed out in her work especially as regards the position of the staircase. They will be very happy to afford Miss Nightingale any further information on the plans forwarded Nov 20th 1868.

f160-61, November 28, 1868, from W.H. Wyatt, 88 Regent’s Park Road, re changes suggested by FN in the plans and welcoming Sir Harry Verney’s presence at the laying of the foundation stone

signed letter, ff162-63v, pen [6:435-36]

f162

1st October 1869

{printed address:} 88 Regents Park Road.

N. W.

Dear Madam

It is with sincere regret, that I have to trouble you with this communication, but I do not think it would be right, to allow farther time to elapse, without bringing to your notice in consequence of the change, which took place last April, in the administration of Poor Relief in St. Pancras, it appears to me most improbable, that the present Bd of Guardians will ever carry out the arrangement, made so kindly by the Nightingale Institution, & which would have proved such a great advantage to the Parish, that a staff of
Nurses should be trained for service in the new Infirmary at Highgate. This building is now complete and except the fittings, ready for occupation.

You will I dare say have read in the public journals, an account of the cruel & disgraceful manner, in which the sick poor have of late been treated, and unfortunately those, who might have counteracted this harsh treatment, have found it impossible to do any good, with the vacillating counsels & uncertain actions, which now reign at the Poor Law Board, the chief desire there, now seems to be to pander to the popular cry for apparent cheapness, and to undo all the good, which would have been effected, had the provisions of Mr. Hardy's act, been fairly worked, we can not however hope for his department to be successfully managed, so long as the Chief is changed with every political movement. A reaction will no doubt in time come over the public mind, but meantime, any amelioration in the treatment of the sick Poor must stand over.

The whole of the ex officio Guardians, living in this division of the Metropolis, have found it imperative on them, to decline the performance, any longer, of their duty as Guardians, the conduct of the recently elected Guardians for this Parish, having been so indecent and outrageous, that it was not possible, to continue to associate with them, without suffering a loss of self-respect.
I shall ever remember, with feelings of deep gratitude the kind and generous manner, in which you were ready to assist us, in starting our new Infirmary, and also the encouraging approbation you bestowed on the efforts, we were making to secure a better treatment for the sick Poor. They will, in time I hope be carried out by our successors.

Sincerely trusting that your own health may have sustained some improvement

I have the honor to remain

Dear Madam

Yours most respectfully

W.H. Wyatt

Miss Florence Nightingale

ff164-65, W.H. Wyatt letter, December 13, 1869, 88 Regents Park Road, re her kind note of 11th inst came, hasten to inform informing FN of success in the election to the Board of a majority of the members and of his own acceptance of his nomination by the Crown, not elected but nominated. I feel that it is so important that the matron and her staff should be firmly supported. “You may rely that nothing shall be wanting on my part to make the new hospital effective and if possible a model for the rest of the metropolis.”

ff166-67v, January 17, 1870, W.H. Wyatt, 88 Regent’s Park Road, to FN thanking FN for a present of game, good prospect of the nursing arrangements working satisfactorily at Highgate has high faith in Miss Torrance and the training of Nurses at the new Infirmary, but explaining that the new Board consisting mainly of tradespeople will have to be managed carefully
ff168-69v, August 6, 1870. W.H. Wyatt, 88 Regent’s Park Road, announcing the permanent appointment of Miss Torrance and the Nurses and the difficulty of getting a capable Medical Officer appointed and enclosing a letter from Dr. Shaw. I have just recd from Dr Shaw, the gentleman who is temporarily filling the position of medical supt at the Highgate Inf the enclosed letter, and I venture to send it on to you, as I think it cannot fail to afford you gratification.

The opinion of Dr Shaw is valuable for not only is he an accomplished physician, having been gold medallist at the London Univ., but he knows the wants of a large public est, he having for some years been an asst med officer at the Colney Hatch Asylum, in which inst there are nearly 187 female nurses.

It was only on Monday last that I succeeded in getting Miss Torrance and the whole staff of nurses permanently apptd, unfortunately the majority of the colleagues with whom we have to act were so ignorant and perverse and we are so hampered by the absurd regs of the PLB that I do not think I shd have had sufficient energy to have persevered had I not felt as encouraged by what you had done for us that I felt the effort to est this hospital on the best principles must not be abandoned. Everything will now depend on our getting a good man, as permanent med officer and this is very doubtful for a large action of the managers seem determined to support a very incompetent person.

Of Miss Torrance I cannot speak too highly, I never met with a lady more determined to do her duty regardless of her own personal comforts and interest. She has had a very difficult part to perform and she has done it well.

Allow me to express the hope that you are yourself in the enjoyment of better health

ff170-71v, August 6, 1870. Highgate Infirmary, N. from Dr. T.C. Shaw to Mr. Wyatt expressing his admiration for the Nurses at the Infirmary

ff172-73v, January 5, 1872 from Mr W.H. Wyatt on printed 88 Regent’s Park enclosing a report on the Hampstead Hospital and plans the training of nurses

ff174-74v, January 5, 1872, extract of a Report from the Committee for Hampstead Hospital

draft letter, ff175-84, pen & pencil, plus printed pages

ff175

Private
35 South Street, Feb 15/72
Park Lane, {printed address:}
W.

My dear Sir
I hope you will not have thought that I could be neglectful of even the least wish of yours, seeing my delay in answering a kind letter from you I am ashamed to think how long ago relative to the training of nurses for Small-pox
at your Hampstead Establishment, asking me 1. whether 2 months' training would be enough 2. to give any general hints or suggestions.

I was deterred from writing by always waiting for the time that never comes to a person who always has too much to do & always less health & strength to do it - but more by the fear of not being able to compress what I had to say into any compass which would make it practically useful to you.

But I will wait no longer - And if what I say is useless, I shall at least have shown how desirous I am always to fulfil, if I could, any wish of yours even to writing without time.

W.H. Wyatt Esq
1. Then I think that 2 months would be just enough to teach a woman what a Small-pox Patient is & not enough to enable her trainers to learn what the woman is herself.

We give a month at our Training-Schools for Nurses merely to ascertain what the Probationer is like. We do not engage her on probation nor allow her to enter into any engagement with us till the end of the month. Nor with all the care that we exercise before admitting the woman at all, do we consider that we can form a good guess as to whether the woman will "do" or not till after we have had her in the Hospital a month. Even then we are so often deceived in her that we are rather inclined to consider this month of postulancy not long enough but & that two would be better.

2. I think 6 months the very shortest time in which a woman could learn to be a Small Pox Nurse without previous experience - And this only because Small Pox generally runs a more steady or definite /uniform course than Fevers. Six months would not be sufficient to make a Fever Nurse. A Hospl Nurse might learn to be a Small Pox Nurse in 2 months.

We give twelve months' training as the shortest time to our nurses.
3. That you may not think me altogether unpractical & running after the "Ideal", I will venture to submit to you a few considerations as to what a Nurse is, rather with the view of your working out in your own mind experience what she should be & how she should be made - no man could do it so well - & no man has such large influence in this Poor Law movement - than of presenting to you any ideas of my own.

a. To instruct a woman, & still more a girl, in any other means of gaining her livelihood, such as printing, telegraphing, cooking, dairy work, the use of the sewing-machine &c &c &c requires /needs only the time necessary to make her a proficient in that work.

But Nursing the sick &, nursing or teaching children stand alone in this respect/ on quite a different footing. viz. that to do it well, nay even to do it at all depends quite as much, perhaps more, on what you have made the woman who is to do it as on your having taught her the technical details of her trade.

And in this /But training to nursing/nurse the sick is even a much more risky thing than training to school-mistressing.

For ten women who are fit, or can be made fit, as Pupil teachers or Children's attendants, I have not /perhaps could be found one in the course of a life of 'knocking up & down' the world fit to be trained as Hospital Nurse. And for ten women fit for the charge of Hospital Patients, I have certainly could not have found one fit for the
charge of those women (Nurses) themselves.

b. There are two great peculiarities in Hospital Nursing work which perhaps are scarcely enough taken into account:-

One is: that these are grown-up women whom you are have to training as Nurses. It is & will be probably always impossible to admit girls in their teens into Hospital Wards, unless into Children's Wards. Yet girls in their teens are the best as Pupil teachers - they are of course much easier to train than grown up women -

{the following paragraph is crossed though with a single pencil line.}

[Experience not only of England but of the Protestant-Nursing orders of Europe leads me to think that what you gain at one end as a general rule by admitting Probationers under 24 years you lose at the other.]

The other is: Hospital Nursing is the only calling in the world where a woman is really in charge of a number of adults, men or women, as if, nay still more than if they were babies. For purposes of life & death they are as much in their power.

c. The inference experience suggests is that, even if you can be sure which you never can be in 3 or 4 or even 6 months that the woman has learnt her trade of Nurse, you cannot risk her as a character by sending her out to such a very responsible situation, a situation which involves life & death, as that of Hospital Nurse till you have trained & tested her as a wom{an} (page torn)
in moral qualities & also in mental qualities -
And that if one does risk her & she fails, one not only feels very uncomfortable oneself, but one brings discredit on the Training Institution.

Insert Miss Torrance's letter. Extract from p 3. {red}.

d. "Picking up" as it is called, i.e putting an ordinary woman of the ordinary class which takes to Hospital Nursing, to 'pick up' what she can in Hospital Wards, I have not the least faith in. I have seen a great deal of this kind of thing - not one woman in 100 has the intelligence, the power of taking up to make anything of it - & every year's experience confirms my disbelief in its practicability.

In a life spent if not in Hospitals at least in Hospital experience, I have met but 6 or 8 Hospital geniuses - it is true there were in all classes - i.e women who would /could make anything of "picking up" their own knowledge for themselves their Hospital acquirements.

In England, it is, I am sure, a far rarer talent than that of teaching.

Yet 'the unready Saxon' will leave the supply of Nurses to his Hospitals almost to chance. He will not even give you a year's notice to supply him.

I am not at all placing the art of nursing so as extravagantly difficult very high - But tho'. it is obviously so very peculiar as to require a very systematic organization /arrangements for training. But I am satisfied that, - make the Hospital life such a one as respectable young women can & ought to engage in - make a really careful
system of /for training- organise a complete Nursing Staff then under its own head (Trained Matron) with rules for its own guidance, discipline & protection - and there will be found an ample supply of good English women to make English Hospital & Poor Law Nursing the first in the world, instead of being the very last, as it has been till quite lately.

And a woman who has once done well in Hospital life almost always likes it too well ever to leave it. Several quite of an ordinary class have reminded me of this & said they found it true.

For this end
4. there must be a regular organised machinery for training the women

I mean the Sisters, (Head Nurses), Matron, Resident Medical Officers, must not only be good nurses, good physicians, but they of course especially the former (Matron & Sisters) must have a regular system of/for training, testing, teaching, (& recording progress,) managing the Probationers not only as Nurses but as women.

I never knew a Matron who succeeded in this unless she had a genuine interest in each individual woman's moral progress & success in life, over & above her interest in the nursing work - a motherly interest in each of her women.

[And in the most notable instance I ever knew of this a Matron was younger than the majority of her children] may have a motherly interest in them.
For this end
5. there must be
   Reading, Writing & General Improvement Classes
   Bible Classes  [ besides of course the Diaries & Case-books
   which Probationers must be taught to keep.
   & the like    Else how could they give an intelligent account
of a case, or written directions to a Night Nurse &c &c
It would be very desirable if the Matron could
   meet once a week such of her Probationers
   as could be spared at a sociable tea -
She must win their confidence - Or she will do
   nothing with them.    They must feel that
she cares for each of them for herself - & not
   only for the credit of the work.
How can this be done in 2 or 3 months? -
   It would be very desirable if there could be/ that the Matron should meet
her Nurses in a Devotional Meeting Nurses once a week - [Nurses not
in the least above the ordinary wages=getting class
have told me almost with tears in their eyes
that they dated from such Meetings their rising
to a more careful performance of duty, to a
higher interest in their Patients & their success
in after life.
6. We shall all agree
   that the Matron can only work thro' her nurses - can scarcely do anything
for
the moral or physical improvement of the Patients
except thro' her nurses. They are in constant
charge in the wards. She can only come in
now & then, at most twice a day.
I leave the physical care, because that is so obvious. As for the moral care
yet even among Workhouse/Poor Law patients, especially the
children, the time they are sick in an Infirmary
ward may be the only time in all their lives
(the lives of children of Out-door Paupers) that they hear a good word, see a
higher/better purer
more kindly state of things. [I have known children say
this themselves & kneel down praying their own little unprompted prayers that
'God would not
let them [I am sure that some of our Nurses, or
forget -
rather your nurses at Highgate feel this acutely
& try to act accordingly, without preaching,
doctoring or proselytizing.]

But how can the best matron in the world
trust her nurses to do anything like this, trust them
even to keep up a/the kindly, firm, quiet moral tone
in their Wards - essential even to physical recovery - if she has not trained
then
(or somebody has not trained them) to the idea
& practice that they are not only in
physical but in moral charge of their Wards
- if she has not met them in prayer (and in
conversation) that the Patients may be better
in soul as well as in body for their stay
in the Infirmary - if she has not impressed
them with their responsibility in this respect
- if she has not shewn them: you & you alone
must be the Ward-Mistresses: I can only act/work
through you: If a Ward nurse is not a Ward Mistress
she is nothing but a tinkling bell. (underlined in red.) And how can this be
taught in a “few months”?

[A woman whom I should not have at all expected it of
- once said to me - naming two Infirmaries (in one of
which this was practised, in the other not) where she had served:
"This was heaven - that was hell".]
7. I say nothing here of discipline - of obeying Medical orders & the like. But I am/For we are all convinced that no one can obey who does not obey intelligently - that the intelligently well trained Nurse is the only one from whom there can be/is the least hope of real obedience to/carrying out of Medical orders - of anything more than the merest eye-service - & that the Prussian is right in his Army training - he trains every soldier & petty Officer to the utmost degree of individual responsibility, even while keeping up the highest esprit de corps (which is as necessary for the Nurse as the Soldier. Each must be proud of the Service to which they belong.) But each must know how to act for himself or herself, while acting in one grand/united whole with the rest of the company, Regiment/Staff or Corps d'Armée, even tho' he or she may actually be out of sight of all the rest whom he or she is acting with. And if this kind of training is/be necessary to destroy life, how much more is it necessary to save life?

8. To spare your time & mine, I venture to send you the list of Qualifications/Duties we require of/ that a Probationer should become competent to fulfil before we promotion her after at least a year's training to be Nurse: -

In the three xx first qualities the first offence/transgression ensures her is: dismissal. The others may be acquired by training -

Now no one can say, I think, that all these xx

Of course the sin is the same in all positions. But it is a mere truism that whereas in the needlewoman or printer’s apprentice drinking, lying or dishonesty may only injure
qualities are not essential to a Nurse, without which indeed a Nurse would not be a Nurse, tho' some of the more purely Surgical qualifications might be omitted in a Small pox Nurse - yet others might be added. The Sisters should keep a monthly/weekly record by marks of what progress a/each Probationer in her ward makes in each of these points - the Matron a monthly record, dotting up the Sisters’ weekly ones of all the Probationers’ progress. [I cannot think that public money should be spent on training, without some such testing record as this.]

9. How often we are deceived & disappointed in women even after all this time, & training, testing, & machinery I do not like to say. How then must it be where this is not? - We at least know our failures - There are many Institutions which make failures & do not know them. A Matron once said this to me in a sort of agony. And indeed I knew it. herself & her employer, in the Nurse it may be an affair of death or life to her Patients. This is what makes the Nurse’s position so peculiar.
10. Do not you think that Hospital Nurses require a great deal more & receive a great deal less of the moral & spiritual helps which maid servants in good domestic families receive & expect or perhaps I should rather say used to expect & receive?

Do not you think that Hospital Nurses have a right to expect it - & that it is the good ones who will be most disappointed not to receive it & will probably leave disgusted?

People often say that the old faithful class of domestic servants who lived with their "family" as long as the "family" lived is almost extinct dying out.

Because there is no longer in the mistresses that intimate motherly "family" relation with their servants?

This relation is far more necessary in Hospital than in domestic life, do not you think? Because the life is so much harder.

I mean such helps as Bible-classes, family prayer of an interesting, not formal, kind, 'spiritual' conversation on good things, social teas occasionally &c &c &c

In my young days the young lady or ladies of the family always/generally held evening classes for the younger servants, male & female - General Improvement.
Classes & Religious Classes - besides the ordinary family prayers - & public worship.

All these things are, I am surely much more wanted in training Hospital Probationers to keep them up to something of a better life than in training domestic servants. They have a right to expect it - And the good ones do expect it - & are disappointed if they do not find it.

Is it not so?

Shall we say that we only wish for such women (as Hospital Nurses) as do not care for such good things:— {Underlined in red}

In my young days mistresses used to be several times a day in the Kitchen & Servants' Offices - & they knew how to do what the servants had to do & how it ought to be done - And Housekeepers and Upper Housemaids, it was understood, were not only there to be good servants themselves but to train girls out of the village, town or neighbourhood, even pauper girls, whom the mistress put under then & afterwards found good places for as domestic servants.

It was also understood that the young ladies taught the pauper girls to read, write &c &c

But All this is far more necessary in an Infirmary than in a home.
11. One thing more:-

training is not only, is it? letting them see how a thing is done, but showing them how to do a thing & why it is to be done so - I have known many a good Sister (Head Nurse) who could do the former (letting them see), but not the latter (showing) which alone constitutes a good Training Nurse. And I have known many a Matron who has had not the least idea even that it was/is necessary.

12. Lastly:- [6:464]

if it is possible that there is a place on earth where training is more necessary than in a Hospital, Nursing, I think, do not you? that it is not in Poor Law or Infirmary Nursing?

The Patients are longer in, they are more trying, more exacting, they require more patience, they think they have more a right to everything than Hospital Patients do, they are generally of a lower class/description, whether originally of a low class of fallen from dissipation, in Poor Law Sick, Small-pox & Fever & Sick Asylums than in General Hospitals.

Also, there is far, far less of what may be called the public's supervision in a Poor Law Asylum than in a London Hospital, where there is an immense staff of Visiting Physicians & Surgeons, Medical Students School-Governors, officials & 'public' of all kinds. This has its disadvantages - but in my opinion also its very very great advantages. Every body is kept up
to their duty. A whiff of public opinion, even public criticism is profitable - is constantly coming in from the outside. Visiting Physicians who have their fame & their fortune to make & also other & higher motives are troublesome but most Salutary Inspectors. No one can be/remain torpid.

The Poor Law Nurse requires/needs to be almost of a higher sort almost than the Hospital Nurse. God speed her & you in your great good work is all I can say. ever your faithful servant (rather I would say your cordial fellow servant)

printed: Duties of Probationers under the “Nightingale” Fund & Timetable for the Probationers

Your are required to be Sober; honest; truthful; trustworthy; punctual; quiet and orderly; cleanly and neat; patient; cheerful and kindly;

1. Burns and wounds deleted from list of things to be skilful at
4. Instead of mgt of trusses, and appliances in uterine complaints, says delirium
8. Instead of attend at operations, In Ward Mgt
12. Wounds deleted

envelope:

W.H. Wyatt
88 Regent’s Park Road
London N. W.
Mr. Wyatt

Would you state how you propose to arrange the nursing. And would you send me a sketch of the plans & let me see the plans in order that I may judge about the arrangements for the trained staff.

I feel quite ashamed to have left you so long unthanked for your most valuable letter of the 17th of February on this subject of training nurses. My only regret on receiving it was that I shd have been the cause of giving you so much trouble and adding to your heavy labours, however I will make the best return I can by trying to turn to some useful account the several points on which you have been so good as to give me the advantage of your great practical knowledge.

The reason of my delay in replying to your letter was that I wished to be able to tell you how we were progressing at Hampstead in our endeavour to partially train some nurses for attending on smallpox cases, for although I fully acknowledge the weight of your remarks about necessity of knowing the characters and dispositions of women being trained, our views at Hampstead were of a much more humble character, we simply sought to give a little preliminary training in actual nursing, w/o intending to guarantee the entire trustworthiness of the individual, altho while with us the sister in charge does her utmost to implant in them a love of doing their duty from motives of right.

Our effort may however be said to have collapsed, from the following cause, happily the disease of smallpox in London has very decidedly decreased, but it appears to be raging badly in many provincial towns, and there is hardly a day on which we not receive the most troubling request to send down someone who will be willing to act as nurse, the requests have been so great that in many cases we have been obliged to send off women who have been less than a fortnight on the staff. We have of course stated the small amount of experience they have had, but the provincial authorities have been thankful to cure them, for the most part, the report on their conduct has been satisfactory.

I must now reply to your very kind letter of the 10th inst (missing) and I can assure you that I continue to take an unabashed interest in the welfare of the Highgate Inf which is, in many respects, a model parochial hospital, our time is however but ltd and with my many other duties I have found it impossible to attend both the Hampstead and to Highgate.

I am however pressing my committee at Hampstead to relieve me at Lady day from duties of chair, and hope to persuade Mr Ross, chair of Middlesex Hosp to undertake the work, If I succeed then I will have more time at my disposal to devote to Highgate, but any time in deference to the wish you are good enough to express I will not retire from the com of the Highgate Inf, so that
on any special emergency may be able to give some support to our excellent and valuable matron, Miss Torrance.

I have had some experience in committees, but I never met a more difficult one to work with; they quarrel and wrangle over the smallest detail, indeed their only object seems to be to accuse each other of every possible bad and corrupt motive and if they can to prevent anything being done. I can only hope that the new men to be elected may prove a different sort for I am sure at Hampstead where we have an excellent committee we do more work at one meeting than is done at Highgate in ten.

Do you know Mr Stansfeld, he has the power to nominate six managers (only 4 are now named), if you have an opportunity of suggesting to him that these vacancies judiciously filled up might materially assist the good working of the hospital he wd I have no doubt do it, indeed I believe he wd do it at once on my request, but as I am obliged to reserve to myself the most perfect independence in acting with the LGB, I hesitate to make any suggestion which might possibly be construed by them as a personal request on my part.

I am sorry that there is a very unjustifiable delay on part of the printers, I have not yet been able to send you the plans of the Hampstead Hosp, but I hope you will receive them before the end of this week. [FN got plans of Hampstead Hosp?]

ff190-91v June 1, 1872, W.H. Wyatt, 88 Regent’s Park re Miss Torrance’s resignation from Highgate Infirmary Your letter recd this morning did not surprise me as Mr BC had yesterday made me a communic on the same subject.

I shall very sincerely regard Miss Torrance’s removal from Highgate where she has done so good a work and done it so judiciously but if she is to be taken to a higher sphere of usefulness as you think she can better advance the work, which owes its foundation to yourself because your name at St Thomas rather than at Highgate you will assuredly have no repining from me, but which I say that I feel that it will be a severe blow to the work, which is going on so well at Highgate.

So are as my personal efforts are concerned, you may rely on my doing everything in my power to assist and encourage Miss Torrance’s successor, but a very great deal must depend on the lady’s own tact and judgment. Miss Torrance held her own position and yet conducted those with whom she worked and our committee is in many respects a very difficult one to deal with.

Mr BC gave me to understand that I was not at liberty to mention Miss Torrance’s intended resignation but that as soon as possible you will yourself

ff192-93v, April 22, 1878, expressing his interest in accepting her nomination to the Board of the Nightingale Fund and his dismay that the training at Highgate Infirmary is not continuing
Sir Wm Wyatt. {underlined in red} April 24/78

Almoner of St Bartholomew’s:

introduced subject of Training there:
St. B. would give £400 or £500 to make
it worth while for a really good
Training Matron {underlined in red} there to come there:

asked me to look out for one: -

it rests with Treasurer & Almoners:
they have £70000 a year, & wish
to do all things well:

notice not yet given to present
Matron: will pension her handsomely:

New Matron must proceed
slowly in her reforms, like Treasurer
& Almoners. Or there will be a
Mutiny.

well aware that Matron
Assistant &
Training Home Sister {underlined in blue}
will all be wanted: Trained & Training
650 beds:
not satisfied with Training School,
 tho' Home is good:
(books & musical instruments provided)
The Medical Instructors give
Clinical Lectures but not {underlined in blue} by the bed-
side: When the Probationers
come from them into the Wards,
don't know difference between
temperature & pulse {underlined in blue}:
want real teaching & training as
to what to do on the Patient.
Sisters don't give it: old fashioned
women don't like Probationers
(these give them trouble)
don't like new system or
superintendence:
very ordinary women

Miss Hincks would have been safe
to have been appointed: if it had not
been for that Nurses' Round Robin & they
did not like "being dictated to": & did not
believe she did not know of it {blue}

Highgate {underlined in red}
Mrs Suckling doing fairly well
- won't turn her out.
Sees no prospect of Nightingales’
return: but a great deal of
good has been done: & Highgate
can never sink to a low level
again:
St. George's Fulham: {underlined in blue}
quite aware a Trained Staff
could not be sent without Trained
Matron

Lambeth {underlined in red}
fears Nursing arrangements
are all made
"Mr. Ward, Chairman, {underlined in red}
"I know very well:
"living at Brixton:
"I will speak to the good done at
"Highgate:
"My name may be used with him"

Local Govt Board {underlined in blue}
man at the head so weak -
swayed this way & that by every
petty Inspector: Inspectors a
poor lot:
  can't get a rise of  2 for
a Nurse without their
interference
  it is miserable
  no man with any self respect
can serve under such interference
from the L.G.B. Office

N.F. Council {underlined in red}
  Will gladly serve on both
Council & Committee {underlined in red}
  "only wish to do my best"
"not so strong as I was before my
  "hard work: tells upon me."
R.C. TRAINED NURSES May 14/96
"Confidential" From Lord Monteagle

13 May/96  21 Carlyle Mansion
Cheyne Walk
S.W

x x "Improvement of Irish Workhouses" x x

"One of the principal points in which
"we want assistance at the present moment
"is as to the manner in which the services
"of the R.C. Sisterhoods can best be utilized

"They have of recent years been placed in
charge of the infirmaries in many Workhouses
in R.C. Districts & have effected great
improvements, but hitherto unfortunately
they have not been trained as Nurses.
Now in these districts it is essential to work
with & through these good Sisters, & I was
therefore delighted to hear from Dr? O'Dwyer
the R.C. Bishop of Limerick & one of the most
enlightened & energetic of the R.C. ??
a few days ago that he wished to bring over
a trained Nurse to instruct the Nuns in the
Workhouses in his Diocese: and he asked
"me if I cd help him to find a suitable person.

"I have just been told confidentially that you knew an R.C lady who had been trained as a Nurse, & who wished to devote herself to this very branch of the work. If this is the case, cd you kindly put me in communication with this lady who might either go herself, or help to find a suitable person."

(Signed) Monteagle

{The following isn't FN's hand - initialed HyBC} Simply acknowledge his letter & say that you will write again or else that you very much doubt the feasibility of the proposal & will make further enquiries - a similar the idea is not a new one & has been tried in Dublin you understand with very doubtful success

Note- you had better see Miss Pringle & talk over the whole question before further communication with him -

draft, ff198-99v, pencil [6:496]

Oct 5/96

10, South Street, {printed address:}

Park Lane. W.

Dear Lady Monteagle

How good it is of you to wish to see me. It is of all things what I desire most - to learn of you. to know from you the present conditions or Irish workhouses x - & what are your views & your plans of improvement & Lord Monteagle's - Any x of which I know so little
if it is granted me
little help I might be
favoured by being able
to give would depend
upon knowing these things
I am in a dilapidated
ccondition. But I would
not miss such an
opportunity as you are
good enough go offer me
for the world.
I will therefore accept
"Wednesday" at 4, if you
are sure that will suit
you. [You offer me "any
"time".]  
And if I might I would
accept Ld Monteagle's
kind offer to come,
tho' I am unable to see
two persons at once
& I know how occupied
he must be -
Would Thursday at 4 be
possible to him? Do not
let me be an inconvenience.
I shall be so delighted/happy
to get such information
as his. It gives me
new life, if you will
excuse my short comings
Irish Workhouse Nursing

7/10/96

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

Administration of the Infirmary

Guardians' Powers?
Staff-master or Matron
as in English Workhouses?
Powers of Medical Officer
& of Master, as regards
the Sick Wards

Whether Sick Wards ever in
separate Building?
Powers of Poor Law Board
over Guardians

Can the Board make
compulsory rules as to
payment of Nurses, & as to
employment of trained
Nurses? Yes, but they're not
always kept

Accommodation of Nurses - decent
Add Mss 45786

f201v

-2-

Laundry work
   Dublin,  ? for Spitalfie[ds]

Workhouse Infirmarys
Are any trained Nurses
   employed in any one?
   and which? N & S Union.
   better than nothing
Has any W. Infirmary a trained
   Matron? or any Provincial
   W.I.?   unlikely
   Nun Matron
   Maternity
   Wards
   What does
   she
   do?

Medical Men
Does it seem that many
Doctors who hold Workhouse
appointments are in favour
of paid trained nurses?
   prefer them to nuns
Does Lord M. know of any
   large Workhouse,- Dublin or
   Provincial,- in which it is
likely that Guardians &
Doctor would concur in
trying the experiment of
employing paid Nurses? If expense the obstacle could money be got by voluntary subscriptions to assist?

Nuns
It is said that in some R.C. Dublin Hospital or Infirmary (perhaps M.M?) a trained Nurse has been engaged to train under the direction of untrained nuns - Is it likely that the Nuns could ever be got to go through a training in a lay Hospital? {Vertical note at side:} St. Vincent's nuns. Miss Campbell possible R.C convert

Guardians
Do not religious (& political) differences, give rise to obstacles & jealousies in

employing Protestants on the Staff, and is it not very difficult to find R.C-educated women willing to take up Nursing as a calling? Is there any R.C. Hospital where any systematic training of Nurses is carried on?

won't sit up at night L.G.B. untrained Nurse

Workh nursing Assn London Are nuns clean? Yes - ophthalmia
Dublin Monteagle

goodness of District Nursing
re-acting 2 ways on Workh Infy
  People would not go in
because District Nursing better
- forced up Infy Nursing to be
better?
Bds of Guardians prefer Nuns
  because they think they come
  for nothing
untrue - each Nun - Home
  Nuns won't sit up at night
L.G.B. compelled a Night
  Nurse (but not trained
Are there any of Miss Dunn's
  Nurses in the Provinces?
What can Miss Pringle do for
  them?

{f203 is blank}

-2-

Your L.G.B. & your Inspectors
  must know more than
those they inspect or govern
  x
Priests great help to trained
  Nurses in Dublin
Clergy have never done us
  the least good
  x
You must take that your
  inspectors & your L. G. B.
are not appointed for political
or religious reasons
Unsigned note, ff204-05v, pencil

**f204**

Mater Misericordiae
  R.C. trained Nurse
  to train the Nuns

Miss Campbell
  is training lay Assistants

Dublin
Why should not the same
  system that has been
adopted in Paris be
adopted in Dublin –
in Ireland –

f205 is blank}

**f205v**

Sisters of Charity
  in Dublin

Unsigned note, ff206-13, pencil

**f206**

Ld Monteagle    Oct 7/96
Lady Lothian
  Lady Pembroke widow x
election of Guardians
  nothing could be worse
  Miss Wilson x

  Mrs Ernest Hart }
Miss Wood    shouters
  inaccurate
  Counter movement
Peasant farmer
  x  x has 12 Nurses

{f206 is blank}
£207v

-2-

children - movement at once

R.C.'s much more liberal than Protestant

1 £10

I am there to set other people to work

(Miss Pringle - so humble

(MEETING NEXT WEEK OF COMMITTEE

(If you could give us hints

£208

-3-

Ld M.

L.G.B afraid to put its foot down

Balfour's bill Act "dissolving" small Unions giving power to spend money for Schools &c

Boarding out 5/

District School 11/

large bodies ophthalmia

{£209 is blank}
League

Immense increase of out-door relief has stopped the family piety
Legge good Inspector

Ophthalmia in any school is above 20.
Are Nuns clean?

Bds of Guardians look after the financial very little after the personnel the Master or Matron

immense Boards of Guardians too large to meet

Would not have District Schools without the nun to make homes for them the children the lay element is so hard - the nun so homely

Nuns have such a tradition of education - not of nursing

{f211 is blank}
f211v

-6-
Archbp French began it [Trench?] he got over Anglican
Sisters - & then the nuns followed suit
There are paid trained Nurses & Night Nurses
The shouting ladies have got the ear of many of the R.C. Bishops
Bp O Dwyer is staunch to us - & most energetic of all

f212

-7-
Ld M. Conference passed off very well - no row - a Protestant
Dr praised the nuns - an R.C. Dr. criticized them
Matron of 20 would not do - it would not be like a Home - it must be a nun
We want to interest some one in each place - to go into the details with a superior mind - not official better than any Inspector

Goodness of nuns Kinsale
Great official jealousies
- a man inspected who had
not seen the M.O. - inspected
for 20 years - they opposed
each other simply because
they hated each other.

Legge? proposes that no
M.O. should be appointed
to a larger place till he
has had a smaller. So
better salaries could be
given them

M.O.s have no power
over Dietary for those
not in Hospital

Dr. Legge says - there
should not be a District School
of more than 200 boys -
- arranged by fifties - not
according to ages.

F.N. gardening & geology
Ld M. We should teach these
A District School for girls/boys
does much better than one for girls
games & the rest.
unsigned note, f214, pencil [archivist:[7 Oct 1896]}

f214

Miss Pr. 2 top wards of Workhe She wishes to collect all the bad cases here - that they should be her wards - that she should then live & sleep i.e sit up all night in the Infirmary (& have her Probationers there)

ff215-17v, October 9 [archivist:[1896]}, 21, Carlyle Mansions, Cheyne Walk, S. W., from Lady Monteagle thanking FN for flowers and her visit with FN

unsigned draft letter, ff218-19v, pencil [6:503]

f218 [archivist:[ca. 9 Oct 1896}]

My dear Lady Monteagle
You know how interested I was in all that you were good enough to tell me about Workhouse Hospitals & especially Workho: Hosp.l nursing in the S. of Ireland & about how well Miss Pringle was working in the Limerick Union - I was more delighted than astonished for I have known intimately Miss P's rare powers of organization

{f219 is blank}
& administration for very many years, coupled with that gift of divine & real humility & sympathy, which gives her the influence & power of discipline in its truest highest sense, that of making the various persons & branches of a great Institution work each in her own place as one man, or rather what is more difficult ± as one woman. I have never seen these gifts of hers excelled - And I trust in God that her usefulness will be extended while she lives.

ff220-22, October 11, {archivist: [1896]}, Auckland Castle, Bishop Auckland, from Lady Monteagle thanking FN for her continuing interest in Miss Pringle and her work

ff223-23v, October 14, {archivist: [1896]}, Mount Trenchard, Foyner, Co. Limerick, from Lady Monteagle asking FN to write a letter to the Bishop praising Miss Pringle, with a view to Miss Pringle’s undertaking to train Probationers

ff 224-27v, October 22, {archivist: [1896]}, relating her interview with the Bishop and his acceptance of the idea of Miss Pringle training Probationers

ff228-29, November 5, 1896, relating difficulties with the training plan and its indefinite postponement

ff230-31v, Easter Monday, {archivist: [19 April 1897]} thanking FN for her criticism of “Dr. Smythe’s scheme”

ff232-37v, April 20, {archivist: [1897]}, detailing the difficulties about Probationers, especially accommodation

ff238-39v, April 28, 1897, from T.J. Stafford, to Lord Monteagle, re Nurses in Workhouses with FN note blue pencil

f24 at since the issue of the order X other boards have invariable insisted x No spe- cial order abt trained Night Nurses
+that the person appointed shall be fit for the position
+ not by Gen

orders

ff240-40v, April 29, 1897, re training of Probationers and the difficulty in bringing about this change Stafford letter to Lord Monteagle

unsigned letter, ff241-43, pencil {same as Stafford letter, ff240-40v}

f241
No 2
April 29/97 Dublin
[6:504]

Dear Lord Monteagle Park Lane. W.

In any other country the easy & obvious course to adopt with regard to the training of Nurses would be to make an order that only certificated Nurses would be sanctioned but here you are at once met by the difficulty of the Nuns, such an order would exclude all nuns from Workhouse Hospitals, a question upon which much might be said on each side, but certainly not a desirable one to raise

f241v
just at present

If you desire to have a hard & fast regulation you don't want it made that each Hospital according to the number of its Patients shall have a certain Staff of day & night Nurses and a specific training, I think you must go to the Executive Board qy in Ireland qy & not to the L.G.B.

As regards the training of Probationers in Workhouse Hospitals, notwithstanding obvious objections & difficulties, I am in favour of an experiment being made when Guardians can
be induced to try it. I tried
to get South Dublin, which
on account of its size & the
comparative efficiency of its
staff, would be a good
place to work it, to adopt
a system of paid probationers
but the Guardians would not
listen to the suggestion,
now, of a good Board like
South Dublin are not ripe
for the change how can
you expect country Boards
to be ready to pay for what
they at present get for
nothing. that is the answer I look upon the
pauper help we get in our

"Hospitals as perfectly
impossible material for
making nurses out of, but
for the present, at least
until you can get the
experiment of Probationers
tried, you must be content
to go on hammering away
at Guardians to get a fair
number into each Infirmary,
remembering that Workhouse
Infirmary beds are not
fill with critical cases,
like City Hospitals; the percent-
-age of really serious cases
being small, & that therefore
they do not require the same
staff of nurses to look after them
You cannot raise ram reforms
down the throats of the
Guardians in the way our
friend Dr. Smyth suggests
(who by the way is not a
Workhouse Medical Officer)
Your Association will do
an enormous amount of good
if you can get them to go
slowly & set to work to
EDUCATE PUBLIC OPINION,
but take care of the
shriekers.

T.J. Stafford

ff244-46v, May 20, {archivist: [1897]}, E. Monteagle thanking FN for flowers
sent and discussing the nursing question

ff247-49v, May 25, {archivist: [1897]}, E. Monteagle thanking FN for notes
sent and asking questions about her suggestions

ff250-51v, May 27, {archivist: [1897]}, E. Monteagle thanking FN for her
continued support

ff252-56v, July 26, {archivist: [1897]}, re the progress of training Nurses
for Workhouse Hospitals in Ireland not signed E Monteagle hand. I think I may
venture to write now so it will be four weeks tomorrow since my last
delightful visit to you and things have got a little more forward since. I am
not sure if I told you that it was illeg at the meeting of the executive of
the Irish Work Assoc which was held I Dublin 3 days after I saw you that
instead of the deputation to the chief sec asking him to issue an ukase to
abolish pauper nurses, the assoc shall ask the Local govt bd to give them an
interview at which the subject of the improvement of nursing cd be discussed.
The LGB acceded very cordially to this request, but on account of the absence
on holiday of one of the most efficient heads of the dept the interview has
not yet taken place nor can it do so till the 16h of August.
Mention of the Irish Times which some of the nationalist papers that were
quite illeg but illeg at the idea of any interference with its illeg state of
things is quite coming round to illeg there must be trained nurses in the wk
house hospls and that the nursing shd no longer be left to paupers. There
have been 2 illeg cases of neglect quoted lately culminating in ...

ff257-60v, December 20, 1897, re the progress of training Nurses for
Workhouse Hospitals in Ireland E. Monteagle Again I have wished to write to
you and for one reason or another I have put it off, always very unwilling
but I cannot let the ....

ff261-61v, envelope, enclosing a cheque to be returned to FN
Letter from Lady Monteagle

June 16/90 Mount Trenchard
{printed address:} 10, South Street, II Park Lane. W.
"question of training & qualifications of Workhouse Nursing now coming to the fore
"New head of Medical Dept. of L.G.B., Dr Stafford, "opportune, just as new Local Govt. Bill comes into effect.

First question: 'what will qualify a Nurse to be considered trained, so as to receive the half salary which the govt. will pay

"henceforth in Ireland to one trained nurse in each Union as they do in Scotland
"In Scotland a "trained" Sick Nurse is described as one who has not been less than two years in a Public Hospital being a training school for Nurses & maintaining a resident Physician or House. Surgeon having a Trained Matron.

"This rule, if transferred to Ireland, would at once
add mss 45786

£263

put the nuns out of court
- which would be a great
calamity to the poor &
would stir up much
strife - & as you know
they are making such
advances under Miss
Pringle in Limerick
& Miss Holcraft (?) in
Waterford that it would
be doubly disastrous
at this moment. Dr.
Stafford & Miss Pringle
are at one about their
merits if trained
{Following written vertically up the side:}
Application from Coshy & one from Dungarvan for 6 months
boarded, lodged & paid at the rate of £50

£263v

{inserted at the top} Too early to require 3 years training
in a Dublin Hospital
merits, if trained [He is
a R.C., tho' married to
a Protestant] Dr. Smyth
※/is the Dublin Doctor
wanted to make 3 years
in a Dublin Hospital
a necessary qualification
for a trained Nurse -
& some of them refused
to look upon any
experience in a
Workhouse Hospital
as any training!!!
(even under a trained
Nurse) in fact seemed
to think it (printed address: 10, South Street, Park Lane. W.

rather a disadvantage -
In this they are against
the opinion of Miss Pringle & Miss Holcroft who
both think some
experience in a Workhouse
during the Probationer
term time would be
valuable. (Certainly
I enclose a paper
drawn up by Dr. Smyth
& which he has insisted
on getting adopted by

the Irish W.Hse Association

Lord Monteagle, with
the greatest difficulty,
got them to take out
the Paragraph with
whh he started which
was a copy of the Scotch
rule as regards
Training; also some
others as to the exact
number of Nurses to be
employed &c which
would have been much
resented by the Guardians -
  Will it be asking too much to ask you to look over this & to mark anything of which you don't approve? You saw something like this of his before & we preserve your remarks upon it. but this is a rather softened Edict; also to ask you what)

you think of having Probationers do some at least of their training in a Workhouse Hospital - of course under a trained nurse. (Yes, if Workhouse Hospital is fit to train x x x x A short expression of your views which Monteagle could pass on to Dr. Stafford would be valued.
  I enclose you two letters of Dr. Stafford's
written last year {printed address:} 10, South Street, when he was only a Park Lane. W. subordinate, just to show you that he is more moderate and reasonable than Dr. Smyth, tho' one must admire the latter's zeal - only wishing it were more tempered by discretion 

E. Monteagle
I went to see Miss Pringle the other day & found the Limerick Hospital (Poor Law) much improved - She has now under her three nuns from Sligo & Kilrush who have been sent by their respective Bishops to take advantage of her training, & she finds them very promising
The doctor gives them regular clinical teaching Lectures & Miss P. herself supplements them by Class teaching & the sisters are learning to do all the practical work. It would indeed be hard to exclude them when their Training is complete from the benefits of the grant of the 1/2 salary.

because they have not been trained in a Dublin Hospital - To them it makes of course no difference who pays their salary but it will make a great difference to the Guardians when they are selecting nurses if they know that they can get this relief for one Nurse & not for another.

There don't feel competent to express any opinion as to how far the nuns are qualified to participate in the Govt. grant
£268v

We do not feel competent
to express any opinion
as to whether these rules
could be modified to
meet the case of the Nuns
to train the nuns was a
sine qua non

£269
Dungarvan
Helen Taylor, a Protestant
went over to Ireland

£269v

too early to require 3 years
training in a Dublin Hospl
as a necessary qualification
for all Workhouse
Infirmaries - it might
be for big ones - for those
in which there was a
large number of serious
cases - They would not be
forthcoming - they could not
be had in all probability
in sufficient number to
supply the demand as
was previously suggested
It would be too expensive
even with the Govt. subsidy
Dear Madam {archivist: Harriet Martineau}

I know that you have been interested about our Army matters & therefore, altho' an old story now, I venture to send you a copy of a certain "confidential" Report of mine to the War Office.

It is really "confidential" & no copy has been (or is to be) presented to the House of Commons. Therefore it is only for your own private reading that I send it, if you have still time, strength or inclination for this kind of subject. If not, please put it in the fire, as the Report is in no
sense public property.  
And I have a  
great horror of its  
being made use of, after my death,  
by "Woman's Mission="  
aries" & those kinds  
of people. I am  
brutally indifferent  
to the wrongs or the  
rights of my sex--  
And I should have  
been equally so to any  
controversy as to  
whether women ought

or ought not to have  
done what I have  
done for the Army  
though a woman,  
having the opportunity  
& not doing it,  
ought, I think, to be  
burnt alive.  
I need not say that  
it is not at all as a  
 literary work that I  
venture to send you  
this Report. Its only  
interest is that of its  
subject. Believe me to be  
very faithfully yours.  
Florence Nightingale.
Ambleside
Decbr 3/58
My dear Miss Nightingale
I have waited a day, to acknowledge the arrival of the Report. It is now before me, & I have to thank you, which I do very cordially, for the painful pleasure I foresee I shall have in reading it. I need not say that your wishes as to privacy shall be exactly observed. I suppose they do not preclude any use that I may be able to make of facts in the Report, -as facts, without citing you or the Report, or imputing blame to individuals. What I mean is that I still write for "Daily News" (as well as elsewhere). I write three "leaders" per week for "D. News:" & as I have had occasion to write on your sort of subjects before, I may have to do it again: & it would be a great benefit to do it under the enlightenment of your information herein furnished. It would be quite another thing implicating you or anybody indicated by you.

In whatever I did, in the war-time & after it, in relation to yourself, my object was to have you entirely let alone;--in regard
to theological opinions, offers of praise, assurances of fame, descriptions & criticisms of your management,--
(& even in my own mind, subscriptions of money for your objects.) What I could do I did to keep the crowd off you, & leave you air & space & liberty. The thing was impossible, of course; but it was right to try. I mention it now simply to indicate that I shall not bring the "Woman's Missionaries" upon you. I have sympathy with them, however, as well as with you. To me it seems right that all people whatever should do what they can do in natural course: & I suppose this is the doctrine of the Woman's Missionaries. I am with them so far as to assert this benefit,--of everybody being allowed to do their best & to help people to

find out what they can do, & to do it. But I detest all setting up of idols, & all proclamation of Rights, & unnecessary division of men's & women's work. So you have nothing to fear from me, -even if I had any future before me. As it is, every stroke of work is more likely than not to be the last. Yet I may go on, as I have gone on,--much longer than could be expected.

I heard of you the other day from our friend Milnes. I fear you are not better, --or not much. But I will not trouble you with what I think & feel about that.

I once saw Mr Nightingale--about 20 years ago; & I remember a bit of kindness of his in the pit of the theatre. That is one family recollection. Another is my Envelope case, which you sent me when
I was at Tynemouth. Julia & Hilary are a tie between us too--Altogether I will venture to call myself, but with the deepest respect, yours affectionately
H. Martineau

signed letter, ff5-8v, pen

30 Old Burlington St.
London W.
Dec 4/58
Dear Miss Martineau
I shall be very grateful to you if you will make use of my Report in the way you mention. All such help is most valuable to us. And, for the purpose of putting you in possession of the exact position,
in which our cause now stands, I shall, if you will kindly allow me, send you in a few days (i.e. as soon as it is out) an answer to which I have been forced to make to anonymous attacks & pamphlets, circulated with printer’s names, by traitors in our own camp - These are however only mentioned in a Note
The real object of this little thing (which is very short & need not frighten you) is to let our friends know where we are.

There is nothing "confidential" in this, a "Contribution to the Sanitary History of the Army". But, altho' I have inveighed against the anonymous attack, I had rather be kept anonymous myself.

I do not trouble you with any excuses about these things being not literary works & having no charm of style & so on. So long as I can secure some hold upon the minds of those who hold in their hands the remedies we are so urgently seeking, it is only under this aspect that style could be an object of attention to one crying for relief from sufferings so pressing.
The words you use about your own health are also, as far as I have been able to learn, applicable, word for word, to mine, which I only mention to shew that I too have "no future" & must do what I can without delay.

Believe me
most sincerely yours,
Florence Nightingale

P.S. I send you by this day's post, as you mention
the steps of one's successors in one's own path. I send it to you only, because there has been so much rant & cant about us, so much misapprehension about what we did do & so much too about what we did not do, & chiefly by the female ink bottles (in which you are very sure I do not include yourself,) that it may interest you to know what a very plain, matter of fact thing Military Hospital Nursing really is. The most affecting thing I think I ever read (& that must be 20 years ago) was your tale of the death of a drinking woman in one of your Political Economy stories. Since that, I have seen this in real life frequently & in its most terrible aspects. But I have never forgotten the lesson you taught, to work upon it with even friendly interest. F.N. [end 14:995]
The Knoll
Ambleside
Decbr 7th 1858
My dear Miss Nightingale

I have again delayed
writing my thanks to you for
the "Subsidiary Notes", to save
you the trouble of two notes
when one would do. The Editor
of "Daily News" now writes what I was
waiting for, --his desire that I will
use, at my own discretion, the facts
in these Reports, & his promise to

use what I shall send. --When
we want action, --& the editor does
desire that above everything, --we prepare
our material, & wait till the M.P.s
come up for the Session. This I propose
to do now. If there is any particular
direction in which you would wish to
see "D. News" at work, --any one object
that you want carried first, by the
force of this Report, --just let me know,
& I will see what can be done. The
"D. News" is powerful, & increasingly so; &
it will do as much for any express
object as any one organ can do, --from
its honest character, in addition to its
wide circulation,--the one operating on
the Government & the other on the public.

The little you say of yourself is too
much like what I feared. I am sure
you will do what care can do to
prolong your life. I am always
intending it, --& yet I am always
overworked. In my case, that does not so much matter,—the immediate work being of the most consequence & my years being considerable. In every way, a future is more important in your case, —for the world's benefit I mean.

Yours devotedly
H. Martineau.

My dear Miss Martineau,

I cannot thank you enough for your letter, so few people give me that kind of sympathy (which is the only kind one can care for) so very few.

Please look at pp. 11, 12 of a "Sanitary Contribution - 30 Old Burlington St. [14:995-96]

London W (archivist: 58)
Dec 20/58

I send you—they/this brings up our Sanitary history to the latest date— with one exception. Since that was written, the Govt have granted the Army Medical School (in embryo) at Chatham. But we want its full development urged none the less.

And please read the forthcoming
f12

Article in the next Westminster Rev. Jan/59 on our subject. You probably have all the Reviews sent to you. But, if not, please let me send you this. It gives the last information.

I think that what is most pressing for you to do for us in the "Daily News", as you so kindly suggest it, would be

f12v

I. Army Medical School especially the professorship of Hygiene. The cost of disease, especially to the Army. The cheapness of prevention--Army Hygiene a specialty "Prevention better than cure" If India is to be held and to be held by 100 000 white troops, which the present "Re-organization Indian Army
Commission declares necessary, how is England to stand such a drain upon her population, if Indian Stations are not put into such a Sanitary state as will diminish the frightful disease & death we suffer there?

II. Necessity of new "Regulations" for the Army Medical Dept None of any use at present in existence.

A Code has been for some time prepared by a Commission & in the hands of Genl Peel. Where is it?

III. Reconstitution of Army Medl Dept, as recommended by Mr. Sidney Herbert's Commission.

   Its Director General
   [An efficient one has been appointed in the person of Mr. Alexander]
   Its Council scheme [before the War Office
-- why not yet passed?

Its three Departments/Offices as proposed -

Hospital
Sanitary
Statistical
Director-General cannot administer all himself. He must be assisted by a consultative, (not a voting) Council of 3 men, specially conversant with Hospitals Sanitary & Statistical questions he administering.

What has become of this scheme? It is known to be before the War Office. Is the Treasury opposing --Folly & cost of parsimony. In England, where human life has a higher money value than in any other part of Europe, what is the cost of wasting soldiers lives in the way we do? --to save --what?

IV. Necessity of some Nursing system in Army Hospitals.
None at present
Neither male nor female that can be called a system at all.  
[end 14:996]
Great Malvern
January 8th/59

My dear Miss Martineau,

I should have written before had I been able. I hope before long to see the leading articles you kindly promised. With regard to the other magnificent offer, namely the series of papers to be afterwards republished I feel loth to part with that either. I am that it even that would not popularise the subject, nor do I think the immense sale of your India papers necessarily infers that that subject has been popularised. The literary merit alone of any thing of yours would ensure a great circulation, & therefore

I feel as if we should be losing an immense chance if we did not close with your offer. Something in the style of your Illustrations of Political Economy would do more than anything to make the subject popular but I think it wd be hardly desirable to bring it down to the level of the class from which the recruits come or rather ought to come. We have immense difficulty already in recruiting the men we should like to have & shall have more.

In a few words I cannot
bear to give up the idea of catching at both -- both the Leading articles & the Series of Papers.
Believe me {in FN hand}
ever yours overflowingly
Florence Nightingale
P.S. {written in another hand}: you say in yr letter: "as I take up each head, I "shall perhaps ask you whether "any thing new has taken place
I shall be too glad to answer any such question. The fact is that the army Medical

Council scheme, which I mentioned to you as just going before the War Department is I am afraid now being denuded of its essential points by the Under-Secretary of State. [end 14:996]
Great Malvern  
January 14/59

My dear Miss Martineau,
   I have delayed some days
answering your letter. If you
are still in the same mind
as to your magnificent offer, &
I do think it a magnificent one,
I will just say, as shortly as I
can, what I think the conditions
must be, & you will understand
what I feel-- without my
telling you about your
generosity in making it.
First. The Book must
   be your own independent
work. Your private
   contribution to a public purpose,

& your private concern as a
writer with the publishers.
Secondly. I place the materials
of my Report at your
disposal on condition,
   1. of revising the proof sheets,
so far as they relate to these
materials, as you propose
my doing in order to
   guard against "innocent
mistakes" as you say.
   2. of my name not appearing
beyond a simple reference
to my published "Evidence"
(I will explain, farther on,
what this is) The terms
in which this reference is
made being also revised by
me subject to your approval.
I will now explain my reasons
for this.

The basis of your book
may be "The Report of the
Royal Commission on the
Sanitary state of the Army"
& my "Evidence" published
in it, together with one of the
appendices in it, which I
wrote, & the "Contribution"
which you have.

I will take care to send
you this Report, but you
will not have the trouble
of reading it unless you choose,

for my private Report may be
used with perfect safety,
except the "personalities,"
as you propose (although it must
not be quoted), because
the matter of it so
dovetails in with my "evidence"
that the Report is really only
an expansion of the "evidence
& can be perfectly used as
your own thoughts & deduction
of course in your own word
& ideas.

There must be no allusion
to me in the Preface, as
having supplied the facts,
farther than the reference
to my "Evidence" if you wish it, such as any other writer might make. I am so engaged in "extensive practical operations" as the miners say, that any other reference would do my real practical work irreparable damage. It is necessary of all things that such a book as you could & would write, should bear the most transparent evidence of its own origin, & that it should be simply the expression of an independent intelligence called forth by facts in every body's hands.

I think it is really easier for me to dictate letters, so that I should feel it an unnecessary burden upon your "guardian", as you call her, to ask her to come here. I have said quite shortly what I think about this. I cannot say what I feel about your undertaking such a work at such a time.
If I live it will be a real pleasure to me to look over the chapters as you propose.

I do not think that any alteration is likely to be necessary, such as would give you material discomfort for the reasons given above.

With regard to your "pecuniary independence" that must be secured – & if Messrs Smith & Elder were not to offer a fitting sum, which I conceive to be impossible, you would

kindly let me know, as well as how far it falls short of what is a fitting sum.

{in FN hand}

Believe me to be ever yours most truly & gratefully

F. Nightingale
Signed letter, ff21-28v, pen {not FN hand} {archivist:} 5

f21

Private Great Malvern
Jany 23rd
My dear Miss Martineau,

With regard to the letters which you were so good as to send me, thank you very much. I quite agree with yours.

With regard to the Leading articles, thank you very much too. I think only two have appeared. They have been very much appreciated, particularly the second.

With regard to anything new having occurred, the Army Medical School

f21v

has been granted, as I think I mentioned to you: granted that is in embryo at Chatham. The army medical council has been decided against, (definitively it is said) by General Peel, but Mr. Herbert has told him (very definitively also) that he will in that case wash his hands of the whole business & fight it in the House of Commons. He writes
to me." I don't despair
"of getting our scheme thro'
"still, tho' I really cannot
"say how."

The same threat was
efficacious in the case of
the Army Medical school
& it may be so now--
I mean without having
recourse to the House of
Commons. Of course
all this is strictly for
yourself alone+ as it
has been told to me
alone. I only write it
in order that it may guide

{in a different hand} +We have kept this strictly, but I venture to
send it now because the occasion seems over I
having discussed it in print with her observations.

you in the compilation
of your Leading articles,
& I subjoin on another
sheet a suggestion
merely for your consideration
for a leading article
which might be of use
to us.
{in FN hand}
ever yours gratefully,
F. Nightingale
The Royal Commission
(on the Sanitary state of
the Army) whilst
exposing defects in
present sanitary
arrangements & their
results to soldiers
appears to have carefully
considered the means
of remedy.

Two plans come out
in the Evidence.
One, to place the whole
Sanitary Administration
under an Officer quite
unconnected with
Army Medical Depart-
ment.

The other, to use the
Department & its officers
for preserving health
as well as curing
disease.

There are strong arguments
for both methods.
Hygiene is a specialty
& like other specialties
requires undivided
attention.
Treating disease is
also a specialty
requiring a man's
whole thoughts, &
it is doubtful whether
the train of thought,
which makes a good physician does not make a bad Sanitarian. Some of the Evidence tends this way. Other witnesses consider that as the public pays a large Staff of educated medical Officers, these ought to be employed for Sanitary service. Against this proposal stands the fact that under the present system, the army has suffered so vast a rate of preventible disease & mortality. Can we hope to reduce this by employing the same machinery under which it has occurred? The Royal Commission appears to have considered that the machinery might be improved, & rendered efficient by two measures. 1. Educating every medical officer in the specialties of Hygiene. 2. Creating a council to be attached to the Army Medical Depart
of three members: one for Hygiene, one for Hospitals, one for Statistics.

It considered that:
given the School & Council but only if both were granted, the Army Medical department might be entrusted with the Army Hygiene.

Profiting by the experience of the failure of Deliberative Boards, the Royal Commission proposed to make the Council simply consultative.

i.e. that each member should be perfectly free & unfettered, in giving his advice to the Director General, (minuting it if necessary) but that the Director General should be sole administrative head over the whole department.

We learn from the evidence that this plan was recommended by so high an authority as Sir John McNeill
& that it has worked successfully under the Scottish Poor Law. It is also the plan adopted in the Government of India. The new Indian council is so constituted. It has long worked successfully in France. In considering our progress in Army Reform, we ask what has become of this Council? Are the deliberate recommendations of a Royal Commission of "experts" to be adopted & future armies saved or has the whole plan so carefully considered & so intelligently framed been shelved by the genius of dullness & stupidity in the War Office to which Great Britain from time immemorial has committed the destinies of her soldiers in peace & in war? Why all this delay? Or rather has not
the time arrived when
the Nation should call
for a Royal Commission
of Enquiry into the
manner in which the
interests of the army
are neglected through
the ignorance of a set
of obscure paid officials
who in all probability
would never have been
able to earn their salt
in any other walk of life?
The House of Commons
last Session, decreed
Barrack Reform, by

an unanimous vote
sanctioning by the National
voice one recommendation
of the Royal Commission.
Our columns show
from time to time the
progress which is made
let them also tell the
War-Office that unless
other equally necessary
reforms are carried out
it is quite possible that
better men may be
found to attend to the
health & efficiency of
the Army.

F.N.
NB.  

I don't think, (this is between ourselves) that hardly any one is awake to this fact.

The House of Commons thinks that it has done great things when it has turned out one Minister & put in another. It has done nothing at all.

At least I can answer for the War Office, which is the only Public Department I know well enough to make any assertion about--

I always thought

John Bull hated a Bureaucracy but the War Office is the veriest Bureaucracy I know.

The War Secretary of State is entirely in the hands of his permanent subordinates & a change in the Cabinet makes no change whatever in the administration of the War office. Also these permanent Subordinates are certainly men very much beneath par -- you will understand that this is by no means for the Daily News but only for yourself.--  F Nightingale

{signature is Nightingale's own}  

[end 14:1000]
Great Malvern
Jany 26th/59

My dear Miss Martineau,

Thank you very much for the enclosed, which I am very glad that you have accepted as sufficient.

The reputation of Smith & Elder whom I only know by name, while you know them personally, is that of being prudent people but trustworthy & honest in all their dealings.

The blocks of the Diagrams are, as you suppose, mine, but I should think them exhausted. I printed 2000 copies of the Lilac-covered Diagrams Pamphlet & had the blocks renewed 4 times.

If ever you should think that they will be of use in your book, please tell me, & let me contribute the blocks.

Thank you very much for having that idea.

Besides the Report I have sent you this lilac-covered Diagrams Pamphlet. I am anxious to save you the trouble as much as possible
of reading duplicates & at the
same time to indicate at once
what has been published
& what not.

The three places indicated
in the big Blue Book
for you to read were
1) the Report itself,
2) my Evidence,
3) the Diagrams paper.
These being all published
may of course all be made
use of, so may the
"Contribution" (green cover)
4) My report [not published]

is really only an expansion
of these four.

The lilac-covered Diagrams
paper is only a reprint
of (3.) & occurs almost
word for word in the
"Concluding remarks" of
my report.

ever yours gratefully
F. Nightingale
Great Malvern [14:1001] Feb. 9th/59
My dear Miss Martineau,
I believe I shall be
going up to town almost
immediately, where any
packet addressed to
30 Old Burlington Street
London W.
will reach me safely.
I think for the very reason
that you give that it will
be better for me to have
your MS in two or three
chapters at a time as you
propose.
Thank you very much for
your permission about Mr.
Sidney Herbert.
I am very sorry to hear
that you are worse
than usual, I think this
unquiet weather does
weary people to whom
quiet is very necessary
very much.- [end]
{in FN hand}
ever yours truly & gratefully
F. Nightingale
30 Old Burlington Street {archivist: 42}
London. W.

(Copy)  Feby 28th/59
I cannot help writing one line to acknowledge
the receipt of the precious M.S., to say
that it has been sent on by hand to
Mr Smith, and that he took it himself
from the Messenger.
    I will write to morrow.
    Yours very gratefully
(signed) F. Nightingale

is given away 30 Old Burlington St
To H. Martineau} London W

Mar 1/59
    I cannot tell you
how much I liked
your M.S. I am sure
that it will help us
immensely--that it
will be very much
read by the public
& still more by the
soldiers.
    I have corrected a
very few technical
mistakes & altered
two or three words only. It is astonishing to me how very few, even of such technical mistakes, there are. And of errors of judgment it seems to me there are none—while the interest is both of intellect & of feeling.

If you would let me see the Proof, it is possible there may be a few more such technical mistakes,

which I may have overlooked in the M.S.

I enclose an Extract from a French Article which may be worth your looking at. If you would like to see the Article, please say so. But there was nothing more in it about "us"—My impression on the field of Inkermann was like the Frenchman's but stronger, as I was nearer both to the men & the day.
I have always meant to send you the Diary of one of our men, Serjt Jowett, because he was a by no means unusual specimen of the manly English soldier. I send one now, with passages marked, which I think you will like to look at. If I have done so before, forgive me. 

Yours ever gratefully
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff35-38v, pen

30 Old Burlington St. [14:1002-03]
London W
March 3/59
My dear Miss Martineau
I have endeavoured to give on another page as unbiassed & unenthusiastic an opinion as I can. But I am not the less surprised at Messrs Smith & Elder's opinion. x I feel however that mine is worth nothing at all against
a Publisher's. Perhaps they think that a high priced book which will go through the Circulating Libraries is best. For them it is simply a question of finance --And for us too in one sense, viz- that, if that is the way to sell a book, the Circulating Libraries does secure a much greater number of readers, which is our object, than at first sight appears.

I should have thought it would have sold largely as a "Railway Book, at 2/6 or 3/ as you propose.

I should like to give it to all the Regiments--a thing easier for me to do at a low price of course than at a high one.

I hope that any
way you would let
me make it no
loss to you. But I
know quite well that
this is not your
object but to secure
the largest class of
readers.
Yours very gratefully
F. Nightingale
P.S. About a third
part of the Army pay
a penny a week for
permission to read--This
is what they do. But
buy books they do not.

March 3/59
It seems reasonable
to anticipate as large
a sale at least for
this work on Army
Hygiene as for that
on British India.
["At least" I say, but
I should have thought
a much larger sale
should be anticipated,
because, from the
nature of the two subjects,
the interest of our
Rule in India is an ever-changing one, but this must be a permanent interest.

If the sale of that was 5000 copies, & if to print & sell 5000 copies of this at 2/6 or 3/ would be a good deal more remunerative than to sell 1000 at 7/, of this, it would probably be worth

Messrs. Smith & Elder's while to do so -

My own view, judging from the way the book is written, is that it would be very largely read, if sold at a low rate,-- But this is only my inexperienced opinion, as against that of the publishers! I have however heard nothing which would lead me to alter it.
One thing is necessary for our object — viz.
that as many readers should be obtained as possible.

In answer to a specific question, I am bound to give a specific answer. Though the soldiers are a reading, they are not a buying class. They would read this if put into their Reading=Rooms. And I should put it there.

F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff39-40, pen

30 Old Burlington St. London W {archivist: 19 }
March 19/59

My dear Miss Martineau
I have only & very hastily glanced thro' the M.S. just received. It appears to me quite to keep up its spirit. But I think, & I am sure the soldiers will think, that the relief & the effect of the Battle of the Alma is necessary. written, that is, as
you would write it. It is wanted to bring out (in relief) the miserable commencement of the Plateau. [The Times’ Correspondent gives good details of the Alma.] I am not able to finish the M.S. to day. If you think with me about the Alma, perhaps you would like the M.S. kept back till it is written. [end]

Yours ever gratefully
F. Nightingale

{in light pencil, in another hand:} It is done,--& Balaclava too. I have presented Inkerman, as the soldiers’ Battle (so knowing how they are all {illeg three?}) {??}
signed letter, ff41-44v, pen

f41

30 Old Burlington St. [14:1004-05]
London W {archivist: 22 }
March 21/59
My dear Miss Martineau
I feel for two reasons
that it is desirable
to work up the
Instructional matter
into a narrative by
introducing the battles.
Let Inkermann be the
culminating point
as it deserves--But
I think Alma & the
Light Cavalry Charge
are wanting--if only

f41v

as sketches, while
Inkermann is the
finished picture--
Alma offers two of
the most remarkable
features in war history--
viz. the advance of the
Guards up to a
battery which they
took - the reception
by the Russian infantry
in square of Sir C.
Campbell's Highland
Brigade, as if they
had been Cavalry--
The Light Cavalry Charge
at Balaclava will be remembered when our sufferings have been long forgotten—as one of the most chivalrous things ever done by any men.

My two reasons are 1. that it will be impossible for me to gain admission into the Regimental Libraries for this book, unless the Instructional matter is disguised in narrative [no Chaplain or Inspector would ever sanction it]—2. that no careless person (&

soldiers too are careless) would ever read it without the battles. You have mentioned the mission of the Engineer Officer sent by Lord Raglan to fetch the fleet to B'clava. And it seems to want the Alma to complete it. [The A. Register is the best thing you can have for details. It gives them well. But I would not think it worth your while to do more
than work them up into a rapid sketch, if you agree with me so far as to do this]

I think some of the didactic part might perhaps do better as a conclusion to the book. But this is for after consideration—I am a bad judge about these things—But the person whom, with your permission, I asked for his opinion; agrees with me.

I have finished the M.S. & corrected some technicalities, according to your desire, & will send it on immediately to Mr. Smith.

The dates of the revival may be obtained as follows:
The Sanitary Commission Report, a completed proof of which I send, gives the history of the Sanitary ameliorations at Balaclava, the Camp, & Scutari; & the
dates--In fact, their Report is nothing but a history of the revival--My "Notes" give the dates of improvement in food, clothing, Hospitals &c.

This is all there is to give. For as to any improvement in rules, system or regulations, there never was any.

What improvement took place was all done by an enormous expenditure in money &c.

& the relaxation of all rules--together with the impulse given by two Civil Commissions, 1. the Sanitary one, whose Report I send, which did all the Sanitary works--& 2. the Supply Commission (Sir John McNeill & Col. Tulloch) which discovered the stores on the spot & the supplies of fresh meat &c to be had in the country.

Yours ever gratefully,
F. Nightingale
f45
30 Old Burlington St. [14:1005]
London W
March 24/59
My dear Miss Martineau
I have not been
able to write before
what you will hardly
care to hear now—viz.
how cordially I agree
that you must be
the judge of your
own book. But
more than this—I
entirely agree that
the narrative & the

didactic are much
better worked up
together, if only
the land-marks,
the Battles, are put
in—and, if a few
more dates—are
worked in to mark the
epochs of discomfort,
& comfort, in order
to be guide-posts
to unreflecting
people. E.g. the
whole Army was
not hutted till
January 1856.
[I have mentioned Note 1. to P. 321 of my "Notes" the insufficiency of Huts even in Dec/55. In April/55, (I am going backwards) two thirds, at least, of the Army were unhutted. In January/55, the first mention of Huts by Dr. Hall occurs, (P. XIV, Preface to Section I.) But this, as nearly all his other mentions, refers solely to Hospital Huts. When he means men's huts, he says Camps--And the men had no huts at all till March & April/55. When slowly, slowly, they began to arrive.

In all references to "unventilated huts", therefore, it seems to me important to crystallize the unreflecting readers' ideas into the fact that the first winter '54-'55, the men were wholly unhutted.
At P 303 of my "Notes" I have given a sort of Table of the men's state of for the few/six bad months--And at pp 432-6 a view of some of the principal dates-

If the two years, '54-'56, are divided into epochs, the attention of the careless reader is arranged for him.

I cordially agree that the poor soldiers are no public at

all & never can be: that is, no public use to write for-- I only mentioned them because you asked me -

You are quite right, I believe, about Inkerman. The n is only the plural of "kerma", Cave - "In" is town--caves-town - And the pronunciation bears you out.
foolish Despatches always put the double n--And I have the habit of it.

The Turkish words on the contrary, having no vowels--one is obliged to spell them anyhow--The much disputed Koulali, for instance, I spell so, only because the Turks pronounce it so--(not long een at the end)

I hope that you

are not materially worse.

Today & yesterday there has appeared more prospect than at the beginning of the debate that Ministers will go on upon the Reform Bill. But the Opposition don't really expect it. Ever yours gratefully,

F. Nightingale
My dear Miss Martineau,

I have written you a very cold & business-like letter. But I hope you will believe 1. that, if you will tell me what Smith & Elder's offer is below what it ought to be, I shall esteem it a favor--I am no judge as

to Mr. Smith's letter at all. But it seems to me out of all question that your "second course" is the right one.

I cannot at all tell you how it distresses me to think that you have injured yourself in strength & probably increased your suffering by writing this book for us -

It is a very poor thing to say. But I hope you will at least prevent me from injuring you in purse.

I have been quite unable to write till this evening or I would have
Yours ever gratefully,
F.N.

signed letter, ff51-51v, pen

30 Old Burlington St.
London W
April 1/59 [14:1006]

My dear Miss Martineau
1. I should say that
your reasons in favour
of the second course,
viz. printing a small,
not very cheap edition,
are unanswerable –
2. It might be
desirable to make
beforehand some
arrangement for a
second, cheap, edition,
f51v
if as may be hoped, the sale of the first edition should shew that it will be wanted.
3. I most earnestly deprecate any course which would make the payment of your literary labor contingent on the sale, which it appears would be the case, if a cheap edition were printed at once.
4. I still hope & think that a cheap edition would circulate largely. 
5. In order to secure what circulation I can for it in my individual capacity, I should wish to take £20 worth of copies (at the whole= sale price, if I may,)
Of course the lower
the price, the more
copies I shall have
to do good with.
    My friend, Col.
Lefroy, the Inspector—
General of Military Schools, &c
has been sent on
a sudden mission
abroad. And I
cannot therefore
ascertain from him
(within two months)
whether I shall have
the necessary permission
to circulate these copies among
for the Regimental Libraries. Yours most gratefully
    F. Nightingale

initialed letter, ff52-53v, pen

30 Old Burlington St.  [14:1006-07]
London W
April 16/59
My dear Miss Martineau
    I have read (& a
little revised) the
M.S. & shall send
it off immediately.
I cannot tell you
how much I like it.
But I will write
about that tomorrow.
The only object of
this is to say, if
you still wish for
the three Diagrams
out of my Report,
could I not save
you any further
trouble by sending
them (ready done) to
Messrs. Smith and Elder,
if I did but know
size of book, number
of copies &c?
Some such note
as this to your Preface
would save all
idea of my complicity
with the book, arising
out of this introduction
of the Diagrams.

"To give illustrate
the Statistical statements
in the following pages,
I have introduced
three Diagrams, illustrative
shewing the Sanitary
state of the Army
during the War in the
East/Crimea, for permission
to use which, I am
indebted to the
publishers of "A
Contribution to the
Sanitary History of
the British Army" in
which they originally
f53v

appeared."

No one knows I wrote that - At the same time it is by no means a Government document - only a privately printed one. And nobody will enquire further -

Forgive me for writing so shortly. I have been so ill, so busy. But not, I fear, worse so than you ever yours,

F.N.

signed letter, ff54-55v, pen

f54 {archivist: ☑}

May 19/59

My dear Miss Martineau

I cannot tell you what a relief it was to me to hear that you were not materially the worse for your book. I hope it is true.

I have done what you say about the money--i.e. delayed making up the
deficiency to you, whatever it be, till you tell me - Tho' I cannot help feeling this is unfair to you - £45 does appear to me for a writer's share in the his own book so very small.

I have got some of my copies of your book. But I have not yet

been able to read-- nor to write, except this bit -

ever yours gratefully

F. Nightingale

I must tell you a [9:87] secret, because I think it will please you. For eight long months I have been "importunate widow"= ing my "unjust judge", viz. Lord Stanley, to give us a Royal Sanitary Commission to do
exactly the same
thing for the Armies in India which
the last did for
the Army at home.
We have just won
it. The Queen has
signed the Warrant
So I consider it is
safe- Mr. Sidney
Herbert is Chairman,
of course - Drs.
Sutherland, Martin,
Farr & Alexander,
whose names
will be known to you,
Sir R. Vivian & Sir
P. Cautley, of the India
Council, are on it. [end 9:87]

initialed letter, f56, pen Highgate {archivist: 42 }

f56

June 9/59
I think I will not ask
you to come to-morrow
please if you meant
to come--nor to see
me till I come to town,
which I hope will be
on Monday. I find that
any measure of waiting
on expectancy now quite
unfits me for any
work I am still able
to do.

Yours ever
F.N.
My dear Miss Martineau,

I have so very much wished to write to you myself for the last two months. But this is the first day I have been able to do anything but the most pressing business.

I applied to Col Lefroy, the Inspector Genl of Army Schools, for permission to send a copy to each Regiment of your "England & her Soldiers" But it seems that some similar suggestion had been made to Mr. Herbert, who thought that it would tend to making the men discontented. Col. Lefroy was not able, to withs act either against his Chief's
opinion, to grant the permission.

I therefore had a letter written to Messrs Smith & Elder to ask them to send 20 worth to the different Reading rooms in the country according to their own judgment of how which/what would best increase its circulation -

Secondly. It would

so very much tend to my satisfaction if you would fulfil that part of our agreement now which settled that I should make up the sum you received to £100. I enclose a Cheque for £55 as I think you said £45 was the sum given by Messrs. Smith & Elder.

I hope you are not worse. Believe me ever yours gratefully Florence Nightingale

Col. Lefroy spoke with the very highest terms of admiration of your "England and her Soldiers," even while saying he was compelled to decline it for the Soldiers' Libraries. I sent him a copy in making the application to him. [end]

F.N.
Ambleside  
Jany 19/60  

Dear Miss Nightingale,

I have almost shrunk from writing to you about your "Notes" &c because I felt so strongly about them that it was difficult to speak without an apparent extravagance which one wd not offer to you. This is a work of genius, if ever I saw one; & it will operate accordingly. Maria & I had devoured it before night; & I feel confident that it will be the same with a multitude of people, though all have not exactly the keen interest in the subject that M. & I have. The book will be as "D. News" says (I don't know who wrote that) "a revelation". It is as fresh as if nobody had ever before spoken of nursing. It is so real & so intense, that it will, I doubt not, create an order of nurses
before it has finished its work. -I
want to be doing, to help the diffusion
of the book. I wrote to Edr of "D. News"
that I wanted to treat it more broadly
than can be done in a newspaper notice:
& as I knew he would, he at once
got it done in decisive style. Meantime,
we (Maria & I) have written (confidentially) to the
Editor of the "Edinburgh Review" (who is
in Paris) asking whether he is at all
likely to be able to have an article
on the broad subject of the Relation
of the Well to the Sick, on the text of
these "Notes". Entre nous, I am engaged
to write an article for him, this quarter on another
topic; but I shd not mind the delay
of a quarter if he wd allow me to do
what I wish. His hands are always
full,--his programme bursting with
articles: but he so honours all that you
do that I don't despair. I have also
written strongly to the Times reviewer
about the "Notes", & I have little doubt
of a good help to the circulation thence.
Maria is writing to friends who have
money, to show them what good they
may do by putting this little book into
every house where there are women of any
good quality at all. --Maria longs, I
know, to nurse you. I do think you wd
find her as near to your standard of
a nurse as anybody in Europe. O! how
we quivered over that section "Chattering
Hopes & Advices" How true it is! & how
dreary! I gratefully admit that I
suffer very little indeed from that sort
of plague. Maria wards it off, in fact.
But in my former long illness I knew
too well what it was: & now, there is
a visitor occasionally who courts, or who relieves his or her own feelings in the ways you know so well. One good lady, --so kind otherwise!--regularly says in autumn "Good-bye now. I hope to find you quite well in the spring." And every second or third visit, she begins "Well, now--I want you to see another physician &c &c. I am persuaded, as you have gone on so long, that you might get well on some plan &c &c &c." My dear cousin, Mrs Turner, said one day "She will never say that again. She is now really impressed by what I told her, --that your being alive now is, according to your doctors, owing to your perfect quiet & monotony &c." However, just before Xmas my kind visitor went over the ground again, in the regular way. We are hoping she will read the "Notes".

If you will not for a moment think it needful to reply, I will add a thing or two.--I see no reference in any of your books to an important precautionary method which it is possible may not have come under your study; --that of putting beds North & South (the patient's head to the north). The reason cannot be stated with scientific precision but it is supposed to belong to the relation between the human electric current & the current of terrestrial magnetism. However that may be, the fact seems to be indisputable that in cases of extreme exhaustion or irritability, the position of the patient makes the difference between sleep & sleeplessness,--& therefore at times between life & death. You may see a pretty
full statement of facts on this matter
in Treatise III of Reichenbach's
"Researches on Magnetism." The head
to the South is next best to the
right position. The distress when the patient
lies East & West is often very great--in
puerperal cases, in nervous fevers &
insanity, & in great feebleness of any
kind. For several years, I always
took a pocket compass when going to any
Lunatic Asylum or Hospital: & now
that two of my nephews are "about
to marry", I have given them a hint
to set the beds the right way at first,
--however little it matters to the healthy
which way they lay their heads. I have
now privately advised them to get the
"Notes" before furnishing their houses
& they will do it. --By the way,

you wd approve Catherine of Russia's
apartment in some respects: --bedposts
(if there must be any) of purple glass;
& the walls porcelain.

I will not trouble you further,
except just to say, for truth's sake,
that I go much further than you
in approbation of Homeopathic
treatment, --in the hands of not only
amateurs but the profession. I have
been watching it for 23 years; & I am
as sure as I can be of anything future
that it will supersede any other princi-
ple & method yet known. There is much
yet to learn in it: but that it is true as
far as it goes, I am persuaded must be
seen by all who really & effectually
study it. There is a dreadful paucity of
qualified practitioners, though they increase by hundreds every year. In Birmingham there are only two, --though "there is practice for a dozen," as the departmental chemist declares. Now that Town Councils vote money, as at Liverpool, for the support of Homeopathic Dispensaries, we are more in the way of a due supply of skill. I need not tell you that the "globules" for ever fastened on by the rival school are not a primary or essential part of the theory or practice.

I do wish I knew how you were. I will write to Julia soon. She has been so welcome at Nottingham!

As for me,--my special suffering of late has been from tic,--from which I have not been free one day or night since the 26th of October--Maria has however obtained sleep for me, in the very midst.

of the pain,--by (unknown to me at first) mesmerising my pillows, bed, & night clothes. It was like a miracle. We cannot apply it directly, by mesmerising me from the danger of congestion; or the pain wd soon be sent to the night about. But it is reduced since I got sleep. The doctor is too glad I believe to quarrel with the means.

I am most gratefully yours H. Martineau
Dear Miss Martineau

Many many thanks for your note of the 5th, which I should have answered before, but that I was unable to write.

Nothing would be more generally useful (or, to me, more desired) than that you should treat in your broad way the "mutual relations of the sick & well."

Your book, though it must be some 18 years since I read it--stays by my memory, as every thing you write does. And I believe I could repeat it pretty nearly all, as I could nearly all your "Deerbrook" & much of your "Political Economy" Tales.

But I want to say one thing. I do believe there is not the smallest chance of anything you
write not being discovered. If therefore you will not think me wholly impertinent & like my own "chattering" advisers, I would say, do not do/write anything which, you do not wish to have known, is by you/You. The [?] article will be remarked, questions will be asked, and I never knew anything that people wished to know (of this kind) that did not at last "leak out". If a Review Article does not fall dead--and depend upon it this will not people always ask, whose is it? and people always find out - Ultimately every body will know that you have written it. You will say (& say truly) that every you have great literary experience & I have none-- Still I cannot help telling you, in return for your generous confidence, of what I believe will be the case.
So far from wishing to deter you from writing the Article, it would very much deter me from writing this, if I thought I should—

But—whatever you write will be known.

I am so glad to hear that you are something better easier.

Ever yours sincerely & gratefully

F. Nightingale

I quite agree with you that how to be ill is a very necessary complement of how to nurse. One is not complete without the other. But, on the whole, I think the first duty better performed, generally, than the second—

I thought at the time (& I think so still) that you are a little hard upon the sick in your book—Because I am a Patient myself, I think I am not the less inclined to be hard upon the sick too, as
you were for the same reason. But I think a Patient's gratitude to a really good Nurse is almost painfully intense. There is one thing, however, in which all my experience in sending out Nurses, as well as that of all Institutions which do send out Nurses, convinces me that (tho families of the sick perhaps oftener than) the sick themselves lamentably fail and that is in expecting nurses to "sit up" night after night without any proper provision for quiet & regular sleep during the day. One is always obliged to make a bargain for one's nurse in this respect.

On the other hand, I do think that any aversion the Patient manifests or feels (unmanifested) towards the Nurse is generally the Nurse's own fault, not the Patient's.
I have seen an expression of real terror pass across a Patient's face, wherever a Nurse came into the room who, he was sure, would tumble over the fire-irons &c. I have seen Patients, scarcely able to crawl, get out of bed before such a Nurse came into the room, & put out of the way every thing she could throw down, hide everything they were likely to want, (not because they had not a right to have it but because she was sure, in "putting things to rights," to put it out of their reach) and shut the window, because she was sure to leave the door open behind her (putting them into a thorough draught) On the other hand, again, this is my painful experience) & one which many medical men will
corroborate. I am always asked to send a Nurse because the friends of the Patient are "worn out" with "sitting up" or be to save the servants "running up & down stairs." I am never asked to send a Nurse that the Patient may be better nursed.

I do believe this is the root of all. And the Nurses are "indeed made to run" made "to run up &

downstairs" & to "sit up" till they are unfit for any thing,— this being the avowed object for a Nurse is there for not to nurse.

F.N.

Please not to think this letter requires an answer.

We have had a terrible loss in our poor "Director General" (of the Army Medl Dept To us it is irreparable.
f67 {archivist: -2-}

Of no consequence, 
& no answer required.
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April 7/60
Dear Miss Nightingale

I think it may be 
just worth while to send 
you the opinion of your "Notes"
sent me by the greatest 
woman (as I consider her)
on record, --Maria Weston Chap-
man,--whose name will 
by & by stand beside 

f67v
Washington's in history, 
as the deliverer of her 
country the second & greater 
time. For 25 years she 
has been my study, first 
from a remote point, & 
then under the penetrating 
light of the strongest affection 
& I certainly regard her 
as the most wonderful 
woman on record for 
power of achievement on
the grandest scale; &
the most perfect proof
within my experience of the
possible union of the highest
intellectual & moral
attributes. x In England all
this is known to a very
few. In France to more.
In America it is clear
enough.--All honour to
Garrison! but Garrison,
morally adequate to anything,
is ignorant: & Mrs Chapman's
learning, to which I can find
x Such a nurse, among the domesticities!

no limit except in one or
two directions, (& I have heard
the same from persons far
more instructed than I) had
informed & guided the
movement which is now
regenerating the republic.

Well: here is what she
thinks of your "Notes."
Perhaps you heard what
her daughter said of them,
---that "they ought to be
read in all the churches."
I like that remark amaz-
ingly.---I will not trouble
you with more, as I have no news
on our topics. Yours devotedly
  H. Martineau
Mrs Chapman to Maria Martineau
March 1860

"I thank you heartily for the 'Notes on Nursing'. It is an admirable book. It is already republished here. I suppose we always like in a book to have it tell us what we already know, & what at the same time is not generally known. We feel stood-by to others, & confirmed in our own minds. I feel in this book still another satisfaction:--it ploughs deep--begins & ends with the idea of health & its conditions, & does not shrink itself up in order to avoid awakening general thought, while perfectly skilled to keep to the self-prescribed line in the treatment of what it takes in hand. What I specially admire is the absence of all professional taint, while yet every page shows the high ability to bear

with, & make the lead on, & make the best of professors of healing."
April 26/60

Dear Miss Nightingale

I think you will like to see the note of the Edr of the Q. R. [Queen's Regulations re Army Med Dept. Oct. 50]

So I put it into an envelope ready directed, that you may have no trouble.

Maria has told Hilary that I have been very ill. I am "on the mend," as people say, but have not written letters yet.

The article appeared a week ago.-- Yours devotedly

H. Martineau

{notes in Dr. Sutherland’s hand}

If the blank wall where the fireplace is, occupies a breadth similar to the {illeg} space for two beds.

{archivist: Note by Dr. Sutherland}

The ceiling might be coved to give the height required or a plain moulding carried round the upper edge of the coving all the way round his ward. The windows should come as high up the ward as possible & three of {illeg Mackinnels?} ventilators should be placed along the centre line of the ceiling.

where the grates are wanted apply to Captain Galton
My dear Mrs. Martineau

I cannot tell you, and this is not a figure of speech, how much I felt at hearing how ill you were.

I trust your life will yet be prolonged.

It is indeed kind of you to remember me at such a time.

It is the greatest pleasure I can have
to learn that words of mine have enabled good Nurses still farther to alleviate the suffering of sick or of dying beds.

I thank you most cordially for your Review. I believe it will have the widest influence in spreading a knowledge of these Nursing truths.

I had rather have been more criticized. It would have helped me more in the enlarged Edition which is to come out. But I cannot but be glad of what you say.

Yours ever affectionately & gratefully
Florence Nightingale

{in H.M.’s hand}:
F. Nightingale
April 28/60
signed letter, ff73-76, pen (from Martineau to F.N.)

**f73**

Ambleside {archivist:4}
June 11/60
(No answer needed)

My dear Miss Nightingale

I am delighted to have a sight of the Regulations. Now the thing is to get them widely known among the right people. I have sent a leader upon them to "Daily News"; but whether room can be found for it in the present pressure of politics is more than I can say. --I hope I may also write upon it,--as a P. S. to an article of some months since on Nurses, --in "Once a Week". The Editor comes home to work today; & I have asked him.

About six weeks since I had a remarkably interesting letter from a lady in Glasgow, entreating my attention to the quality of the nurses & keepers in lunatic asylums. She says she was herself an inmate of a very good one for 3 months,

**f73v**

& can prove to me the bad effects of setting ignorant & prejudiced attendants over educated patients &c &c. --Now, I have known a good deal about this for nearly thirty years; (have written a little about it:) & my sense of the importance of it is so strong that I cannot help just saying that I wish it may consist with the plans of your Committee to provide for the improvement of this class of Nurses, as well as the other.

It seems to me that much less teaching & training is necessary in this department than in that of Hospital nursing; & that the thing especially wanted is an opening first, & then countenance, such as your Committee wd give. There are, no doubt, many good women who lean towards that
kind of occupation, & that kind of benevolence, but who do not know how to set about getting practice & employment. I know the want of good nurses to be desperate,—in both public & private establishments; & I believe that, an opening once afforded, the deficiency wd be partly supplied, in a short time.—If an arrangement cd be made with St Luke's or some other well-managed Asylum, like that at St Thomas's Hospital, it might be the best thing ever done for the Insane.—I don't mention Hanwell, because I have (& always had) a thorough distrust of Dr Conelly; as I suppose most [Conolly] people have since the Stillwell affair. My cousin Richard Martineau is an active Visiting something at St Luke's & gives me an impression of excellent management, & constantly improving results in the way of cure.

The Lincoln Asylum was admirable,
some years since. It was there that
night-watching was first tried, --one
of the very greatest blessings.

Well! I will say no more about this,
extcept that I am encouraged to try
by Maria's telling me that at Kaiserswerth
there is a large department devoted to
the Insane, so that you must have seen
what I want done, & are most likely to
approve it, I should think.

Mrs Arnold & daughter Fan were
just gone forth on a long round of visits
when your "Notes" came out. Fan tells
me that the book was on every table
wherever they went; & everybody was
talking about it. Some appreciated it
(as the Arnolds do, very emphatically:) but
says Fan, nothing but the book itself cd
show how much it was wanted. She
was ashamed, wherever she went, to
hear the women talk. Such conceit, such
ignorance, such insensibility she cd not
have conceived. It never occurred to them that they were no judges, --had no means of forming an opinion; & the stuff they talked was perfectly amazing. One young lady seems to have particularly impressed Fan. "That about the skin, & washing, & hot water, & stuff coming off! I don't believe a word of it. Try? ha, ho, I shan't try, I'm sure. I don't believe it is true: & if it is true, I am quite satisfied with my skin, & don't want anything done to it any better than it is." --The book has a large work to do among such people, & in time it will do it. It is the best possible sign, in such cases, when offence is taken in the first instance. "What a wonderful book it is!" Maria cried out yesterday. She had occasion to refer to some note, & nearly read it all through again before she put it down.

We are so glad to hear of your
having that picture of Holman Hunt’s the other Sunday. (A friend of mine saw it on the Saturday, when it was going to be sent,--that is how I heard.) Maria has been giving a fine engraving of Murillo's best Immaculate to her brother, as a wedding present; & she kindly had it sent here, that I might have the pleasure of it for a month before the wedding. We do enjoy such things,--don't we? It does make my mouth water, however, to read of some pictures,--especially Holman Hunt’s.

My Sanitary series in "Once a Week" ought to be drawing to an end; but I have hankered after doing "the Soldier, his Health," & have hoped for new material. Now I see Mr

Sidney Herbert promises the Barrack Report next month. So I shall keep the series open till then.

I shall not look for any notice of this: & I rely on Hilary to save you the receiving it, if you have too much upon you. Our kind love to her.

Yours devotedly

H. Martineau.
f77
(No answer Ambleside {archivist: 5} needed.) June 16/60
Dear Miss Nightingale
  I am going to take a liberty, in consequence of Hilary's good news that a new edition of the "Notes" is wanted.
  The printing of the "Notes" is very bad. The marginal notes have so many bad & wrong letters that it seems as if they had been overlooked. In one page I see four errors or disgraces. I know too well that invalid eyes are not up to the work; and I get help.

f77v
By yesterday's evening post arrived a proof of a long article (entre nous, on Russian serfage, for the next "Edinburgh") Maria & our maid Caroline sat down to it at 7, & finished at 10. Caroline reads my M.S. while Maria goes over the proof. Thus I have today only to attend to the sense & matters of judgment.
  In the "Notes" there are es for cs, & cs for es; & letters too far apart; & imperfect letters, besides some more important errors.
I venture to say this, because you said you wished there had been "more criticism" in my review. But this sort of thing is better said privately.

I shall be delighted to have the Barrack Report, thank you.

We have a fine summer day at last; & I hope you have it also to cheer you. The cold has suited me well; & since Monday I have been easier than for many months past. I mean no tic. Real improvement is out of the question. I hope it is still time to save the crops from such destruction as I find is dreaded all over the country. The wireworm threatens as much national loss as a war. Pernicious little animal!

I am yours devotedly

H. Martineau

P.S. I have sent a short article to "Once a Week" on the Nightingale Fund scheme.
30 Old Burlington St.
London W {archivist: 26}
June 18/60
My dear Mrs. Martineau
I cannot delay
thanking you for your
most kind note of
this morning. Alas!
my second Edition
had long since gone
to press. But I
think you will find
that your advice
has been carefully
followed. I have

incorporated nearly
all the notes into
the text, as advised
in your "Quarterly"
& I have carefully
looked through the
misprints, which
I was aware were
disgraceful in the
first Edit. Had I had
your kind note
before, I should
however have
employed, some one
to do this more
carefully before me.
There is some new
matter in the
second Edit, which
I shall venture
to send you, when
out. And I am
preparing a third
& cheaper Edition,
by order - for the
(quite) people. If
you have any kind
criticisms or

suggestions to make
me for this, they
will be (as always),
thankfully received.
I want to write
to you many things
on the subject of
your last letter.
I have been
so driven lately by
an enquiry I am
making (thro' the
Colonial Office)
into the causes of
aboriginal decrease from Scrofula & consumption, which are shewn by the Schools & Hospitals --& about which also I want to consult you--that I have only time for this scrawl now.

I am so glad to hear, I cannot tell you, that you are less suffering.

I fear there is every prospect of dear times & of bad times. Butcher's meat is likely to get destructively high in price. The young animals have done remarkably ill this year.

And I know some of the House some of the Ministers are looking forward with anxiety, which I fear is just.

in haste. But I need not

Yours ever, tell you this--

F.N.
(Anytime will do.)       Ambleside

June 25/60

Dear Miss Nightingale

We are heartily pleased to hear of your people's edition of the "Notes". As Maria says, the "workies" are so much more persuadable than the gentry! Eg; in contrast with the ladies who are so entirely satisfied with their own skins, look at Billy Ewington, son of one of my cottage tenants! Maria gave a copy of the "Notes" to his mother & aunt (then nursing) & the lad read it, & at once pulled out the stuffing with wh he had stopped up his chimney. The same credulity wh makes them the prey of quacks makes them docile to us. At least, so we find it.

My first question (which does not mean that an answer is necessary or desired) is whether you are at all aware of the mischief done (all over the country, I believe) by the "bonesetters", & the popular faith in them. The mischief is more desperate here than I have seen it elsewhere: but I know it exists in Northumberland, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, & the midland counties. The bonesetters here are entirely believed when they allege that the regular surgeons, however "clever in their own way", "know nothing about the bones." At the same time, these fellows can make out that any disease is concerned with "the bones", & can usually oust the doctors in that way. There is one now, we believe in
prison, awaiting his trial for manslaughter, who is a fair specimen of the class. Our surgeon, Mr Shepherd, was consulted about "a swelling" in a man's body. It was an aneurism, & he said so. A bonesetter told the patient it ought to be opened. The patient wished for the best cure, & went to Liverpool, & was more or less in several Hospitals, where he was warned to keep entirely quiet, & not let "the swelling" be touched, as it wd be death to open it. He came home, & the bonesetter prevailed. He cut into it, & the man died instantly, of course. -- Mr Shepherd lately asked our chief bone-setter how many bones there are in the forearm; -- he did not know! They do a dreadful amount of twisting & spraining & laming here, & are perverse beyond description. They are sometimes employed by people who ought to know better; e.g. by the late rich, & far from ignorant landlord of our chief inn, who sprained his ankle in a drunken fit. He suffered terribly, before he sent for the proper surgeon. (He soon after died of delirium tremens.)

The general quacking here, as everywhere is dreadful. It has been a bad year for croup & the like: & th if Maria tries to interest mothers of babies about what to do in case of attack (& our two surgeons have to range a wide district), she finds them entirely satisfied that there is no
danger as long as they have bacon in the house.  
"A spoonful of hot melted bacon fat was never known to fail." We suppose it acts as an emetic -
For "fits" of every kind (unless perhaps of ill-humour) there is nothing like three sprats (they must be three) tied on the patient's breast at bedtime. That is a specimen of the way we go on here. As for Holloway's Pills, I have known a man take seven in a day; & when he had "the bellyache" afterwards, he really very nearly died of fright,--his confidence being suddenly gone. He & the neighbours nearly mobbed the surgeon for saying that he wd do very well, & was only ill of the pills--The furor for "a pill", --no matter what, blue, black or white,--is as frightful as it is disgusting. Even in my own kitchen I have known a servant take "a pill", because it was a pill, & without the least idea what it was meant for. Somebody once gave her some that somebody had thrown away!--I dare say you are aware that in country places,--& believe in towns too, pills are used by druggists as small change, like postage stamps, --a penny apiece.

If you don't know it (but I dare say you are aware of everything I am saying) Hilary can probably tell you the stories (in my Lake Guide, I think) of the old woman who had not washed her feet for 30 years, & of the young mother who wd not let her baby's arms be washed, "He wd by a thief; & I would not
like that.--But their notions about "sweat", (or, when genteel, "perspiration") are really fatal. If one induces a labourer to wear a flannel waistcoat, in these damp winters & variable summers, he thinks its chief virtue is to sleep in, --"to suck up the sweat,"--the garment being worn the day before & the day after, & for weeks, day & night. This reminds me of a new measure of value of agricultural implements proposed by my late farm man. He begged leave to buy a field -roller at an auction, & got it. He afterwards told me, "You have got a real good bargain of that roller. I tried it, & I never see such a good roller:--I swat trou =in twenty minutes." They are unusually clean for their class (the wives at least) in their houses, but in their persons, downright caked with dirt. I doubt whether the men ever wash their necks, by what I used to see behind loose neckcloths, & the sick lie amidst filth wh is enough to kill them without more ado.

Maria bids me remark the extraordinary tendency that visitors (my visitors) have to talk to the invalid in the way to make him or her sick. I am too deaf to know what M. has to do: but she says very few come whom she has not to check, & it is true, I have frequently been made faint & sick (faintness being perilous above all things by the horrid things my friends have told
me,—of tortures, operations, accidents, incidents of disgust, loathsomeness of some sort. As I write it, it seems very odd. I don't remember people talking so before I was ill: but it is the fact. Perhaps there is some train of association awakened:—my illness may revive some illness or pain of theirs &c. Well: I have no room for philosophising.

Before I stop, I think I will say a word (private, please) about poor, dear Annie Clough. Nobody can now help the mischief of her long, dreary attendance on her mother. It was a truly dreadful case. I don't know that I ever knew a worse for the attendants. But it was made the worst of by the smallness,—I might almost say the noisomeness of the house. (I mean the rooms) We don't think Annie has the least notion of wholesome habits. When she sent for Maria after the death (wanting M. to telegraph to the Arthur Cloughs.—you know why) the woman engaged to help about the funeral had already told my maid that what was to be done about the body she cd not conceive,—it was then in such a state, & not to be buried for five days more! Maria saw Annie in bed; & there was a fetid
smell upstairs, & not only all the blinds down, but apparently not a window open in any part of the house! Next day again, when Maria was melting with heat, not an inch of window was open that she cd see; & Annie was in a thick woolen shawl, wh she drew round her saying she thought the day was chilly. I hope her new schoolroom is airy. How her landlord cd ever have the rooms built so small, all through the house, I can't imagine,—the land being his own. I know that, in summer attached friends decline invitations to tea on account of the unbearable heat of the rooms. The chambers seem almost filled up by the beds. And only think of two of the household sleeping in Mrs C's room latterly, & she with her bad bed sores, poor thing! Annie C's complexion,—the very substance of her muscles,—seems to show something very wrong. When (as is her wont) she holds her face in talking, the finger marks remain on
the cheek, almost as badly as mine on my legs & feet at night, when they are worst. We think too that A.C. is altered in some yet graver ways. No one can wonder, I'm sure. But she is muddle-headed; & her talk is beside the mark, to a surprising/sorrowful degree. All her friends here think a long & thorough change quite necessary for her. I don't think school-keeping is now good for her,—fond as she is of it, & great as is the blessing to her neighbours. But I will not enlarge on this. My aim has been, in speaking of her at all, to seize a possible chance, wh may or may not exist, for her being moved on the subject of fresh air. I fear she has it all to learn. And yet she must have read your "Notes". We all have a cordial esteem for Annie Clough: & I believe all her friends here agree that the release has taken place only just in time,—if in time—to give her a chance of health of body & clearness of mind.

Now I release you.—We cd learn any thing about the people's ways & notions here, if
you wd like any questions asked.

Yours devotedly,

H. Martineau

P.S. You & I enjoy other folks' rovings

so I mention (for Hilary too) that Maria

undertakes, (for poor me) a resurvey of the

Lake District, for a new edition of the

"Guide". She will take an infinity of

little excursions, to gather up the latest view

of things. Her sister Susan, who arrives today

will be her companion for half, & her brother

Frank by & by for the other half. She does it

for my credit, as to thee "Guide": but I promised

it as a holiday for her. & I am sure she enjoys

the idea of it.

signed letter, ff87-90, pen {Martineau to FN}

Ambleside

July 15/60 {archivist: 7}

Dear Miss Nightingale

We presented a rather absurd

spectacle yesterday,—Maria, her sister,

Susan & I. When my breakfast-tray goes out

Maria comes in, to discuss our letters &

settle the business of the day. The post

yesterday brought in several books & a

heap of papers; but I seized on your

"Notes": & there were we, instead of minding

our business, reading away at your

Supplement, — nieces on knees by my

chair,—till we all burst our laughing

at making holiday at the busiest

time of day. "Well!" said Maria, "We

shall have read it all through before

night. No matter whether now or

by & by." However, we went about

our business at the moment: but
I saw them busy at the book in the window in the evening. Today M. tells me she is almost frightened -- it seems scarcely possible to be a Nurse, -- it requires so much experience. Nevertheless I believe she will nurse a good many more, when she has done with me.

I need not thank you for the new satisfaction you have sent me. You must know how I am enjoying it.

I am so glad you touch upon cousin-marriages. The Queen has sadly increased our difficulties about that: but I have written as freely on the subject as if she had married a grandson of Prester John, -- & especially when her husband laid the foundation stone of the Asylum for Idiots.

The Americans are looking to that matter. I dare say you are acquainted with Dr Howe (Laura Bridgman's friend) & with his "Report on Idiocy" in Massachusetts. As you possibly may not, I send one of his statements; & another that I picked up yesterday. If not wanted they will burn very well.

I am thankful to have your autograph (if it were ever so much less beautiful) in this book. Believe me gratefully & affectly yours

H. Martineau
Dr. Howe, Commissioner in 1847, deputed by the Legislature of Massachusetts to inquire into & report on Idiocy in that State, relates (p.90) that of 17 marriages between blood relations there were born 95 children, of whom 1 was a dwarf, 1 was deaf, 12 were ricketty & scrofulous, & 44 were Idiots.

Dr Berines of Kentucky reports that of the inmates of charitable institutions in the United States, the children of the marriages of First Cousins form the following proportions. Deaf & dumb--10 per cent. Blind --5 per cent. Idiots --15 per cent.

In Kentucky & some other States the marriage of cousins is prohibited.

(H. Martineau July 15/60)

signed letter, ff91-96v, pen [8:613-14]
last ten years (altho'
not nearly enough)
which Hospital Nurses
have not made.
   I fully agree with
all you say about
cousin-marriages.
I believe if more
facts could be collected
like those of Dr. Howe,
(whom I well know),
the fact, of the degeneracy
of their offspring
might be proved
beyond a doubt.
   I thank you sincerely

& warmly for what
you are kind enough
to say about my
"Notes on Nursing"
You do not know
how, in the midst
of much disappoint-
ment, such words
cheer & strengthen us.
   The only possible
merit of my little
book is that there
is not a word in
it, written for the
sake of writing, but
only forced out of me
by much experience in human suffering.
    I thank you very much for your words about Annie Clough—the truth of which
I fully feel. I have seen her, but I quite feel the impossibility of preventing her
from going back for a time to her School is insuperable.
    I had hoped before this to have sent you the "Barrack Report". But, altho'

we have worked at it as hard as we possibly can, yet urgent matters,
(our Indian enquiry, &c) have delayed the finishing of it, which yet must
absolutely be done before Parlt is up.
    I shall send you the very first complete copy.
    I think our Indian enquiry, when I can send it you, will interest you extremely.
We are already in possession of more information than the India House could give us.

My disappointment arises from the state of the War Office & from Sir Jas: Graham's Report, which touches no one of the vital points. The vital points are 1. that it is a very slow Office 2. that it is not at all an efficient Office. 3. that it is an enormously expensive Office. 4. that every one of the branches can negative the S. of S.'s intentions--& every one can negative the other -

The four remedies of 1. quickness 2. efficiency 3. economy in administration 4. unity are not at all touched upon in the Report
The articles upon it in the "Times" have been disgraceful, & are solely to be ascribed to Delane's desire to keep his entrée at Cambridge House.

The object of the "Times", & of the Report is not efficiency; but that they may have a S. of S. in the H: of C. whom they may worry, if any thing goes wrong.

The real objects are:

1. To organize the W.O. under distinct Departments, each under a Head responsible to the S. of S., but working the whole details of his Department himself.
2. The Head of each Dept to communicate directly with the S. of S. & the S. of S. with him.
3. The minuting system to be restricted simply to what is necessary.
   1. to state contents of each paper
   2. head to take necessary steps on it
   3. S. of S. to decide

As much of the business
with the Heads to be
done personally as possible.

4. Office thus to consist
of a certain number of
distinct Departments
--not of mere Divisions,
all working through each
other, as at present.

I am not at all
without hopes that,
thro' the S. of S.
personally, much
may be done. But
I am bitterly disapp-
pointed that the

country understands
so little of the
real defects of the
War Office, that
such a report as
Sir. J. Graham's &
such articles, as
there have been upon
it in the papers,
could pass -

The country never
could really have
cared for the
Crimean disaster,
or at least could
never have understood
its real causes for
such things to be.
I shall like to send
you, if you will let
me, the results of an
inquiry into the aboriginal
Colonial Schools, when
they are all come in.
I did not think
I should have sent you
my "second Edition",
without a word. But
so things have been.
With many thanks
for your undeserved notice
of it, ever yours gratefully
F. Nightingale

Dear Miss Nightingale
This is no letter,—only
a line of thanks for your
most valuable letter, &
for the good things you
promise in the way of
Reports. --The one "leader"
in "D. News" on the Report of
the Army Organism Com-
mission was quite in the
spirit you wd wish, but
very meagre, of course, (I
don't know who wrote it.)
Today I am asking the Editor whether the subject is given to any other of the staff; & if not, whether I may undertake it; & if so, whether now or after the House rises. I wish there may be room at once: but we are so crowded! The articles on India are almost all mine. Sir C. Wood will lose us that empire, if possible.

It is a serious misfortune (in connexion with army reforms) that Mr S. Herbert has lost character this session so irreparably. He will never get over--& ought never to get over--his way of defending the promotion of Coll Grey. It is such a pity that he does such things! This incident will never be forgotten. He was very
nearly trusted just before. Now he never will be—entirely.

Yes, thank you, I shd like to see your news of the Aborigines. Possibly one might do good with it in U. States, where the Indians need all that can be done for them.

We think it an excellent thing for readers that you have thrown your notes into the text, in your second edition.

Yours devotedly,

H. Martineau.

signed letter, ff99-102v, pen

30 Old Burlington St
London W
Sept 1/60

I feel that I must thank you for the Arts: in "D. News" of Aug. 21, 22, and 25. They are so much to the point, they hit our short-comings so exactly on the head that, if anything can do us good, I am sure they will.

But the want of administrative
power in men of the present day is, I think, very striking.

People talk of my "terrible & unprecedented experience of inefficiency" in the Crimea—I say my "terrible & extraordinary experience of inefficiency" in the War Off. in the last four years. No one would believe it who had not witnessed it.

With regard to our Barrack Report, we were obliged to put a "dummy" on the table of the Ho: of Commons to keep its place. I see no chance of its being ready for a month or more now.

You shall have one of the earliest copies complete.

I am at Upper Terrace, Hampstead, for a few weeks. But the old address is always the safest for me, if you are so good as to want to send me anything. I have always forgotten to say that your experience
Add Mss 45788

of people's delight
in telling invalids
horrid stories of
accidents & operations
is also mine. I
thought they did
it out of compliment
to my profession.
They tell me surgical
cases which make
me sick, though
I am by no means
squeamish, as you
may suppose. Had
I known how
much wider this
practice was than

I had any idea of,
I think I would
have mentioned it
(in my little book) [end]

ever yours most
truly & gratefully
F. Nightingale

I could at any time
give you the latest
information upon what
the Dept/War Office is (or is not)
doing in these matters.
How often it reminds
me of what La Roche=
foucauld said of the
Fronde--to the effect
that there never was
so much design
without action--so
much action without
design--so much
enterprise & so little
effect--so many fine
words & so little good
sense
Believe me always
very truly & gratefully
yours
Florence Nightingale

{at bottom of page written upside-down is a calculation}:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
40000 & 144 \\
16 & 12 \\
- & - \\
640000 & 1728 \\
5184 & 3/370 \\
12160 & 8/123 \\
12096 & 3/48 \\
16 & 152 \\
\end{array}
\]

signed letter, ff103-12, pen

f103
PRIVATE
30 Old Burlington St
London W
Jan 4/61 [15:301-03]
My dear Miss Martineau
I am going to throw ourselves upon your mercy as I have so often done before.
It is in the matter of the "Daily News" and Mr. Herbert's retirement from the Ho: of Commons.
I will try to be as short as I can.
His failing health is alas! but too well
"constaté" It is disease of the kidneys (this is private). And his Doctors were unanimously of opinion that his life was not worth a year's purchase, unless he retired from public life altogether.

It is, I believe, at my earnest request that he retains the War Office & accepts a Peerage.

He feels himself this shelving, in the prime of life, so deeply that he would infinitely have preferred retaining his seat in the Ho of C. and giving up office. Or, next to that, retiring altogether.

Perhaps he feels that the Ho: of C. has called out what is best in him.

Perhaps he feels, as I have felt all along, that he is no statesman.
Any how, to him, retaining office and relinquishing the Ho: of C. is like what it was to me giving up Men, & taking to Regulations. To me the blow is even more severe than it is to him. Because I know he is a man not of organizing capacity (my heart is sick when I think that nothing is yet done to re=organize the War Office &c &c) but of great persuasiveness to lead men with him, of rare single heartedness.

Without the Ho: of C., in which he had certainly singular influence, & where he alone could carry the Estimates & measures we want, I fear that he will lack the stimulus which carried him through the dry work of the
Office.
  And yet, when
  I/one thought of the
  men spoken of to
  replace him in
  that Office, no one
  but must feel
  that it was all
  over with Army
  Reform if HE
  did
  not stay in it &
  especially all over with the slightest hope of
  re-organizing the Office.
  You see I am but a
  poor Canvasser.
  But to the point:
  I feel it so important
  just now that the

"D News" should help
  him through.
  If you would, I
  would send you
  information of all
  that he has actually
  accomplished.
  You cannot think
  what harm has
  been done--not to
  him but to the
  cause of Army Reform,
  by the line the "D
  News" has taken.
  I know that
  the affair of Genl Grey
  produced a great
impression.
I cannot but think the nation hit the wrong nail on the head. And while they were accusing him of subserviency in promotions, they ought to have been "hounding" him on for his supineness in the re=organization of the W.O.
I must say this for his defence however, in the matter nearest my heart.

He was under a pledge to Sir James Graham to do nothing till that Report was completed (when it came out, you know our mutual disappointment with it-- & in fact, it contained nothing at all about its main object) A plan was immediately framed & laid before the Cabinet about a month ago & approved.
It will be carried out immediately. But I don't believe while Hawes remains there that any plan can work well. And Mr. Herbert is not the man to turn him out. But neither would any other S. of S.

With regard to Genl Grey's case, the facts are simply these.

Regiments are generally given in their course.

Genl Grey had been passed over three or four times.

Had he not been Genl Grey, he would have had it long before being entitled to it from length of service.

War Service can exist but for men when there is war. Between /15 & /54 there was war only in India.
Genl Grey did volunteer for every service that offered in Portugal in Canada & did extremely well in both. He is said to know more of military matters than any man of his class.

In my small way I can myself back this & do it disinterestedly, because he opposed me in everything I urged at Balmoral.

The difficulty of giving these Regiments fairly is immense. You remember about that Genl Cox who, said the "Times", had been "passed over" after a whole string of "distinguished Army services". That Genl Cox had certainly been everywhere & done everything-- but everything ill-- had embezzled money & was altogether unfit.
(this again I can back of my own personal knowledge). Yet such was the clamour that he was given a Regiment at last. Genl Grey's services were the same in every respect as those of four others who received Regts before him.

He volunteered for the Crimea [The Prince, I believe, prevented it]

Again, I know that Mr. Herbert said to the D. of Cambridge (& urged it, strongly) that altho' he did not deny the abstract justice of Genl Grey's claim he thought it ought to be sacrificed to a very natural public feeling.

I know Mr. Herbert so well that I know that neither Court nor Horse Guards could have moved him one jot, if it
had not been for this abstract justice. And to that alone he yielded - And then as he always does & will he took up the Cudgels in the Ho: of C. for what he himself had opposed & laid the whole blame on himself. It is an absurdity to say that these appointments rest with the Sec. of State.

Of course, he can refuse in very gross cases- But virtually & really, it is the Commander-in-Chief who decides, just as much as the "congé d'élire" really decides who is to be Bishop.

I don't defend this state of things. It is one of the gross inconsistencies, of which the W.O. is full. But really & virtually all the Sec. of State has to do is to defend.
All this is only for your own private conscience if I could but satisfy you. So is the whole of this letter merely for yourself.

The sooner an Article appears, if you would write one, in the "D. News", the better.

I know what the "address" of Mr. Herbert, which appeared this morning, has cost him.

And I would fain that his remaining in Office should really be worth to the country & the Army the great private struggle which it has cost.

ever yours gratefully,

F. Nightingale

{in HM’s hand}
Florence Nightingale
Jany 4/61
signed letter, ff113-22v, pen

f113

30 Old Burlington St
London W
Jan 13/61
My dear Miss Martineau [15:304-06]
I have carefully
burnt the letter
enclosed in yours.
I do not see that
it makes matters
any better,—
As you say, he
does not retract the
lie about Mr. Herbert's
health, which he
put forth, & which

f113v

I heard stigmatised
as "unworthy of a
respectable paper"
by men whom you
would call worthy.
As far as I
understand, what
the "D. News" accuses
Mr. Herbert of is
this: that his aims
& intentions are
beyond his success
--his powers--his
achievement call it
what you will.
   Nobody suspects
his good will. But
the result is not
equal to it.
   Now, the way to
treat a case of this
kind is not to do
what the D. News does.
--not to attack him
--not to suspect his
honesty -
   On the contrary.
If the D. News were
honest, it would be
to encourage him--to
support him.

The D. News is fast
lapsing into what
the press is in
America--as/what the
provincial press is
in England.
   I can scarcely
conceive a worse
effect than that
produced by accusing
an honest & not
very vigorous man
of dishonesty.
   The consequence
in America is that
no honest man will
take office - for fear
of being attacked for dishonesty.

The consequence (even in my time) in Town Corporations in England has been that corporations were honest & jobbing, now they are dishonest & much more jobbing, because good men have been frightened out of Office by the Press. Now, as far as I can see, the "D. News" is rapidly going this way.

I have long since ceased to see it - And, if you will not laugh, I should say that I was a very fair specimen of a political man of the independant advanced type - I know not whether its circulation
is increased. But I know that it is quite damaged among worthy political Liberals - (men) - I have (or had) so much respect for the D. News that I do not believe, if it were upholding a principle, that this would move it. But what principle is it upholding?

What is all this about Genl Grey? It simply shews what comes of writing about what it knows nothing at all about. These appointments are not given according to service in the field. The principle in the British Service is seniority, with certain modifications.
And this principle neither Mr. Herbert nor the D. of Cambridge nor the Ho: of Commons can upset - For it is founded on the a property question. If the "D. News" wants to attack the principle, let it do so, but not the man - This only shews its ignorance - Mr. Herbert has done what no other Minister has done to modify the evils of purchase. The Editor seems to live singularly within his Office.

Shall I say what the world says - the world of worthy political men - It says that the "anti-Herbert articles" were furnished by Sir B. Hawes, the obstructor of every thing good in that Office-- & who, aghast at the prospect
of losing his system
by the re-organization
of that Office, did
everything in his
power to get Mr.
Herbert written
down, in hopes he
would resign
altogether.
   I do not vouch
for this--But this
is all the credit
which the D. News
gets now (for its
honesty)- in this matter.
   To me it appears

as if the D. News
always, like the
Saturday Review,
hit the wrong nail
on the head.
   Since I "have
been in the W.O."
we have had three
men, Lord Panmure,
Genl Peel, Mr.
Herbert-- Ld Panmure
had a strong hand
in administration,
but cared "neither
for God nor devil"
He jobbed his own
way & would have
sworn at organization, if he had ever heard of it. He was a man after Hawes's own heart. Genl Peel did nothing--any way--nothing but jobbing, at least. Then comes Mr. Herbert. He is quite above jobbing. But he is not quite up to organizing. Now however in real good earnest, with broken health,

and with every difficulty thrown in his way, he has approved a plan & is carrying it out -

And what does this paper, which we used to call the most liberal & enlightened of the whole press do/write?

**Let me say however that I entirely agree with what the Editor says about not looking at "private motives"**
Mr. Herbert noticed your Article in the D. News & mentioned it to me to day--a thing I never knew him do before.

Now let me say farther about Genls Grey & Cox - Again I think the D. News hits the wrong nail on the head -

To me the gravamen was the giving an appointment to Genl Cox, because the newspapers clamoured I say, you richly deserve what you got. If you go on the principle of fiat justitia, ruat caelum, the paper would treat you much better in the end - Genl Grey was entitled to his Regiment four times before he got it--then give it him - Genl Cox ought never to have had it at all--then
why did you give it him?  
  The Commander in Chief is like a dog with his tail between his legs before the newspapers.  
  But the Sec. of State must bear the brunt in the Ho: of Commons.  
  Very good: then you bore the abuse for Genl Grey, which you ought to have had for Genl Cox -  
  This is all fair.

As to Mr. Herbert's health, I see death written in the man's face-. And when I think of the possibility of my surviving him, I am glad to feel myself declining so fast (owing to this severe anxiety & severe winter) for I should lose with him--all my power to serve the Army -  
And I cannot now seek another service.
I am drawing in from my out=works. For I have not now strength sufficient to defend these--& am confining myself to my principal strong-holds--the Indian Enquiry, the Day Rooms & Libraries of the Army, and the Statistics of Health. This, in addition to my own Civil Hospital work, is all I am able to do now.

I must just revert to Genl Grey's case once more - If you look at those who were rewarded for field service in the Crimea--to what a set did the nation give its rewards?

I cannot tell you how glad I was to hear that you were better--even temporarily. It is the only good news I have heard for some time.

I do not see how you can do anything more with D. News than you have done on this subject.  

{continued on f121, written sideways in left margin}: Ever yours gratefully F. Nightingale
Ambleside
May 8/61
Dear Miss Nightingale
We owe this copy of your cheap "Notes on Nursing" to you, we doubt not. I could not help reading it all through again, - all the old parts as well as the new: & I think I like it better than ever. I have ordered a batch of copies; & the parson & the Arnolds & I shall soon see that everybody here has it who can at all profit by it. It is a great book.
It is long since we heard any distinct account of you. Annie Clough has had no particulars; & so we have not. I have dreaded to hear of mischief from the east winds; & I dare say they have done you harm, as there seems to be illness everywhere. Those cold winds give me great relief, coming in the midst of the spring failure of strength & breath. A cold day like this revives me wonderfully: but the spring is very trying. I never saw such an one for beauty,
as far as I can see it from my window: & Maria says the same. It is the very finest & farthest we have known here: & the flowers are large & brilliant beyond our experience. Maria is gone now to the middle of the river, - Blathay, - where, on the rocks, glows the yellow globe lanunculus in great beauty. A vase full of them & lily of the valley & orchis is as good in my eyes as any bouquet from anywhere.--In June, Maria leaves me for one week, to another brother's wedding, --such a happy one!

There is a splendid baby for her to see, from last years' wedding of the elder brother. It is a very marrying world just now, it seems to us: but people judge from their own circle. As far as it goes, it is a great brightness & pleasure.

Maria does not think A. Clough well, or likely to be here, -- from the old want of air & good management. It is well she is going abroad -- the very best thing for her, probably.

I am anything but unhappy about America. It is the resurrection of conscience among them, -- the renewal of the soul of the genuine nation. I think destruction will overtake the wicked; & the good, -- the best-- are already
Add Mss 45788 338

signed letter, ff125-26v, pen {Martineau to FN}

f125

(No answer needed) Ambleside
Sepr 20/61
Dear Miss Nightingale
 I have not written, because
I, in some sort, dared not. We
have felt so strongly what the
affliction of Lord Herbert's death
must be to you, that I have
not ventured to speak of it, though
silence seemed unnatural.
I will say no more of it now,
I only wish you to know that
you are sympathised with by
some who know something of
what your grief must be.

f125v

The reason of my writing
now is that I have just
heard something that I think
will gratify you. Our book
("England & her Soldiers") is
at present quoted largely &
incessantly in American Medical
Journals, as a guide in
the newness of military Manage-
ment in the Northern States.
Before I knew this, I had
sent one of two articles (the
second goes today) on "Health in
the Camp," & "Health in the Hospital," to the "Atlantic Monthly." I don't like Magazines, or writing for them: but that very good one has such an enormous circulation that I now & then say "yes" when the proprietors ask me to write. In spite of the War, they have again asked me now; & I thought it a good opportunity to interest their public in saving their citizen-soldiers' lives & health. It is more to the purpose that the Medical Journals are learning from us; & I am sure you will be glad to hear it.--Miss Dix (the Superintendent of Nurses there, is a woman of great energy. I shd rather have doubted, if others did, her sober sense, but the Americans do so wonderfully combine the sentimental & practical that she may turn out a pattern of an administratrix. The insane have been her particular care for some years before this war began.

I am afraid we must now hope that you are better. I have heard of you only through Julia, & not definitely. I have had a suffering time this summer,--latterly from Tic: but just at present I am much easier. Yours devotedly

Maria's affecte respects. H. Martineau
Hampstead NW
Sept 24/61 [15:597-98]

My dear Mrs. Martineau,

I am really grateful to you for what you tell me about the Northern States. When you speak of their "newness of military management" it occurs to me, would you like to send them a collection of what might be useful in "as a guide" in the Sanitary Service?

If so, I should recommend (& would gladly send to you for transmission)

1. the Royal Commn. Sanitary Report of 1858--written by Sidney Herbert in 1857--which you know

2. the Army "Medical Regulations," issued by him, October 1859--which I think you know. These have now been at work for two years. They were
tested in the China War. And the result was that instead of having sixty out of every 100 die from disease, as we had in the first winter of the Crimean War, we had only six percent including those killed in action. And that the "Constantly Sick" were about one seventh of what they were in the Crimean War. (I would furnish to you this fact in exact figures, if it would be of any use.)

These "Regulations" are now considered the best code of all any of the Armies of Europe including as they do a whole Sanitary Service. And I have been applied to more than once by foreign powers for them.

3. The Army Purveyor's "Regulations" issued by Sidney Herbert in January 1861. These are what their name imports.

4. The Report (very short)
on the Army Hospital Corps & service organization of General Hospitals--
issued by a Commission called together in 1860 & acted upon by Sidney Herbert in 1861--
not presented to Parliament.

5. The "Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commissn" Report--of 1861--of which I sent you a copy, as soon as we could (presented to Parlt)

6. The "Day Room & Soldiers' Institutes" Commissn Report only just out, & not presented to Parliament. The calling together of this Commmnn was + nearly the last official act of Sidney Herbert.

This Report is short & by no means powerful. But I think you might like to see it, even if you do not want it for American friends. If so, I would gladly send it you.

It does not however tell, because facts & illustrations are
We find that the disease of vice is daily increasing in the Army so that fully one half of all the sickness at home is owing to that.

And that the absolute incuria of the Magistrates (even to enforce the existing law) as at Aldershot, Chatham & all our Garrison towns makes the public houses nothing but bad houses, where prostitutes are openly kept by the beer house keepers for their customers.

And it is to be feared that the present War Secretary, who is totally ignorant of his business, considers that there is no remedy for this but the French plan (of inspection & breveting of the women)—the a plan invented expressly to degrade the National character.

We find 2. that the most
ordinary Day Room, Evening Club, 
or whatever it may be called, 
will draw away the men from 
these places of resort. So much 
do they prefer morality from to 
immorality. But it must be 
"free & easy" as to its rules-- 
Smoking must be allowed-- & as 
the majority are not "reading men," 
it must not partake so much 
of the character of a Reading Room 
as of a club. Tea & coffee must 
be sold. Dominoes & Chess &c 
given--the room well lighted--
illustrated newspapers supplied. 
And you are quite sure of a 
large attendance. [end 8:421] 

But I am wandering from my 
subject. 

Dr. Edward Jarvis (U.S.) President 
of the "American Statistical Association", 
who was in London last year for 
the International Statistical Congress,
but of whom I know nothing
save that he was then sent to
me to obtain information, was
very anxious to get all our War Office
Regulations & Blue Books. I gave
him what were out then. This
year he has written for more.
And those issued this year were
sent.

But I fancy they will be
used more for a Scientific than
a practical purpose.

Should there really be an
opening for practically helping
the Northern States in their
military organization, I could
recommend many other books.

As e.g. our books forms & Returns for keeping
the Army Health Statistics, as at
present in use, which would
be the more easily adopted in the
U. S., as they have already adopted
our Civil Registrars General's Nomenclature,
which is the one used in these our Returns and Reports.

Our first Annual Report upon this new system is just out. It is by no means remarkable. But it is the first attempt made by any nation to give its Army's Regimental & Stational Returns of Disease & Death & their Sanitary causes.

The next will be undoubtedly better. Because it will be possible to get in all the Returns on the new system in time for the Annual Report.

The U.S. might also like to see a Programme of our new Army Medical School at Chatham which has finished its first year's course & is answering perfectly. It was opened by Sidney Herbert, October last.

The organization of our Army Medical
Department, which has now been at work three years, answers admirably. It even in inferior hands. The present Director General (Gibson) & his Council of three—Sanitary, Statistical & Medical.

When the Indian Commission Sanitary Report is out, which will certainly not be till next year, it also will be of very great use to a nation forming a Military service.

ever yours
F. Nightingale [end 15:598]

signed letter, ff131-32v, pen [8:160-61]

Hampstead NW
Sept 24/61

My dear Miss Martineau

I think you will be glad to hear that we are about to open (in October) a Training School for Midwife Nurses at King's College Hospital, London.

They are to be persons selected by country parishes, (whether led personated by clergy, ladies or Committees or Boards,) between 26 and 35 years of age, of good health & good character, to follow a course of not less than 6 months' practical training, & to conform to all the rules of St. John's House, (which nurses at King's Coll: Hosp:) while there.

No farther obligation is imposed
upon them by us. They are supposed to return to their parishes & continue their avocation there.

I am sorry that we shall be obliged to require a weekly sum for their board— but which will be merely the cost price—not less than 8/ or more than 9/ a week.

Our funds do not permit us, at least at first, to do this cost free. For (the Hospital being very poor) we have had to furnish the Maternity Ward & are to maintain the dying in beds. In fact, we establish this branch of the Hospital, which did not exist before.

The women will be taught their business by the Physician Accoucheurs themselves—who have most generously entered, heart & soul, into the plan— at the bedside of the Lying in Patients in this ward, the entrance to which is forbidden to the men—students and they will also deliver poor women at their own homes, Out Patients of the Hospital. The Sister Head Nurse of the ward, who is paid by us, will be an experienced midwife, so that the pupil-Nurses will never be left to their own devices.

They will be entirely under the Lady Supt of the Hospital. Certainly the best moral trainers of women I know. They will be lodged in the Hospital, close to her.

If I had a sister of 18, I should gladly send her to this School. So sure am I of its moral goodness which I mention, because I know poor mothers are quite as particular as rich
ones, not merely as to the morality but as to the propriety of their daughters.

In nearly every country but our own, there is a Government School for Midwives. I trust that our School may lead the way towards supplying a want, long felt in England. Here we experiment & if we succeed, we are sure of getting candidates. I am not sure this is not the best way.

I hope we shall begin very quietly. And if we turn out a few good country Midwife Nurses, we shall be sure of having more candidates than we want can accommodate. Our first expenses have been heavy. I hope another year we shall be able to give board free to a certain number from poor parishes.

yours ever
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff133-45v, pen

My dear Mrs Martineau
I am not ungrateful, believe me, for sympathy on account of Sidney Herbert. So few have sympathized. So few know what a loss it is. Some comforters have comforted me with the belief that I "should not be long after him." And I own I have long been selfishly longing for release.
But will that restore the health of the Army, moral health & physical? Will that replace the loss they have had? Will that fill the gap?

In one sense, there is no comfort. The loss is irreparable.

Could we but have said, It is finished, how little I should have mourned the personal loss.

His last articulate words were "Poor Florence & our unfinished work" words too sacred to repeat but that they show the man.

He died broken hearted for what he had failed to achieve.

Till the very day fortnight of his death he struggled on doing the official work. But it was too late.

It is proved now that the organic disease of which he
died must have
been of years standing.
In fact the only
wonder is how he
could have done
anything for the
last 9 months.
Or even since
November last.
And I too was
hard upon him. I
told him that
Cavour's death (the
same day {illeg. ±?}) June 7
told me of this &
of Sidney Herbert's
hopeless state, told

both of these, by himself
to me) was a blow
to European liberty,
but that a greater
blow was that a
Sidney Herbert should
be beaten on his own
ground by a bureau=
cracy. I told him
that no man in
my day had thrown
away so noble a
game with all the
winning cards in
his hands.
And his angelic
temper with me, at the same time that he felt what I said was true, I shall never forget. Of course all this is private. But the meaning of it is not private. I wish people to know that what was done was done by a man struggling with death--to know that he thought so much more of what he had not done than of what he had done--to know that all his latter suffering years were filled not by a selfish desire for his own salvation--far less for his own ambition--he hated office--his was the purest ambition I have ever known--but by the struggle to of exertion for our benefit. Alas! What has it all come to? He
f136v

had not put in
the main-spring
to his works. He
had not re-organized
the War Office.
And every day his
decisions, his judgments,
are overthrown.
Till I saw how
the Commander in Chief
how the Court, how
an ignorant Secretary
of State, can upset
everything, I had
not known myself
the force of the
opposition he had

f137

3
to encounter--and of
which he never
complained.
How he was
misunderstood!
All the blame
of all the mistakes
of the Commander in
Chief & the Court
he took upon himself--
generously assumed
it in the House--
And the real
flaw in his states-
manship--the not
re-organizing his
own office--men
do not see. Or if they do, they do not understand. But it is this which has undermined everything.

Seven years next October I have served in the War Office--And I have never seen the Horse Guards so rampant as now.

The commander in Chief rides over the weak & learned Secretary of State as if he were straw.

Day Rooms, Barrack Inspections, Hospitals, of all the Sanitary improvements--it is all the same--not one will they leave untouched.

The fatal mistake of appointing a Military Secretary in the War Office--extorted from poor Sidney Herbert--in the hour of his weakness--has given the Horse Guards a power in the War Office they will never let go.
The dogs actually trampled on the dead body.

You saw perhaps that the new Woolwich Hospital is to be called the "Herbert Hospl" & that it was gazetted, as if direct from the Queen.

That was my doing.

Not only did they not intend to do it--but the Commander in Chief

actually went to Sir G. Lewis & asked him to cancel the building of the Hospital altogether. Lord de Grey, who was in the room, said, Sir, it is impossible. Lord Herbert decided it. And the House of Commons voted it.

And then they covered their {illeg. defeat?} by putting it in the Gazette that it was to be called the
"Herbert Hospital"
as if it were their own grace.
   I could tell you
far worse things
than this--how Mr.
Gladstone first
wrote to me, & then,
when I applied to
him, for help to carry
out Sidney Herbert's
plans, would not
pledge himself to any
thing--not even to
friendship with him.
   How the Soldiers'
Wives Hut Hospitals for which,
after two years' work

Sidney Herbert had extorted
from the Treasury
a sum annually of
£6000 to £8000,
till they should be
done--& the very
first one I applied
for, in terms of
the Treasury grant,
after his death
the Commr in Chief
answered that he
would not suffer
one hut to be put
up for the purpose
till the Genl offices
was handsomely
housed.

How exactly the same thing happened with regard to Soldiers' Day Rooms. One of Sidney Herbert's last wishes was to set these up at Aldershot. And I applied to rent at my own expense an empty Officers' Club House which had failed, for the Soldiers. And the Commander in Chief stepped in & said

5 he wanted it for his "distinguished guests," when they visited Aldershot.

The man is a snob. And Sir G. Lewis is a muff.

The reign of intelligence at the War Office is over. The reign of muffs has begun.

Again, they tried to put an end to the Barrack Inspections, on the plea that
Engineers did not like it. And I defeated them by a trick which they were too stupid to find out.

But you know this guerilla warfare cannot last. I am worn out & cannot go on long.

We have lost the battle. And the snobs & muffs have won.

Five years, had

Sidney Herbert lived another week, had he and I, without the intermission of a single day, fought the good fight & lost it. Oh could I but say, he had finished his course.

But, Now, all is over.

I began this before my other two letters to you. But, somehow or other I could not go on with it. And the other two were business &
must be gone on with
I have not seen
the newspapers since
my dear master's
death. For their
praise & their blame
of him are alike
distasteful to me.
They did not know
him.
So But I know not
what has been said
of him now. You all
have said (and I
too have said) that
he did not do all
he ought--that you

"could not trust him."
But what which of these
Ministers could not
have been better
spared? which
Minister has done
so much as he?
who could will take
his place? who
will carry on his
work? who is
there to carry on
his work? who
is there to work
as he did?
As for his friendship
& mine, I doubt whether the same ever could occur again.

I supplied the detail—the knowledge of the actual working of the an Army in which official men are so deficient—he supplied the political weight.

Alas! the one thing I never provided for—never could expect—was that

I should survive him. Manin said, that he had never conceived the possibility of his surviving his country that he saved neither health, nor powers, nor anything else for such a contingency.

I must say the same thing. [end 15:322]

I have sent to Sampson Low's the six War Office documents which
Add Mss 45788 361

f144v

I mentioned to you. Should they wish for others, I will send them, but not without. Would you, if you have not yet written, say that all the Statistical Forms now used in the British Army are (in miniature) at the end of the "Medical Regulations" (Appendix, which I send. But that I will send the Forms themselves

f145

7

in the useable size, if they wish it-- as well as any thing else -they call for- ever yours

F. Nightingale

I wish I could think you were materially better. But I am very glad to hear you are less suffering just now.

I ought to say
with regard to the Midwifery business, that I have taken up £100 for the first two years to supplement any deficient payments of Probationers who are really too poor. After the first two years, I hope there will be more.

F.N.

signed letter, ff146-47v, pen {from Martineau to FN}

Ambleside Septbr 25/61
Dear Miss Nightingale
Your offered documents will be received with fervent gratitude at Washington, I am very sure. I write to accept them, & to say that we will write again in a few posts to say where the parcel had better be sent to in London. I have no means of forwarding anything
bulky from this place: but one of the American publishers in London will no doubt undertake it.

Meantime, I will write by next mail to the Secretary at War at Washington, to prepare him for what is coming. I know, nothing can exceed the anxiety of officials there to do right by the soldiery; & their welcome of what you offer will be hearty accordingly.--I'm sure I wish we could help the Southern leaders to keep their men alive too. But, even if I had access to them (which I have not) the case really seems desperate. That soldiery is at once barbaric & corrupt. Their bodily condition is shocking,--from drink, tobacco-chewing, & the vice which always rages where slavery is. Those "mean whites" are the very lowest specimen of the white race, --almost of the human race.

They are dying off fast now in
cholera, fever &c. They ordinarily live in a state compounded of apathy & mad excitement, from drink & passion. Such material for troops! --& a very large proportion is of that sort.

I am so glad of your Midwifery scheme, & that everybody seems to be doing so right about it!--More soon from your devoted

H. Martineau

{this comes after nasty letter re Herbert, no inkling how offer made etc.}

initialed letter, ff148-49, pen [15:598-600]

Hampstead NW
Sept 30/61
It occurs to me that you might like to send to Miss Dix my Private Report on War Hospitals (the fat & the thin lilac Vols:) premising that they are still, of course, just as "Confidential," as when they were printed--altho' Mrs. S.C. Hall has made the most unwarrantable mention of them in
her Magazine.

I would also send Miss Dix a copy of my last Edition of "Notes on Nursing," if you wished it.

In my Evidence printed in the Blue Book on the "Sanitary State of the Army" there is a short, not sweet, account of the Sanitary evils of the Scutari Hospitals, (which made them what they were) which might be useful to her. But to send her out that ponderous Blue Book, (which has gone to Messrs. S. Low, as directed by you,) would probably be too much.

I regret that I did not send the folio (lilac) book of Diagrams to Washington with the other books. For its letterpress is a short & compendious account of the Sanitary evils of the British Army Yours as they were. F.N.                  [end 15:599]
Ambleside
October 4/61
Dear Miss Nightingale

My first impulse was to answer this letter—this sacred letter of yours—instantly,—that same night. But another impulse came in check;—the strong desire to do something in such a case. I have wanted to subside a little, & consider, & consult,—as from myself alone,—the best adviser in the case.

Dreary & dismal as the prospect is, I am afraid to assert to myself that it is hopeless. We must not give up. S.H's work to be undone by weak, foolish or bad men as soon as he is buried away. No harm can come of an attempt to shame the Horse Guards; &

nothing but good can come of explaining to the soldiery & the people what S.H. did, & what more he wd have done, & what prevented him.

So I have consulted my Editor. ("Daily News.") I did think of the "Edinburgh Review." But the editor is, (while full of disgust at the recent Ministerial appointments) of an intimate friend of the new Secretary at War. The "Westminster," besides other reasons, has such a miserable circulation that it is a bad vehicle when an immediate & extensive impression is wanted. Much best is my editor's improvement on a notion of mine.

If I can obtain a sufficiency of clear facts, I will gladly harass the Commander-in-Chief as he never was harassed before;—that is, I will issue a "leader" against him every Saturday
for as many weeks as there are heads of accusation against him & his Department. We don't want to mince matters. We are under no constraint of any kind; &, once sure of our facts, we can say what we think of them, & freely invite parliament & people to say whether such things shall go on. If we were to begin, say, six weeks hence, when M.Ps. & the travelling public begin to settle at home & read the newspapers, & were to go on till we had finished the exposure, something must be done in parliament. There wd be time to arrange the movement while the exposure was going on: & people wd be looking out for a better man to succeed Lewis, or the expected deposition of the present Ministry, early in the session.

On the whole, I believe that no harm could arise, & that some good might. One does not see where the needed man is to come from: but we cannot know that he does not exist: & we may prevent an undoing of what has been achieved, if we cannot do more.

The thing is,—how to obtain a sufficiency of facts. This seems to be the only question.

I can look back to all the ill-deeds which have been already discussed, the tamperings with the Competitive Examinations system,—the equivocation about the Purchase system,—the (illeg. infringement?) of the Medical service Warrant, & such matters; & it will tell to bring together the trespasses committed through a course of years, & discussed in a series of sessions. But I need not tell you how much more will be wanted.
And I don't know any possible way of obtaining them but from yourself. And I dread proposing any fatigue to you. Yet, here we are,—a nation granting unheard of supplies for Defence, ready to grant anything to raise the quality, benefit the character, & improve the comfort of our soldiery;—& if all is spoiled by maladministration, are not the people to be precisely informed of how it happens? If you can show me how I can get the requisite material, it shall be done. I need not point out that in this will be effected all that can now be done towards awarding due honour to S. H.

The Editor says there is a prevalent notion, wonderfully obstinate, that "George" is the soldiers' friend. This we must root out. The man himself is such a coward that he will expose himself if pertinaciously & vigorously attacked & he may be kept in order for a time, & have less abject obedience from his tools.—Well! all that may stand over --all speculation as the effect of what we may do.

The object of a Saturday return to the subject is to produce more effect to upon the sinners, & to cause a look-out for the topic on the part of the public. We must also make each article complete in itself, that it may tell upon readers who may occasionally miss one.

I need not say that we shall keep the thing profoundly secret till we open fire,—& the authorship always.

It will be no evil if I have to repeat some of the matter of the
former articles on the re-organization of the War Office.

One thing more, & then I will leave the subject for today,—Our idea is to avoid, very carefully, making our articles appear to be adapted to Army Reformers, or any class whatever. The aim is to present an intelligible view to the public of what ails our Military department, from top to bottom; how it might have been mended, & who prevented it: & what has been accomplished, & by whom. Then we must propose the question whether the proved sinners shall be allowed to go on obstructing & offending, & show the way to answer it. Here I will stop. I cannot say anything about your particular trial without upsetting myself, & perhaps you.

Yours devotedly,

H. Martineau

P.S. I don't wonder at your having avoided all notices of your friend in print. My wonder is that near friends do not always avoid them. I paid my tribute in "D. News"—a short Memoir,—most inadequate, of course, but I trust not injurious.
initialed notes, ff154-55v, pen {by Martineau}

f154

American War-Office

I had sent off my letter to the War-Secretary before your remark on the Statistical forms reached me. But I shall soon have an opportunity of saying more. Perhaps also of sending the book of diagrams. Meantime, they have those in my volume; & some of the leading facts of the attendant letter press of yours.

Miss Dix

I think I had better say plainly that, not only do I know very little personally of Miss Dix, but that I do not very much like what I do know.

f154v

Of her devoted benevolence I have no doubt: but I am not satisfied of her sense, discretion or delicacy. She may be much improved since I knew her: but I could not undertake to entrust to her anything so very secret & serious as your thick vol. I could not but hesitate to admit any foreigner to a sight of evidence so damning to named individuals, nor perhaps to the worst facts of a system which is not likely to exist in that foreigner's country.--But I think (I will look at it again/the thin one has less of this personal damaging, while it is full of matter which must be most useful in U.S.
f155
I can get Sampson Low to send it
to Miss Dix through his friend Olmsted,
who is in the Sanitary Commission.
I can also refer her to the Evidence
in the Blue Book,—your Evidence,—
which you speak of, & which she can
see at Washington.

Mrs S.C. Hall years ago forfeited
all claim to be trusted as an honourable
person. I wd never let her see anything I
wd not see in print, --from the time of
her behaviour about Miss Edgeworth.
It was as rank a case of sordid &
audacious treachery as I happen to know,—
hers publishing a Memoir of Miss Edgeworth,
as an intimate friend, after every possible
warning, & in spite of Miss E's own last
prohibition, & certainly under pretences of

f155v
intimacy which the Edgeworth family
utterly deny. I have myself seen
the family better on the subject: & it
simply confirmed the impression I derived
from the Memoir itself.

Midwifery Nurses
What you say is very interesting.
We are consulting & considering here,
& should be most thankful to send
up a suitable pupil. It is a thing
very much wanted here,—such a nurse
& the doctors earnestly wish for one. But,
in a town of 1500 people, & a populous
neighbourhood, there is actually not a
maintenance for one such nurse! The
people spend any money in drink &
dress; but get through, in confinement cases
without pay expense;—get in a neighbour to help, or hire
a little girl to wait &c! We must try to mend this.

H.M.—
initialed letter, ff156-62v, pen

**f156**

Private Hampstead NW  
Oct 8/61

My dear Mrs Martineau

This is only to say

1. that I put in a flyleaf to the "Medical Regulations" sent to Washington, (at the "Statistical Forms") stating that these were the forms in use (in miniature) & that they could be had, if desired, of the useable form size.

2. that I sent the lilac folio Diagrams--

**f156v**

as there was a delay of half a day, (owing to Parly Printers') delay of half my parcel. But not too late, as Mr. S. Low assured my messenger, for the whole parcel to go together.

I can hardly say how much I should like to see your noble project of the Saturday Articles carried out. I believe I can promise to furnish you with certain facts.
I need hardly say that my acquaintance with the W.O is now comparatively limited. But two fast friends I have still there--both however now out of town--but will be back before you begin. Still, altho' I know comparatively little of what passes there, I can always know what are facts & not tell what are not.

It is quite true that the prevailing idea of the Commn in Chief is, as you say, that he is the "Soldier's Friend"--i.e. in London & the Army.

The North of England is much more enlightened. And I have known men very well informed in political life who shared this idea. My dear master had it himself. His manner is very popular--his oaths are popular--with the Army. And he is certainly the best man both of business & of nature at the Horse Guards. That; even I admit. And there is no man I should like to see in his place. [At the
War Office I should like to see Lord de Grey who is thoroughly imbued with the plan of re-organization,— But then he has little weight with Court, House, or Cabinet]

What makes the "George" popular is this kind of thing: In going round the Scutari Hospls at their worst time with him, he recognised a Serjeant of the Guards (he has a royal memory-- always a great passport to popularity)

who had had at least one third of his body shot away-- & said to him with a great oath, calling him by his Xitian & sur name, "Aren't you dead yet?" The man said to me afterwards, "So feelin' o' Is Royal Ighness-- was n't it, m'm." with tears in his eyes.

But "George" is a "snob"--in his worship of every rising power
in his dread of the newspapers—in his intense moral cowardice.

I have not the least idea whether the public knows (or does not know) that, in the matter of giving away Commissions, the D. of York's affair was acted over again by the D. of Cambridge, Stocqueler & Miss Farebrother. And that it was his horror of this being fully noised about (by the papers) which made him so submissive under my dear master's reign.

But of course I learnt these facts in a manner which prevents my making any useful use of them.

Another thing. And I mention these now in order to shew you that the most pungent facts are impossible to bring out. for me.

The "equivocations about the Purchase System" were the Queen's own. She wrote (on one occasion) two letters to S.H. with her own hand, of which
the best that can be said is that they were written by a woman in a fury. I have never seen S. H. so moved. He sate down directly & wrote to her that his "honour was concerned."

All this, of course, is strictly private. But if people did but know one tithe of the struggle he had against Court & Horse Guards, they would wonder not that he did so little but that he did so much.

At the same time my object as his always was is not to clear his reputation, but to forward his plans. And I believe that I can furnish you with facts enough for this--i.e. by the time you are ready for them. But I need hardly say that there cannot be among these any which people must know could come only from S.H. himself.
About the "infringement of the Medical Service warrant"--I must just say what is the fact, tho' it is no excuse.
The Warrant is now as we originally made it. Alexander, the late Director Genl (& this is almost the only error of judgments I have ever known him make) insisted upon the clause--the reversal of which has caused so much discontent. But I must frankly say that it was impossible to work--(it is a question of Quarters) & that all of us who were concerned in drawing up that Warrant, said so from the first-- & that it proved in practice to be so.

However this is a point I am not at all anxious about clearing up. We have real troubles enough without that.

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I will give you Sir. G. Lewis' administration in one trait. Not one
fortnight after he had been in Office, he said, "I don't see what all the talk is about, as to the difficulty of the War Office. There is nothing to do but signing papers. I sign. And the work is done."

But many are aware of this, his utter unfitness. And men have said, Under "George" & Lewis, what will the next war be?

This is a rambling letter--more to hint at difficulties than to give useable facts. But these shall be forthcoming. [end 15:324]

Ever yours
F. N.

incomplete letter, ff163-64v, pen {from Martineau to FN}

Ambleside
October 9/61
Dear Miss Nightingale
I am very thankful that you approve & agree. By the second week in November I shall be anxious to open our persecution of the snobs. Meantime I will do my best to {illeg. rub?} up my memory, & recall all the {illeg. sins?} of the Horseguards in "George's" time. I will get the Editor to help me. No other person but Maria will know
a word about it. I shall write what I think & mean--right out--leaving it to the Editor or his lawyer to look out for libels. Theirs is the responsibility. 
&, once satisfied that I send them only what is true, I shall leave the legal considerations to them. -- I had never heard the explanation of that Stocqueler business; but it was so obviously fragmentary

that I dare say the Londoners have made it out. This is, however, the first I have heard of it. 
I am glad I know--what we all supposed--that the Queen meddled in that purchase matter. I will frighten her, & move her, about the next war, without telling anything but what anybody may find out. 
Sir B. Hawes & daughter called here some weeks since. I see scarcely anybody; & Maria was out: so we had not the

Ambleside
October 29/61
Dear Miss Nightingale
Your note grieves me. I fear it shows that you are not the better, but the worse, for after your autumn removal. 
As to the War-office information, --I must take the greatest care not to harass or oppress you in regard to it. But I think I may, --in consideration of the extreme importance of the object,--ask two questions,--
or rather (as I don't wish to
get an answer out of you unnec-
cessarily) to make suggestions.
1. Would it do any good to begin
a month later? Any time before
parliament meets (six or eight
weeks before) would do: and--
2. Could you put me in commu-
nication with one or both of your
"fast friends" at the War-office,--
so as to save your intervention?

I need not say that no mortal
need,--or should, if wished,--know
anything about it. In my position

absolute secrecy wd be easy;
& the editor of D.N. himself will
suppose all to be going on precisely
as we planned.

If I am wrong, please pardon
me. The object is so important
that I would do anything to
accomplish it,--short of risking
injury to you. I heard, 2 days
since, a high political judgment that "Daily News" alone keeps
this country right on American
affairs; & I believe it may fulfil
much the same function in this
other case, --if the information can
be got.

Your precious Sketch shall be
kept as at the bottom of a well. I did know the separate facts, but to have them in order, & so given, is very valuable. I am alone till Thursday, --since last Thursday,--& not the better for it: but I still fare better for the device, I alluded to,--& I fancy I may tell you about it, some day,--for the chance of somebody being profited.--So Julia is gone to Algiers! I trust it will do her good: but her being so sensible of the fatigue of preparation & travel seems to indicate a great change in her -- Yours devotedly 

H. Martineau

initialed letter, ff167-69, pen

Hampstead, NW
Oct 31/61
My dear Mrs. Martineau
I will first answer your two questions [15:328-29]  
1. any delay will give me a better chance  
2. I could not put you into communication with my two at the W.O. Because I could not tell them at all that I made use of their information in the
way we intend.
   And this, as you will see, also involves my using my own judgment as to what is honourable, what not, for me to use again (in the way we intend).
   My position at the W.O. is so different. My dear master trusted me. Now I have to trust myself. And, this

you see involves a greater discretion on my part & less information at the same time.
   I entirely agree with you as to the importance of your purpose. You may entirely depend upon me as to giving you what information, I can.
   But when I am pressed with business,
there are often now many days in the week when I can do nothing at all. My prospects of death are nearer. And I am ashamed to think with what eagerness I look to release -- ever yours [end 15:329]

F.N.
I should be very glad to know your plan of treatment of the liver in heart complaints. My experience is that

in all heart complaints which involve a sedentary life, the principal suffering of the Patient comes from the liver. I have a notable instance of this now in a dying man. And I too F.N. suffer much in this way
initialed letter, ff170-72v, pen {Martineau to Nightingale}

f170

Ambleside
Novbr 2/61

Dear Miss Nightingale

How I can understand & sympathise with your desire for release! Few people dare to say it for themselves, or to tolerate the feeling in others; but I know enough to receive such an avowal with thorough sympathy. I am not so eager, on my own part, as I was 3 or 4 years since, partly perhaps because I suffer less (in the absence of Tic) having found the easiest mode of getting on, --but much more from the American outbreak, wh causes me to be seriously wanted. It is owing to a series of events that it happens so; but I know that some qualified persons believe (entre nous, please) that our country's keeping a straight course depends at present on my life. My constant work on both sides the Atlantic really puts down my personal feelings,--actually my bodily sensations, --more than I cd have believed, a few years since. I am aware that I shd be very happy, any night, to know that I shd die before morning; but I find myself longing & wishing less than I did seeing what your work is, I cannot but fear that your suffering is far severer than mine;--& indeed I am sure it is,--though I cannot move,--cannot go into the garden, & see after the flowers, as my neighbour, our pleasant new incumbent, Mr. Bell, saw you doing at Hampstead lately. He was next door,--I think he said at his brother's--My difficulty about moving is from,--not only my size, but the displacement of every internal organ, from the enlargement of the heart. Standing & moving cause a faint distress wh is intolerable.
The enlargement is most about the waist. & we don't find the dropsical symptoms increase--& they never were very bad.--But to business;--the liver treatment.

You must know we have a most helpless doctor here. He is a good natured & honourable man, but not very wise, & wholly destitute of resource. I suspect his awe of Maria's sense & knowledge makes him worse; but we have to rely on ourselves, whenever Dr. {illeg. Sathaw's?} old instinctions don't serve. I told M. lately that I was satisfied that a certain state of the secretions,--showing a bad state of liver,--always go along with the tic (which has been maddening, this summer & autumn) & with everything like rheumatic pains that I have ever had; often existing also without the pains. Mr Shepherd, our doctor, only said {continued from above line} that, such a life as I have led to so long, the only wonder is that the lives & everything is not worse: but he had nothing to propose.

M. then recalled that, many years ago, her father was very ill,—the best physician in Birmingham cd do nothing for him, & sent him to Cheltenham in despair. There he saw a really trustworthy somnambule (there are such people). She declared his ailment to be a peculiar mischief in the lives, & she ordered him to eat carrots liberally, & to drink carrot-tea. She told him he wd be well in 3 weeks; & he was so.---We told Mr Shepherd, omitting the somnambule, which wd simply have made him abuse carrots for life, & he was willing I shd--try,--only saying that dandelion was better;--indeed, he owned he had never heard of carrots except as a slight diuretic. (Why had he never ordered dandelion?) I have since taken carrots daily,—a good helping, either at dinner or in beef tea at night; & I drink a tumbler of hot carrot-tea in the middle of the forenoon. --I have not had one twinge of Tic since the day (2d or 3d) when the excretions showed that some
effect was produced. The bowels have since acted almost regularly, & the quality of the excretions is much altered. I have more perhaps of the desperately heavy sleeps which make Maria uneasy; & have had some few symptoms of disturbance, giddiness & flatulence: but these are not worth mentioning in comparison with the mischiefs which seem to be banished. Mrs Turner, who is now filling Maria's place for 3 weeks, says I look better than a year ago,—clearer, with less dim & congested eyes; & my life is certainly much easier, though, as I need not say, the breathing is not better, nor the strength, nor the action of the heart.--Cath: Darwin was here just when we were beginning to be sure of the benefit; & she said Sir Henry Holland was always prescribing carrots, & making so much of them that all her clan (Wedgwoods & Darwins) had "to say the truth, set it down for nonsense." Now, she says, they shall attend more to it.—I forgot to say that one great change is the diminishing the prodigious action of the kidneys, wh was very exhausting. Mr Shepherd owns himself exceedingly impressed:—quite candidly says it is a valuable lesson to him.---@! if it could give you any ease, how glad I should be! I appreciate the rest of your letter. My scrawl shows that I must stop now I have been writing a long & serious newspaper letter to America today, & am tired. I shall soon be hearing from the Secy at War, I dare say. He has been in Missouri, I see, just when my letter wd reach Washington. Yours devotedly H.M.--
incomplete, initialed letter, f173-73v, pen black-edged stationery

f173{archivist: [Nov-Dec 1862]}

succeed him.                      [9:124]
   I am working hard
to get our Indian
Sanitary Report thro'
the press till by February.
I send you one paper
which Ld. Stanley (our
Chairman) insisted on
being signed by my
name. It is of course
"Confidential" till the
Report is laid on the
table of the Ho: of C.
And I solicit your
assistance, when the
time comes, in pressing
the reforms upon the
public.                     [end 9:124]
   But where will
Lancashire & America

f173v

be then?
   How can her friends
let Miss Bremer write
such abominable
nonsense about the
ex. King & Queen of
Greece- the Queen,
perhaps the greatest
wretch in Europe?
politically and morally
   ever yours
    F.N.
Agitate agitate for Lord de Grey to succeed Sir George Lewis.---

{see photocopy of f174 and f174v}

initialed letter, ff175-75v, pen black-edged stationery [8:615]

F. Nightingale [HM]

4 Cleveland Row [printed address]
S. W.
April 23/63
Dear Mrs. Martineau,
It is a great relief that Lord de Grey is War Minister.
I cannot resist the pleasure of seeing "Maria" if I can find strength between May 2 & 12. I keep your note; & will write to her, if she will allow me, at one of the addresses indicated therein.
A thousand thanks
f175v

for all you have done
for us.
   I keep my answers
till I see "Maria".
   I am such a
miserable poor
creature now that,
to do any business
at all I must
forego every the
slightest pleasure.
And if I cannot see her,
this ever yours
will be my F.N.
reason.
You well know.

unsigned letter, ff176-81v, pen {from Martineau to FN}

f176

   Ambleside
      May 17/63.
Dear Miss Nightingale
   I have been longing to
write for some days; but I wd
not send two letters when, by a
little patience, one wd do. Maria
& I waited for our tête-à-tête
about you till we were alone.
Her lieutt left us yesterday,
& we had a talk which made
me dream of you the whole night.
That is, every time I woke I
tried to think of other things;
but fell into the train of fancies
again. I don't like dreaming
of people I care about; & espe-
cially when I am ill, & have
had dreams. But I fell into it again this afternoon in my nap.--I need not say that Maria gives me no comfort about your health. I did not expect any. But it is such a blessing to hear of your cheerfulness! It is such a blessing that she has seen & heard you at all!

We have just been going over her Memoranda of the business part of your conversation. I see what you mean & wish; & I will do what I can when I get the Report. --I do wish I cd get hold of the indubitable particulars of one, two, or three

of the D. of Cambridge's jobs, in order to alarm him, & excite the attention of others,—the "Daily News" lawyer taking care to keep within the verge of the libel law. M. & I have a wild wish that she cd go up to town for a day, once a month or so, to take your directions, as you cannot write. It is not possible,—on account of fatigue & expense, & leaving me: but it is grievous that I am prevented helping by our inability to communicate. I can fancy that you now know what I mean in wishing that you had a Maria,—& what she means in longing to nurse you, as well as me.

I verily believe that her excellent health & spirits are owing
to her having what some people
wd call double work;—intellectual
occupation,—not for luxury, but
as part of her business;—revising
all I write,—looking out material
&c. (I won't put proof-correcting it
as an intellectual exercise.)
     This on the one hand, & her poultry
yard, dairy, garden & housekeeping
on the other relieve the nursing.
She finds time & thought to help
all the neighbours, it seems to me
Annie Clough is most trying
to us in lecturing Maria & her
family about M. wearing herself
out for me, & telling us all how
we ought to manage differently
--she being wholly ignorant of

the state of M's family. Not a
little astonished wd she be if she
knew how absurd her advice is.
The truth is, entre nous, that M's
sisters have suffered so much by
their nursing,—or rather tendancy,
at home that M. is almost
ashamed of being so much better
& happier than they. I cannot
but see that she is in good health
for the first time in her life,
-& in a sort of health which implies
happiness. I insist on her going
forth for a complete change twice
a year; & she has some of her
family here in the intervals, & goes
mountain trips in summer with
tourist friends. She gets good nights,
too, for I almost never require
anything in the night (owing to sitting up till I am easy enough, under my opiate, to go to bed.) This is a great deal to have scribbled about Maria; but you were so very kind to her that I seem to wish you to know how she goes on in ordinary course.

I put in two vignettes of this house. The gloomy one was a present to me from two artist friends, soon after the house was built. The other & truer one is what somebody made for the shops in the

District,—about as bad in quality as {illeg. Fox How?}, Rydal Mount, & all the rest of them, but giving a good notion on the whole. I sit in the room which looks south & west, & sleep in the room above. The study is the room with the bay window; & sometimes I sit there. As soon as the roses are out, we mean to have a good photograph taken of the house, from another point. If it succeeds I will send you one. How I wish I cd give you one of my two exquisite views! & the quietness of a house in a field, --free from noise, smoke & dust! I do
grieve that you have no view.
I don't believe I shd have been alive now if I had been a Londoner.

But I must have tired you. I dare say I shall send a line or two when I have looked at the Report.--You know, I am fully aware that you cannot write, & of course I never dream of an answer. But--but--I do wish I had an acquaintance in the War-office who wd let me know how things go on.

You know what Maria wd say,--& I too. Yours devotedly

H. Martineau

P. P. S.--Who cd believe such a thing! I began this letter with your photographs upper-most among my topics; & not one word have I said about them!—It looks like growing {illeg. superanimated?}: but I can see how it happened.--I am obliged to take things very gradually,--& I meant to say that that heat had to wait till M. & I were along & at leisure. Henceforth they will be before me as I work, & bathe me in the sunshine of Egypt. How they bring the Nile sensations back!
f180v
In regard to that, I like
the stones of the soil & their
shadows, & the hot edge of
the ridges as well as any part.
But, in the other view, how
beautiful these are! At
present I like the Thebes
one the best:--Maria the Philae.
They are a great boon, both in
themselves, & as coming from
you. I shall thank you every
day, for a long time to come.

I had told M. that you
& I had met once: but it
was years earlier than the

f181
time you told her. I am sorry
I cannot recall that at all.
But, when you & your sister
were staying at the Taylors' at
Buckingham we somehow
met on the road somewhere,
one day.--I remember you
two little girls gazing intently
at me. You had warm cloth
pelisses, which I remember more
of than your faces: yet I remem
ber their expression too.--I take
previous care of an envelope-
case you sent me when I was
ill at Tynemouth. It is always in
use, & never wears out. I have made

f181v
it one of my special legacies.

note, ff182-83, pen

f182 {a picture of home in countryside}
The Knoll
Ambleside

f183 {a picture of home in countryside}
N.   S.
      The Knoll, Ambleside.
      This is by far the most like,
--the other being too woody & misty
Add Mss 45788 395

for a thoroughly sunny house.
My dear Mrs. Martineau

I cannot help [9:434] telling you, in the joy of my heart, that the final meeting of the India Sanitary Commission was held to day—that the Report was signed—and that after a very tough battle, lasting over three days, to convince these people that a Report was not self-executive, our working Commission was carried, not quite in the original form proposed, but in what may prove even a better working form, because grafted on what exists. This is the dawn
of a new day for India in Sanitary things, not only as regards our Army, but as regards the native population.

The present form of the working Commn proposed is to add for India work Sir Proby Cautley, Sir Ronald Martin, as two members of the India Govt, & Mr. Rawlinson, on to the standing War Office Commission (for these purposes)

& to let them hold their Meetings at the India office, when desirable. The two Indians themselves proposed to be called in at all the War office meetings, for W.O. work in order to learn their mode of working. Sir Charles Wood & Lord de Grey will thus be our heads, instead of our having a special Chairman, Lord Stanley. [end 9:434]

Lord Stanley is not
May 19, 1863.

I assure you that Annie Clough never said anything to me like tiresome meddling as to "Maria's" health. And I was struck by her look of singular soundness, of bodily & mental that perfect balance between body & mind, (you know what I mean) which one scarcely ever sees now--the "spirit of love & of power & of a sound mind."

Did I tell you that I had heard from Sir C. Trevelyan that he has provided £300,000 in his Budget for our building purposes &c, which he thinks is as much as can be expended in the first year. But, he says, if more is wanted, it shall be forth-coming. This of course is private.

F.N.
July 8/63

My dear Miss Martineau

By dint of sending three times a day to the printers & almost every half hour to the lithographers, I have got the earliest copy of the India Army Sanitary Report for you, before it is issued.

We have lost five precious months of the Session in getting it out. And I

am now canvassing Ld de Grey & Sir C. Wood with all my might for the working commission.

It is now I feel my physical inability far more than from any pain. For had I been able to rush about as I did in 1857, with the first Army Sanitary Report, I do believe I could have got this out in February, instead of in July, as I did that.
But, without a Chairman, for Lord Stanley does nothing for us, & without a Secretary, what can a poor, invalid woman do? To me it is inexpressibly sad bringing out this Report, begun as it was with Sidney Herbert, and now two years after he is gone.

But enough of this. The main point is to get the three Presidency Commissions appointed, & also to have some arrangement about the home Commission at once. It is certain that, without home experience, Indian improvement is hopeless. But, if home assistance were given for a time, until the Indian (Presidency) Commissions could walk alone, the improvements would go on. This is the most urgent point now. If the Barrack
Private

July 22/63

Dear friend,

I am so anxious about the results of the Indian Sanitary Report. No one but I who have been trying for 7 years, "come" August, to work a War Office, without being Sec. of State, can tell how much cause for anxiety there is. Had Sidney Herbert been alive the thing would have been done directly. He never wanted anything but a reason to go himself straight to any Minister & get it done. Lord Stanley wants a great deal besides a reason. He told me that he would not offer his services. But he would like to be asked. So I got Lord de Grey to ask Sir C. Wood to ask him. And on Monday there was a meeting of Sir C. Wood, Lord
Stanley & Dr. Sutherland at the I.O. But there is a most unfortunate hitch about the appointment of the home Commission on the ground that there is no direct reference of plans from India to England, at present. Now such a reference is just what we want as regards Sanitary works. And without it the R. Commission had better never have been. It works well at the W.O. to which all Sanitary works are now sent from every Station (from the W. Indies to China) This is what is wanted in India. If not in strict accordance with existing system, surely the system should bend to the greater necessity. Since I wrote this Lord de Grey has been at my request to see Sir C. Wood. And Sir C. Wood has given in. & he will probably add two India members,
as we at first
proposed to W.O.
Barrack & Hospital
Commission. And
I am bid to think
over instructions
for the same.
    But I am not
sorry to have written
this. For I never
believe I am to
have a thing till
I have got it. And
perhaps something
more may be said
in D. News about
the absolute necessity
of this home Commission.
    Ever yours, F.N.

I have written to Mr.
Spottiswoode to ask
about the woodcuts
for your Once a Week.
The blocks are mine.
At least I suppose so.
I paid for the printing
& wood cuts of my
own paper.
    I will let you
know the result.
    Our printing
affairs have been
cruelly mismanaged.
The two Blue Book
dition is not sold
Add Mss 45788

f193v
at Hansard's. And
Hansard tells men
who apply for it
that he "knows
nothing about it."
I will write again
ever yours
F.N.
July 24/63

initialed letter, ff194-97v, pen black-edged stationery

f194

Private
Cleveland Row SW
July 29/63
Dear friend
I think it is of the [9:231-32]
highest importance
that you should write
to Lady Elgin. But
you know the points
quite as well as I do.
And I do not know
either her or Ld Elgin
at all.
The To mention a
few heads:
The Report has made
a great impression &
all England is expecting
to see it carried out:--
the first thing to do
is to select good
men for the
Presidency Commission
& to make them
cordially & voluntarily
co operate with
the Home Commission
that energetic steps
should at once
be taken for
draining, paving,
cleansing &
supplying with
water the seals [seats?] of Government
& well-digested
schemes of
improvement to be
should be sent

home for consideration
on matters of detail
not yet known in
India
[All here are desirous
of cooperating in
the good work of
civilizing India &
saving the Army]

I have only two points,
not for Lady Elgin but
for you.

1. not one single
soul has really laid
hold of our main,
our essential point,
viz. reform your
Stations first. Your
climate is not essentially in fault. --your situations are not necessarily or always in fault. --it is your own habits of beasts & not of civilized men which are primarily the cause, only heightened by site & climate.

I am sure I hope to live to see the seat of Govt removed from Calcutta. But for all that, they have

contrived to make some of the healthiest positions in India nearly as unhealthy as Calcutta. And Calcutta, if it were situated in the healthiest position in Europe, would be unhealthy with its want of paving, want of water supply & of other things too shocking to mention.

2. We are going on extremely well at home. Sir J Lawrence,
Lord de Grey & even cool
Lord Stanley have
worked well at Sir
C. Wood for us. And
I hope the home
Commission is to be
a conjoint Commission
with the present.
W.O. Barrack &
Hospital ditto. And
I have been bid to
write instructions for it. So I hope
it will be appointed
immediately. I am
sorry to say they have
conceded the point
also for the Presidency Commissions.
But I don't know how Lord de Grey
thinks these can be enforced or accepted

that the initiative is
to remain with the
Presidency Commissions.
I had rather we had
kept it ourselves.
Because they are quite
sure to send home
stupid schemes. And
there will really be
more interference with
their action than if
we had had the
initiative. But I
can't help it.

2.
I find that the
blocks (woodcuts)
are mine—but that
members of the Commission are negotiating with a publisher to reprint my paper with the wood cuts of course at his own expense. I do not know the result. And I did not know this when I wrote 1000 thanks for the photograph. It makes me feel almost there.

ever yours

F.N.

2 Cleveland Row SW
Hampstead NW
August 1/63

Dear friend

1. Some of the Commissioners have made arrangements with Stanford to publish my paper at his own expense & have promised him the wood cut blocks. This was not my doing And I am rather sorry. I will tell you if I can the disappointments which have led to them to do this. But first a
more important thing.

2. I am in great tribulation about the I.O. We have found a most formidable enemy in Col. Baker there. Writing instructions has been put a stop to. [And he {illeg. primes?}] Sir C. Wood] He has written a letter to Lord Stanley impugning our Statistics. It is astonishing how careless & superficial is the view which very clever men will take & accept on this subject. It is true we had all this to

fight through after the first Army Sanitary Commission & did fight through it. But Lord Stanley is not Sidney Herbert--dead two years tomorrow--two years!!!

And Col. Baker when proved wrong, will not be the less, but the more formidable our enemy for that. And he is the very soul of the I.O., because the best man of business there. His Argument is that the war years give the highest Death rates. (not from wounds)
rates & that, therefore peace, not Sanitary measures, as the remedy--that we ought to have left the war years out of the averages. As well might he say that the Army almost perished in the Crimea, not from wounds but from want of every appliance of life --& that therefore peace, & not supplying it with the appliances of life, was the remedy.

Lord de Grey says, we had better stop arrangements for the home Commission for the present, as we "should only irritate them."

Of course all this is strictly private.

I am greatly alarmed.

Lord de Grey is an excellent honest man. But he has not that generous confidence in a good cause which enables men to fight, thro', obstacles. Sidney Herbert never wanted anything but a good reason to make him do anything.
3. I don't know whether you know the series of disappointments we had about the printing. By mistake Sir C. Wood laid the 8vo copy on the table of the House--while thinking (& writing) he had laid the two folios. By mistake the type of the two folios was broken up. And they are now not to be had. People & officers (of all men, after Ministers, the men one most wants to interest) have been to Hansard's; have asked for the two folios, have been told he "had never heard of them" have thrown back the 8vo saying "it bore on the face of it the masks of being a very imperfect work" having references {illeg. (margin passim)?) to evidence & documents, which are neither to be had, nor to be sold, nor to be published, nor presented, nor distributed to Parliament. Others, Officials, say that they don't want the opinions (in the Report) they want the facts (in the Blue Books) Others say the Report
is not trustworthy, "because based on evidence not to be shewn"

I cannot help connecting these "mistakes" now with the declaration of impugning our Statistics from the I.O. They wanted to destroy our Evidence.

I forget whether I have told you any of this before. If so, forgive me. This is the reason why our Commissioners chose to reprint my paper, even tho' separately, because it gives the "facts" from the Statistical returns.

ever yours F.N.

initialled letter, ff202-07v, pen black-edged stationery

Hampstead N.W.
Aug 4/63

Dear friend

(1) about the 2 folio [9:235]

Vols: There were 1000 copies printed, (which number we obtained with difficulty). Of these were sent

350 to India
  100 to Ho: of Commons
  50 to " of Lords
(for any members of either house who would ask for them.
And I write to as many of my friends
as I can, of either House
to ask for them.)
100 more copies are
to be sent to the
Houses of Parlty, if they
are asked for.

Another attempt
made to have them
sent for sale to the
Parly Deprts has
been suppressed,
with this concession
"orders have been
given at the sale
offices of Parly
papers to refer

any one who wants
a copy to (the self
styled Secretary)
Mr. Baker!!" [The
notes of admiration
are not mine]
The remaining copies,
not distributed, are
in the possession of
the I.O., who will
therefore, I suppose,
refer the applicants
to Mr. Baker. [end 9:235]
(4 Old Palace Yard
S.W.)
The Govt actually made [9:235-36]
a profit by selling the
Add Mss 45788 414

f203v

first Army Sanitary Report. And it is said that they would make a much larger one upon this. Because Civilians go so much to India now that scarcely a family in England but has some connection either in India or in the Army. [It is therefore certain, it is said, that their economical excuse is humbug]

Some copies are said to have been sent to W.O.

f204

& Horse Guards. But these have been not received. And 35 to Permanent Libraries (2) The 8vo copy contains the Report, the Actuarial Tables at the end of Report in folio Vol. I. and thePrecis of Evidence (following these) in folio Vol. I. This Precis drawn up by (the self styled Secretary) Mr. Baker, is simply ludicrous from its imperfection & incompleteness. If people
read it, it weakens
the Report by not
bearing it out. If they
don't, why take up
so many pages with
printing it?
The 8vo contains of
course all the marginal
references to the Report.
And what people
(justly) say is-- can
a Report be trustworthy
based upon documents
(which we have
enquired about &)
which are not to be
had? But the public

must only look at the
Precis of one of the
documents, viz the oral
evidence, (said Precis
said to be very imperfect)
all the rest is ignored.
Past labor, vast expence,
four years time, have
been spent on collecting
the Stational Returns
(replies to questions)
And this the public
is to hear nothing of.
Vol. II is invaluable
(these are the Stational
Reports in extenso)
to Commanding & other
Officers. The Abstract of these in Vol. I, prepared by me & Dr. Sutherland with the utmost brevity (& which took me 6 months! work), on the express understanding that that, as well as my "Observations," should be presented to Parlt & included on the 8vo (this understanding was not asked for but offered) is necessary for the public.

The attacks of the I.O upon us are vexatious.
E.g. The Death rate is understated, because it takes no account of the men invalided from the Army for disease nor of those who died on the passage home (no inconsiderable number). Yet we are said to have exaggerated.

So with everything (3) I have sent for Macmillan. I hear that your articles in
"D. News" have produced a great impression. As also that for Lord de Grey's appointment at Easter did. I feel I have never thanked you for these as I ought. I have a great deal more to say, but must put it off. ever yours, F.N.

It is amazing how easily Sir C. Wood is satisfied of the truth of anything

it is held desirable to assert. The answers to Col. Baker's statements, thro' Lord Stanley, do not reach the public (the only way of reaching Ministers) you see. But you have reached the public. I must say for poor Sidney Herbert never, never would he have burked evidence, as Sir C. Wood tries to do. Lord de Grey is honest. He has written me a satisfactory
Letter, in answer to my appeal. He will do his best. But Sir C. Wood's imputation was public. And our answer is not public. [My appeal to Ld de G. was of course F.N. qua the Home Commission]

initialed letter, ff208-11v, pen black-edged paper [8:441-42]

Hampstead NW
Aug 25/63
Dear friend
I forget whether I have ever mentioned this disagreeable subject to you before. You perhaps know that, for the last two years, great efforts have been making by the W.O. to see if the "country would bear" (i.e. if the Ho: of C. was likely to listen to) any measure which would enable the system of French
Medical Police to be introduced among the prostitutes of Aldershot & the other Camps. Sir G. Lewis was decidedly in its favour. And Mr. Higgins, of the India Office, proposed, (or was proposed to) to "sound" the country, by means of the "Times".

The enclosed paper was drawn up, at Sir G. Lewis' own request, by me. But, if he was converted, poor man! it was only by death. Since his death, Mr. Higgins applied at the W.O. to know what he was to do. And this paper was shewn him. But Dr. Sutherland's name was put to it. An extremely abusive correspondence followed, between him & Dr. Sutherland, which I did not see.

I have corresponded
with Lord de Grey & Mr. Gladstone (at their own request) about it.

Mr. Higgins however intends to pursue his purpose o' "sounding" the world in the Times.

There was a leader, vague & foolish, in the Times of the 19th (Wednesday) And since that, there has been the enclosed letter in the Times of the 22nd (Saturday) & another leader, today, 25th.

---

both all three, I believe by the same hand & a letter by another hand today 25th. I am sorry to say that our Director Genl, a very silly fellow, is decidedly in favour.

I received a threatening (anonymous) letter from the Army Medl Dep., Whitehall Yard (no need to trouble you with telling you how I knew its origin) in case I continued my opposition.
I have no idea—not that it much matters how they knew that I prompted the "oppositions" or how they knew that paper was mine. [Sir G. Lewis himself volunteered secrecy.]

Of course, if I thought it right, I should go on all the more for their threatening tellers. But I don't. It is not a subject on which I can have such special knowledge as to head an opposition of this kind with my name—however I may choose to go on working.

But I have been asked to ask you to put the "D. News" to watch the "Times"; & if necessary, to answer it.

The enemy has not one little of evidence, in favor as to the success (in abating disease) of the French Medical Police system, which would be admitted.
for one moment in
a scientific enquiry
or in a Court of Law.
   ever yours
   F. N.
You know Capt. Pilkington
Jackson. He became
aware at Aldershot
of what was going on
& said, "To make the
plan complete, the
prostitutes who survive
five years of this life
should have Good
Service Pensions". And
my brother in law, Sir H.
Verney said, "And Jackson
should award them!"
Certainly, this is logical.

signed letter, ff212-13, pen {from Martineau to FN}

Sepr 2/63
Dear friend
   I was charmed to
hear from Maria, on her return
from seeing you, that you
were interested about my
fancywork,--wanted to know
what it was like &c. This
justified me at once in
getting up a specimen for
you; & I have just finished
a cushion which will be
sent to your Cleveland Row address as soon as it is made up. If you but once rest your honoured head against it, how pleased I shall be! I don't doubt your liking the pattern,—which we think beautiful: but I am afraid you may know it, as it was given me a dozen years ago. I chose it on this occasion because it is the prettiest within my reach. I am sure you will be so kind as to accept what I have had such pleasure in working for you.

Yours affectionately

H. Martineau
1. The controversy has arisen on account of the prevalence of the disease among soldiers.

2. The soldiers enlist about, or under, 20, & are free (after ten years' service) about, or under, 30. And, according to existing Regulation, six out of every 100 besides Serjeants, may marry at home--and 12 out of every 100, besides Serjeants, for India.

But the meaning is this: military law does not & cannot prevent men from marrying. Every soldier may marry, if he thinks fit. But the proportion of married people, stated above, are permitted to have quarters in Barracks, or lodging money at the public expense & to take their wives to India.

The only bar to marriage is that Commanding Officers...
are required to dis�
countenance marriages,
& to explain the
"inconvenience & distress"
accruing from them
especially when Regiments
proceed on foreign service.

3. The first point that
occurs is whether the
soldier's position in this
respect is one of greater
hardship than the
working man's. What
percentage of the
labouring class can
marry before (or much
before) 30, if provident?
Yet it is not expected
that every unmarried
young working man
should fall into vice
& disease, even in our
worst seaport towns.
How happens it then
that so large a percentage
of the Army become
affected by disease?
If the Army is more immoral
than the working class out
of which it is taken, it is
because its standard is
more immoral.
Surely in dealing with
this, moral agency
should be taken into
account. If man were
a mere animal, all
the consequences of such an organization would have to be incurred, whatever they were. We should have to admit the "Social Evil" as a social necessity; which is what the "Times" correspondent (Mr. H.) contends for; & all that follows from it: education, procuration, brothels, syphilis, registration of women, licensing, prosecuting counterband houses, &c. It would no longer be logical to put such a state of things under public stigma-- Society must admit into it what is necessary. Of course there could be no sin. It will be seen also that what is necessary for soldiers must be extended over the entire community. Otherwise police Regulation would fail. And hence we have this (illeg)/singular
argument that, because a certain proportion of men, out of a whole Army of (say) 80,000 men, every year on account of their vices, therefore the present aspect of vice, in its social relations, as it is seen by 30 millions of people, is to be entirely changed by Act of Parliament. The thing is absurd. Such an act could only be the expression of a popular conviction, which does not exist. A few years ago, the Legislature, in its wisdom, made vaccination compulsory without being asked to do so. The "Times" of to day (Sept 3) states that "the laws now in force
for the purpose of extirpating small pox are not likely to accomplish their object, & that the system established by law for public vaccination works in an unsatisfactory manner". (Extract from Report of Medical Officer, Privy Council). The same newspaper contains a letter on the subject of Venereal disease which shews that even in working a voluntary Lock Hospital, the Medical Officers have "the labours of Sisyphus" entailed on them. For the poor wretches go/rush out "as soon as a ship arrives." 4. Under a Police system like the French, everything would be a "labour of Sisyphus." We should have to legalize
what society now repudiates. This could only lead to one result, corruption, which again would engender more disease. And so the end would be worse than the beginning.

5. How much more sensible the opposite course! Let us by all means relieve misery & heal the sick even from vice. But let us enquire how far we might not prevent vice by treating the soldiers, as moral agents--& not as animals. Hitherto their Barracks have been as uncomfortable as possible. They have had no rational means of employing or amusing themselves. Vice, in their case, & especially in India, is simply the child of idleness.
Let the soldier be treated as a man. Make his Barrack as far as possible a home. And make it his interest to keep out of Hospital by giving him some profitable employment. And we shall have done the best the case admits of. Better have an entirely married, & stationary Army for home service, than licensed prostitution --even if by so licensing it, you could stop disease, which you cannot.

6. On the general question, all are agreed that the nightly exhibition of vice in the streets is a great cause of disease from temptation. If the existing law cannot put a stop to this, amend it. Then extend
the means of Medical relief by dispensaries & hospitals to the required amount. But why should Government pay for this, anymore than it should pay all the poor rates? If a certain portion of the public wish to protect another portion from the consequences of their own vice, let them subscribe for the purpose. another machinery at work by Police Regulation.

7. In regard to the presumed moral results of separate Lock women's wards, all nurses' experience agrees in another direction in this that, in these wards, plans for future vice are laid. & if in a sea port town, on the coming in of a ship "empties" the said wards. So much for the moral effect of these establishments.
Add Mss 45788 432

initialed note, f218, pen black-edged stationery [8:444]

f218

Hampstead NW
Sept 4/63
Please look at
"Correspondent's" letter
in today's "Times"
Sept. 4. (Mr. H's)
He has very much
taken in "his horns".
But he still says
advocates the French
system, "if necessary".
His figures are
eextravagantly wrong.
The D. News should certainly
enlighten the F.N.
public with a
better principle;
Figures have nothing
to do with it: the principle.
incomplete, unsigned letter, ff219-23v, pen black-edged stationery

f219
Hampstead NW
Sept 9/63
Dear friend
I am really overcome with the beauty of your present & more still with the incarnation it is before my eyes of your care & thoughts for me. & (of in its softness) behind my shoulders. But it is almost too much for me to think of the trouble & fatigue it must have been to you--

f219v
pleasure you bid me think it--And, if it could but be one half the comfort to you to give that it is to me to receive, I should not feel so overpowered. I am very, very glad to hear what you tell me about Prof. Hancock & the India Report. I too have been asked to do a paper for the Edinburgh Meeting I ha on that subject.
I had intended to do so but do not know whether I shall be able--& am very very happy that it should be put into such able hands.

Shall I send you another copy, as you have given yours away, of the two big Blue Books, before they are all gone?

I send a copy of the republished form of my "Observations". With this, of course, I

had nothing to do--& am rather vexed that, as I gave Stanford my blocks, which cost me £54, on purpose that he might sell it cheap, & as I have not even asked to buy copies at half price in return, he should have put the price of 2/6 upon it.

Of course, if you have people who wish to get this, this is to be bought.
But nothing compensates for the suppression of the big Blue Books. I gave a copy of this to Mrs. Cline for her future son-in-law, Col. Wilberforce Greathed, the "Wilby" of the siege of Delhi, a most gallant soldier & capable man, now Asst Military Secretary at the Horse Guards, & a very important man to us--brother of this Col. Greathed who has put his name to our Report.

His only answer was that he "hoped it was not true". Whereupon I answered that, if he would look over the stational Reports, signed by the Commanding, Engineering & Medical Officers of every Station in India, he would come to the conclusion either that these Officers were such exaggerators that
Falstaff (with his "eleven men in Kendal Green") was a fool to them—or that my paper was very much under-stated the case.

Whereupon it appeared that all he meant was that he liked Punkahs & that he thought I did not give Punkahs credit.

But is not this disheartening?—one of the best men in the Service!!

I only quote it because it is one of "legion" of instances, where men, from not knowing of the evidence, have supposed our Report on our propositions, a got up thing, not trustworthy, or at least something very like Queen Elizabeth & "scandal about her Queen Elizabeth".

We are getting on with our conjoint (home) Commission however—Sir P. Cautley
Private has been appointed on it—and tho' the W.O. keeps me 3 weeks with every fresh case of the Instructions which I draw up (at their own request), I do hope we may set to work in another month or so.

Meanwhile I have had the great satisfaction (I like to report progress to you) of being ordered by the W.O. to prepare a portable Manual (an 8vo) out of the two big Blue Books to be sent by them from themselves which is important to every Commanding officer in the service. I offered to do it at my own expense. And they have accepted. Unless the W.O. orders Officers to read it & to understand it, they do neither.

I have only strength left to say that I read
Hampstead, NW  
Sept 17/63  
Dear friend  
I saw the Saturday Review & was amazed  
at its audacity, unless it is simple stupidity.  
The Malta case, as reported there, contains a statement said to be by the "Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals" leaving us to suppose that this refers to the Army. It refers to the Navy, & is consequently a misquotation as you will see at p. 19 of the Report I enclose. Therefore it does not touch the Army question.  
At p. 25 N, look at the table for troops. It contains 8 years of inspection, during which the average admissions were 12.52 per cent. It contains one year--of inspection 6 months--non inspection 6 months. For the 6 months inspection the average was 15.71 per cent per annum. For the 6 mo non-inspection
the proportion fell to 11.02.
And the next year of non-inspection it was 13.13.
This is the latest published information.
This gives a very different account from Saturday Rev.
I have marked in blue on the margin the most important passages.
Please shew up the Sat. Rev.
Please use the facts in the Report & return it to me. There is no other copy.

I am sorry to give one suggestion for work while "Maria" is away.
I know the loss. For I have no "Maria."
I was glad to see in the article from the "Mountain," in today's "Once a Week," an allusion to the want of hours for meals as one of the causes of ill health among hard-workers.
In these days when no one but the agricultural labourer, not even the agricultural labourer's wife, has a digestion,
I take it, after ill-ventilated bed-rooms, the want of a complete hour for the mid-day meal is the main cause, especially among dress makers, of the scrofulous or consumptive tendency.

It is often alluded to but never strongly dwelt upon.

I mention my experience.

If there cannot be a full hour for mid-day meal, then late dinner & a "snack by way of a damper" is the best.

But in dress making & some other trades, the late dinner can as little be taken as the mid-day one free.

Nothing, I am certain, destroyed my own health so much as this. For years my dinner was no interruption to my work--If ate at a table at all, it was ate as part of the contents of the table. And I went on during & afterwards with business just the same. Anecdotes are no use. But illustrations are.
I am sure, from my large experience, that twice the work & half the sickness would be the result of the full free hours for meals.

Mistresses cannot give it to themselves. But they can give it to their workwomen, nurses &c.

ever yours
F.N.

I may just add, (about the first subject of my letter) that a D.I.G. of Army Hospls told me, & one favourable to inspection himself, with reference to Dr. Armstrong's statement

that syphilis had disappeared in the Navy during the time of inspection at Malta. "Why, there were no ships there at the time."

I do not vouch for this. I tell it you as it was told to me.
F.N.
unsigned note, f228-28v, pen

f228  {archivist: c. Oct 1863}, F.N. to Martineau autumn 1863?

Please still to consider all this confidential. And the names of course are supposed still to be deep hid in the recesses of the W.O. and the I.O.

f228v  {words cut off--hard to read}

time ago in the {illeg} one.
    I was quite in despair about this carrying this working Commn, after it had gone so against us in the last three Meetings-- this is the greatest
I was in hopes to have written yesterday about Lady Elgin's letter—but could not. I had to see Lord Stanley; & to get sight of the official papers of denial sent home against us from India.

I enclose a letter from Dr. Farr which please return to me.

But nothing can give you an idea of the horrors of the disclosures as to the state of the Stations which these men Indians make themselves while declaring themselves "to be 100 years before England."

I mean to send you some Extracts—But it is poor work refuting them, instead of helping them.

ever yours

F.N.

25/11/63

Could you ask Lady Elgin to look at the Cholera Commission Report for Northern India dated Calcutta. July 1862—received at home Nov 2, 1863. We have no disclosure like that. It is appalling.
I am obliged to ask to have this Extract returned to me. This Report (a thick folio) is full of, if possible, worse things. How "these fellows" (not my word) do strain at a gnat & swallow a camel! We have said nothing that approaches to this.

F.N.

The Knoll Decr 15th/63
My dear Miss Nightingale

Thank you very much for your letter today. My Aunt says it has done her more good than anything yet, she is so specially glad to hear what you say of Sir John Lawrence. She bid me tell you this, but I know she feels even more your sympathy about Ld Elgin. The truth is that she does not feel a mere personal loss like most people; she has often said that in her condition there is a loosening of ties that
lessens her individual feeling in such a case, but this is a different matter, & I am sure she could have had no greater blow. All these years she has known what he was doing, & has honoured, & admired, & (even sometimes) guided his course, & no one knows better than she what he might have done, had he lived. And now it is all over, & she does suffer terribly. She is better, in health, since the suspense was over, but she is very weak still & hardly is aware, I think, of how ill she has been. She generally knows all about her own state, but she has surprised me very much this time by not seeming to understand it. Even on the worst days, when her pulse was gone down to the very lowest, she wd wonder what made her feel faint, & look surprised if she detected me in any unusual precautions. All this time she is working hard--too hard it would be under ordinary circumstances, but she is very much interested in what she has in hand, & perhaps it is best as it is. She hopes to write to you soon she says, but I do not think she can at present. It will be no sign of her being worse if she should not, only of her being hard pressed with work.

Sir Charles Wood is too bad--but we are very glad to hear of the Defence & only hope Lord Stanley will be equal to the occasion.

With my Aunt's love & best thanks ever yours
most respectfully

Maria Martineau
signed letter, ff233-34, pen black-edged stationery

f233
115 Park St W.
Feb 9/64
Dear friend
I do not write to even
ask you to tell any
one to give me news
but only to say (what
I cannot say of) how
what I heard only
last night of the
danger of your dear
one filled me almost,
with terror at the
thought of your
anxiety. I do not
know in what that

danger consists.
I scarcely know
whether sympathy with
you, or dread of the
cutting short of that
most valuable, young
life absorbs me most.
I trust you have
good help for you
both.
I scarcely ever
remember being so
much impressed
by any character as
with hers on so
short an acquaintance.

f234
Ever yours in sorrow
but with hope
F. Nightingale
signed letter, ff235-38, pen black-edged stationery [8:618-19]

f235

115 Park St. W
Feb 12/64
Dear friend
I cannot say how deeply obliged to you
I am for writing to me & for making Miss Arnold write--But I can hardly think enough of the effort, or bear to think of it, it must cost you.
I have hope. She has strong will to live, a good constitution and a great spirit.
Bed, warmth, complete

f235v

rest & as she can breathe but little air, to have that little good --these are the essentials upon which life must win through the struggle, if at all. And all these she has.
It is quite astonishing how little breathing lung=room the human being can live with, till the disease begins to subside, provided no other effort whatever is required from the vital powers.
That she continues to live is in itself hope for recovery.
Within the last few weeks, I have had a case quite near me, very similar to, but which appeared to all more hopeless than your dear one's, & which is now steadily recovering.
I speak ignorantly--at such a distance. But head symptoms may be quite accounted for from the condition of the lungs.
I will not believe there is not hope.
Twice, when I saw her, she spoke of her life with you as being a "privilege" And when I said, Yes, I do think it is a privilege, I thought her face was like the face of an angel. You know her quiet concentrated manner of earnest truth--who so well? when she says these things.
I believe what you say that you think least
of the personal loss
to yourself--the time
being so short.

I remember, when
Sidney Herbert died
tho' I looked upon
it then, & do still,
after two years and
a half are over, every
day, like a dreadful
ghost-lurking, which
I dared not think
of, tho' I could speak
of it. I never felt the
personal craving after
his personal presence
at all bitterly--my
life will be so short,

what does it signify?--
but of the plans for
reform of the Army
cut short for ever--
of me left to do Office
work, hard enough
with him, impossible
without him. As he
said himself, in his
last words, Poor Florence,
our work unfinished.

You must allow your
friends to feel the
same for you--a
dread lest your
valuable work for
our country, for mankind,
should be cut short, should be made more difficult.

But it is not come to that. And I do believe, and I do hope, that it will come, not to that, but to a better end.

I will not write more. Very likely you may not care to read this.

And I am always yours, I cannot say how much,

F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff239-41v, pen black-edged stationery [8:619-20]

115 Park St W.
Feb 16/64

Dear friend
Your News fills me with gratitude & trembling hope.

Her longing for air, for wind, is nature's own inspiration--
Provided the body is kept warm with hot bottles or such other things as are most suitable, it is the real medicine for her state. Mr. Paget & she are of the same
opinion. Let the patient lie in the wind, he says. Even the French physicians, the slowest to accept this, are coming round to it: And a series of French articles have been lately published, saying, for Typhoid Fever, there is nothing but for it but to let the Patient lie with the fresh air blowing round him all night & day.

Stimulants & warmth too--but she can take

stimulants. In her case, may truly be said, While there is life, there is hope.

Nursing is of prime importance. But that she has. Give your patient nothing to do for herself but to breathe--And there is hope.

I dare say you know more than I about Lady Elgin. Ly Augusta (I cannot bear to call her by her new name) called on my sister on Saturday to leave this message for me: (she
goes out now as little as possible) "I know how she will have grieved with us & felt the loss of another of those whose heart & mind were devoted to those causes to which she gives her life. It is a great mystery, but to him even in those moments of acute suffering all seemed clear & bright."

Mr. Cuming Bruce, who is one of my brother-in-law's oldest friends, writes to him to say that he & "Elma will be in town (to day) to meet Ly Elgin" He says that "she (Elma) has little heart for anything else" that "she is to hear & tell her all the sad details of both their losses--poor little Charlie--she (Elma) has seen no one yet but the nearest relatives." My brother-in-law, is to see Mr. Cuming Bruce by his own desire. And we shall hear
Lady Elgin's unselfish fortitude is something wonderful. You probably hear more than I do. But I write it because I have no heart to write to you about anything but these two dear ones.

[I do not know Ly Elgin. Nor did I know him]

ever yours
in hope
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff242-47, pen black-edged stationery [8:621-22]

115 Park St. W
Feb 18/64

Dear friend
I do hope & rejoice, tho' with trembling, that she may be yet restored to you & to us all. Bless you for writing to me--tho' I am afraid it has cost you much.

I shall not expect to hear again from you, tho' perhaps Miss Arnold will be so good as to write from time to time.
Few have been the friendships I have known--fewer the marriages which appeared to me worth much. And of these few I have seen many cut short by death.

Unless the union of two together makes their work better for mankind, I cannot call it worth the tie. --(I suppose I am getting dour from old age--you know bad

wine does get sour--while good wine gets better by age--)it may be pleasant to see, but not more pleasant than to see two kittens playing together, much the same, I think, in worth.

I always thought your union with her, fructifying for mankind, one of the noblest I had ever heard of. I am sure her sympathy with you was. And this is
why I felt a kind of sick terror at its being untimely cut short. I think you could scarcely have felt more yourself. I do thankfully hope now that there is good prospect for both. Of course, a convalescence, even when it can be called convalescence, from such an illness, is a very anxious thing. But she has every chance -- of good air & good care.

---

I am sometimes afraid that you yourself will feel the effect of intense anxiety more than you know of. You complain of irregular or imperfect circulation in the brain. Do you know the "dodges" of heat & cold applied to the back of the neck & sides of the throat? I am so afraid of ignorantly suggesting experiments, that I will only give some illustrations. If the head is hot, & one
side of the throat-- is as cold, as marble out of doors (to the touch--the Patient is generally unaware of it--on the contrary complains of feverish ness) the cold extending often down to the elbow, & like marble--the thoughts are sure to be over active, & yet confused--often troubled with scruples of imaginary wrong done to others. This is what I constantly

suffer from--And heat applied to the back of the neck & sides of my throat at night always is useful. A small India rubber bottle filled with hot water, & laid behind the back of the neck, is useful. But I am afraid to recommend this, without daily experienced advice. Because it weakens the blood vessels & prevents them from properly acting afterwards. My hands are always so hot that if I hold them round
my throat, that will do. Hot flannels will do. But then one does not like to keep a person up at night.

If the pit of the stomach & bowels are cold to the touch, without the Patient being aware of it, that is a sure sign that hot fomentations (or hot dry flannels) or even hot hands applied there, will relieve the head. But hot fomentations, too often repeated, may be dangerous without experience. Dry heat is not.

You may almost always procure sleep to a sleepless Patient by some of these means, where imperfect—or rather too great supply of blood to the brain is the cause of the sleeplessness, from the heart not doing its duty properly.

The contrary indications shew that cold is required to the back of the neck. I suppose every body is familiar with the relief that is given by
Eau de Cologne in other spirit, or simply a wet rag, (if the Patient is not allowed to get elsewhere damp,) applied to the back of the neck, gives far more than when applied to the temples.

I would never recommend ice, unless an experienced person were there to watch the effect—altho' the effect is marvellous.

I am told that

Dr. Chapman has written a very clever tho' offensive, book on this subject. I have not read it. I have had neither time nor strength. I wish I had. I only give you the result of my own nursing experience.

ever yours gratefully
& hopefully
F. Nightingale
incomplete, signed letter, ff248-50, pen black-edged stationery [8:622-23]

f248 {archivist: to H. Martineau}

-2-
March. 1864

My brother-in-law, Sir Harry Verney, sees Lady Elma, who is an old friend, when he calls --but not Ly Elgin, whom he does not know. Ly Elma describes her as gently sorrowful, much wrapt up in the little girl. [You know they are at Mrs. Bruce's house--it seems a forlorn thing, instead of entering at once on home duties, to be living in another]

f248v

person's house] not very strong. Ly Elma is very fond of her.

They are very poor--Ld Elgin having spent much in Canada & India & not yet having had time to save. My brother-in-law has been consulting Ld Stanley with a view to bringing forward a pension--Ld Stanley thinks £500 a year. I question whether Ld Elgin's character would not stand higher by asking for
nothing. £500 a year does not seem worth asking the Ho: of Commons for.

Ly Elma said that Ly. Elgin had written twice to you, so that I have no doubt you know more than I do.

I think his sisters are comforts to her. The Queen had been to see her.

When Genl Bruce died, the Pr. of Wales was almost too much for Mrs. Bruce in his attentions to her. They were obliged to tell him to go away.

Genl Bruce wrote to me when he accepted the Governorship, that he was overcome with the responsibility. But he gave up everything he cared for to fulfil it—but that, as a soldier, he could not decline the post of danger. And oh! it was so true. It killed him. He was a good soldier.

I sent this letter to his widow.

F.N.
Believe that there
is no one in this world
who thinks of your
great trial, & feels
how insupportable
it is, as I do. I
think of you day &
night. Would I
could hear a part of
it for you!
F Nightingale

initialed letter, ff251-52, pen black-edged stationery

115, Park Street. W.
March 7/64
Dear friend
I feel so much your
wish to be alone, I have
not written. What can
one say? Those two
lines always run in
my head.
No man bears sorrow
better: Portia's dead
O insupportable & touching
grief!
as words will when the
brain is worn out with
pain of mind & body
& cannot make words
of its own.

I have a number of letters of hers--the last on Jan 20--how little I thought then she would go before us.

I put up a book of mine for her as soon as it came out. --then moving here, altho' it is literally but a stone's throw, when I was more than usually busy & more than usually ill caused it to be laid away & forgotten.

aside The next thing I heard was that she was ill. I have long hesitated whether it would give you more pain or pleasure to have her book. But I think, even if you should never cut a page, you will like to have it, to see what was the impression she produced on one who never saw her but once.

If I am mistaken, forgive me.

Yours ever in sorrow
F.N.
f253

Private

115 Park St. W.

March 14/64

Dear friend,

I send the V. Report. You have the two Vols: [9:868-69] of the India Sanitary Report. And in Sir A. Tulloch's evidence it is stated that the Admissions from Syphilis in the Army amount to 60 per 1000 per annum---not 400 and 500, as is popularly believed. Mr. Acton's table clubs together all kinds of diseases under one denomination.
There is little literature on the subject. What there is relates solely to the disease, the mode of treatment.

The present movement should be discussed under the head of public morality, public policy, public utility. Proof of all three, --overwhelming proof, --ought to be produced. Medical opinion is absolutely worthless -- except as to the treatment: As to prevention, that is another thing. About that, they have given us no evidence at all.

My evidence is, (but all Paris police papers are kept so secret that I cannot produce any;) that the Paris police, the only people who know anything about it, state that there the disease among the prostitutes is very small, among the men is very much increasing; that, in thousands of cases among men, examined & traced at great expense, not one was traced
to a diseased woman. The act of vice between a man & a prostitute, even not diseased, seems to produce the disease, but not invariably, (no more than every body catches small pox under bad sanitary conditions,) in the man.

Oh that a Medical man would observe, as I have observed, in Paris! There, where the perfection of Medical Police exists, are the worst forms of disease among men.

-- married men. If Paris Civil Life were to be sent to Hospital as our soldiers are, half Paris would be in Hospital. The reason is that vice has been made prevalent--there by the fancied immunity from disease, to a degree we have no idea of.

The "Times" letters are not worthy of notice. They are merely medical opinion. If, after careful statistical enquiry, there were proof to shew benefit,
there would still be left the questions of policy & morality.

As regards soldiers, until we have provided men with rational means of work & recreation for their spare time—what can we expect but dissipation? & disease?

I am afraid there is too much reason to fear what the Govt may do. I understand Mr. Robert Lowe has told the Cabinet he would willingly propose

(in Parlt) an Act for a Medical Police for the whole country after the Paris fashion.

We are not idle. [I sent all your former D. News Articles (cut out & pasted) to Lord de Grey]

I feel so much what you say about the heart sickness of looking over what you had done with her—now.

I wish "Jenny" could come directly.

ever yours

F.N.
Private
  115, Park Street W. {printed address:}
  March 25/64
Dear friend
  The worst of it is: that
we do not know exactly
what the measure is
that they are going to
bring forward. We
believe it to be only
that women who enter
Lock Hosptls are to be
locked up till well;
which is nothing at
all but a measure of
Hospl administration,
just as you take
precautions to prevent
the insane & the delirious
from running out into
the streets.
  [& which will end
in nothing else but
this: that you won't
be able to catch your
hare, if you lock her
up. She won't come in.]
  But we do not
know: & nobody knows:
& we cannot find
out till people are
come back to London
which will not be
till Monday week.
I will then let you know, the moment I know anything certainly myself.
I am afraid it would answer no good purpose to communicate the evidence you have to any one. We do not as yet know what they propose. And your flank might easily be turned, if you were to argue from it against unknown proposals.

[That evidence bears principally on the comparison between Mediterranean Station]

A good pamphlet would do immense good; if prepared so that, as soon as what the Govt scheme is to be is known, you can insert a criticism thereupon into your pamphlet, before the Govt scheme is launched.

The main point which can be urged at present is that there is no evidence that police measures do good, even in diminishing
disease. [their advocates always take this for granted which is just begging the whole question, physical] & that, before Parliament is called on to legislate, there should be evidence --not medical opinion, but facts shewing positive decrease by Police measures.

If, as we suppose, they simply propose that the poor women, once admitted into a Lock Hospl, are to be kept, till cured, by law -then any general

argument against a Police system, which is a totally different thing, would be not pertinent.

ever yours
F.N.
f260
Private
115, Park Street. W. [printed address]
March 31/64

Dear friend

We have not yet the information we want.

But have you seen "the Lock Hospital dinner" in the "Saturday Review" of March 26?

There is the same dogged disregard of fact--the same self-contradiction--(for if one of the statements or propositions is true,

f260v
then all the others are false) the same "begging the question" as to the utility of a measure, & then going bang at it, without any knowledge whatsoever of the subject--that all Jacob Omnium's articles in the "Times" have shewn--on this matter.

ever yours
F.N.
incomplete, initialed letter, ff261-62v, pen

f261

was obliged to {illeg}/do it. 
I asked no one to look   [7:335] 
at him--told no one--
And he came in my
brother in law's carriage,
hoping that no one
would know. But it
all failed.

    We had a long
interview by ourselves.
I was more struck
with the greatness of
that noble heart
full of bitternesses yet
not bitter--& with
the smallness of the
administrative capacity,
than even I expected.
He raves for a Govt
"like the English." But

f261v

he knows no more
what it is than his
King Bomba did.
[It was for this that
I was to speak to
him.] One year of such
a life, as I have led
for 10 years, would
tell him more of
how one has to give
& take with a
"representative Govt"
than all his Utopia
& his "ideal." You
will smile. But he
reminds me of Plato.
He talks about the
"ideal good" & the "ideal
bad" about his not
caring for "repubblica"
or for "monarchia".
He only wants the"right."
Alas! alas! what a
pity that utter
impracticability.
I pity me very much.
And of all my years, this
last has been the hardest.
But now I see that no
man would have put
up with what I have
put up with for 10
years for 10 days to do
even the little I have
done which is about
a hundredth part of

G. looks flushed &
very ill, worn & depressed
--not excited. He looks
as if he stood & went
thro' all this as he stood
under the bullets of
Aspromonte--a duty
which he was here to
perform.
The madness of the
Italians here in urging
him is inconceivable.
F.N.

{in Martineau's writing at the bottom of page written upside down}:
F. Nightingale
April 1864
Private

115, Park Street. W. {printed address:}
April 28/64

Dear friend

I write in haste, merely

to send you a copy of

Sir M Peto's paper,

which I must ask you

to return. Sir M. Peto

had not a copy left

himself.

I am carrying out

an enquiry at Chatham,

by which I hope at

least to procure a

clause punishing all

procurers & solicitors

& also to call the attention

of the Ho: of C. to the fact

that Justices won't

convict even on the

existing law against

"bawdy-houses."

On Monday I may

be able to tell you

about the D. of Somerset's

second Draft.

I hear that the

proposal for Ly Elgin's

pension is to be

£2000 per an. (£1000

from consolidated Fund

--£1000 from India

revenue). She is now at Lambton.

ever yours

F.N
I don't allude to the Holstein question farther than by transcribing:--
"the Danish business seems at last to come right, after all the folly & wickedness of so-called statesmen have been spent on it. And they will be obliged to ask the Duchies & to recognize the Augustenburg. The Queen has acted very bravely, & consequently, they say she is mad.

"It makes one sick to think of what has been done & suffered in this matter since 1850, so uselessly,-- against all right, & the nature of things,-- by the frivolity of Palmerston the underhand ambition of Prussia, the stupid jealousy of Austria & the" (violence & ignorance--I put in this, as less hard & more true than the original word used "of the English press. But at last "they must give up this "iniquitous treaty of 1852".)
As for the Queen having "given assurances to Prussia", she is & always has been in dire disgrace with Prussia--And so is her daughter, the Pr. Royal, (Crown Pr.)--for being German, not Prussian. Anything more untrue could scarcely have been concocted. [The Queen of Prussia's visit was forced upon her, if that is what people allude to. But I don't really know what they mean]. Since I can remember anything, I have never

seen the whole country so mad in ignorance. And it is as vain to assert what one positively knows of one's own knowledge, as it is vain for an Austrian & Lombard to discuss Venetia's wrongs with an Austrian. [end 15:616] F.N.

{Martineau has written upside down at bottom of page): F. Nightingale May 30th 1864.
f267

115, Park Street. W. {printed address:}
May 31/64
Dear friend
I have the second
Draft of Ld C. Paget's
Bill at this moment
before me. [And I
hope to have a copy
to send you tomorrow.]
Suffice it to say that
its principle is just
as bad as the first,
(as per enclosed;) with
the important addition
of (2)--that I have,

f267v

being desired to criticize,
pointed out its dangers
as strongly as I could,
(always dwelling upon
this, that it is the
house, not the woman,
against which
proceedings should
be taken.)
Adding a proposition
to the effect of (3), if
they will have the
Bill.
also pointing out
that "solicitors", where the
woman does not walk the
streets herself, are not touched at all by the Bill nor beer houses where landlord is the intermediary.

The W.O. added Clause (4). If these camps are added, Colchester should be added.

Could you return me the enclosed? P.I. gives no summary of the Bill. It is only written to remind you of the principle of the first Draft.

I don't believe any Ho. of C. will pass this Bill. Any honest girl might be taken locked up all night by mistake by it. Ever yours F.N.

initial letter, ff269-70v, pen black-edged stationery

115. Park Street. W. {printed address:}

Dear friend,

This is only to thank you for your account of that painful tragedy, which touches me chiefly as it wounds your companion. I did not hear of the newspaper blunder till I saw the contradiction--But are not newspaper blunders almost more numerous than newspaper truths?

I have not much to say about the Bill. My
objections to it were answered by saying that "places of public resort" includes public houses & lodging houses"--that "a policeman cannot act without knowing that the woman is a common prostitute & without having reason to believe that she is diseased" that "then he (an Inspector) has to go to a magistrate & by his order to take her to a certified medl man, who will place her in a certified Hospital."

Whereupon I replied, in a letter too long to give you, that then the Bill would not touch the Army's case at all--that the prostitutes are (there) "servants" of the beer=house keepers, not shewing themselves in the public streets at all, but barmaids in the part of the public house which is "a place of public resort" & prostitutes in the landlord's private dwelling only. How then are is the Inspector to reach her there? How act, "knowing that she is a common Prostitute"?
Also the danger:—that if you make prostitution in a beer house from which disease follows, illegal, you will make prostitution in a beer house from which no disease follows, legal.  

I will not say a word about the Danish question.  
Because, as you say, we "differ so widely." I will only say that what I told you of the Pr. Royal, & which you say you do "not" "believe", I know just as I know any other matter of fact: just as I know the fact of your opinions, and I know our Queen & Pr. Royal to have been grossly libelled, which is my reason for saying this. [The Extract I sent you was from a personal friend of the Queen's. That, however, had nothing to do with the Pr. Royal].  

Ever yours  
dear friend F.N.
copy of signed letter, f271, pen [8:452]

f271
Copy

115 Park St
24th June 1864
Dear friend,

On Monday leave was moved for to bring in the (enclosed) Bill. Next Monday it is to be read--and "committed to a large Commee--so large that ye House "will accept it without discussion."

I send you my copy, with heads of my remonstrances upon it (received & sent in today) Please return it to me at your con- venience. (Ministers may be out on Monday) Yours ever

F. Nightingale
115, Park Street. W. {printed address:}

July 22/64

Dear friend,

This is only to tell you (what you know already) that we have lost, & the Ho: of C have gained, the "Contagious Diseases" Bill (amended) -- & that I will send you back your Article, for which we were deeply grateful. The reason it has not been sent back already is: that I lent it to one of the MP.s on the Committee to read to them. All the Committee were against us except two: Sir H. Verney & Mr. Ayston.

D. Hartington said, quite gravely, to his master in the W.O. who told me:-- "The only way would be to attach a certain number of these women to each Regiment & to put them under religious instruction." (sic)
I have been under such overwhelming anxiety in sending out sanitary schemes for Indian Stations to Sir J. Lawrence, that who has been soliciting us for them for seven months, that I have not been able to follow this Committee as I could have wished--tho' I cannot reproach myself with having neglected to answer any of their questions.

All in vain.

I feel a kind of hopeless despair: about our things: the W.O. is utterly demoralized.
Sir C. Wood does not speak the truth--the H. Guards deserve the V.C. for their cool intrepidity in the face of facts.

To return:
I do not like to remind you of your thought of writing a pamphlet. But Col: North in the Ho: of C., & every body every where,
 repeats; -- the French have succeeded in banishing vice-disease from their Army.

Now we have the facts:

the French Admissions from vice-disease (in the Army) are EXACTLY the same as the English (in the Army)--

the French inefficiency (or length of time in Hospital) is one-tenth eighth more than the English--from the

I send you a paper, which we have just issued, & which please return at your convenience. Please read the paragraph I have marked.

I would gladly write more about our things. But I am quite unable. And so are you, I fear.

ever yours
F.N.
Dear friend,

I was very grateful for Miss Martineau's kind letter, telling me just what I wanted to know. With regard to that dreadful Act, the present state of things is thus:--

A Commission has been named, of which Mr. Skey is to be President, to investigate the whole thing de novo. And I was asked to name the W.O. member upon it, which I did.

& to write the Instructions, which ought to be much what Coroners give at Inquests. viz. to disregard all you have heard, to forget all you have read & to mind what you are about.

With regard to the working of the Act, I was asked to name an Army Medl Off: to work it; which I refused to do, & to indicate the way of working. But I also refused to teach men to sin at the public expence.
The Medl Off: will not be named for a month. It will take him other two months to come to anything. For there is absolutely not enough dock accommodation at the Stations named in the Act (for I drew up a list of all there was, at the W.O. desire) for him to do anything of what is prescribed in the Act.

In the meantime, we have received letters from Malta, about the working of Police Inspection there (which shew/tell a tale of corruption & horror, such as I never saw before in so small a compass)—which shew that the Medl Officer & the Police were actually in the pay of the Prostitutes & levied unmercifully a tax on these women which, if they did not punctually pay, notice was given against them to appear just at the moment they were exercising their horrid trade:—which shew that the ignorant outcry, made by Dr. Armstrong & others
against the cessation of the Medical Police
was made against the cessation of a "system of prevention"
which not only did not exist, but which could not exist; & was in fact
a system of corruption & horror, without parallel.
These letters I have sent to the W.O. But I mean to send them to you.
What I feel is, with regard to Mr. Skey's Commission, that, if they will really examine the whole subject de novo,

that, & nothing less, will do.

It is vain, for us & two or three others, to repeat the same thing.
Every Army & every Navy man is committed to the Contagious theory, culminating in the French Police system.
It is vain for us & two or three others, to repeat that we do not go on the female: morals principle, viz. that, if there were a perfect Police system, vice: disease would disappear;--but that, we do not choose to
have it, because it would injure morals.
    That is a question to be considered, but tomorrow.
    The question now is: & one which everybody, without the least enquiry, answers in the affirmative-- but which French Army Statistics answer in the most decided negative: does Police Regulation (& Quarantine) diminish vice: disease?
    Supposing syphilis to be the result of Contagion & of nothing else, & never to be set up in the Constitution by any other means--

Considering all this, would it not be better to postpone accepting your generous offer to write a pamphlet, till some results & some decisions have been come to? [I take into account your desire not be [to?] called upon in October. But] my belief is that what will happen will be this: that, not before three months at earliest, will anything come out, & that then, if we are here at all, you will
think it better to attack (them) in D. News.
I have written so fast that I am afraid you will be only bothered by my circum locution.
All thro' this month I have been quite beset with work--And I am so much feebler in every way this year--And I cannot describe to you what the anxiety is of being single-handed here to urge people to meet Sir John Lawrence's noble devotion to our cause.
Our Govt always puts off now till after the Parly session any trifles which concern the lives & morals of men only.
I am glad to hear that there has been some relief for you at least from suffering.

ever yours gratefully
F.N.

Have you seen the "Contagious" Act itself. If not, shall I send it you?

{Martineau has written at bottom of page, upside-down}:
F. Nightingale
Augt 31/64
(Private. Contagious Disease Bill.)
Dear friend,

I am sure the same goodness which makes you write to me makes you know that it is almost the greatest pleasure I have. I am thankful the cold agrees with you. I cannot wonder at your feeling your great irreparable loss more everyday. There is no real loss, the grief of which time does not make deeper & more intense. There is generally much

truth in common sayings: but I do not see that there is any in the common saying of "the great healer, Time," "Time will be its cure" &c, unless it means Death.

I am like the washerwoman who said, heaven would be to have one hour in the day when there was nothing to do. We are so busy at this time of the year. I have had to see Ld Stanley & Mr. Massey, who is going out to India.
by the mail of the 26th. Sir
John Lawrence holds on
his way like a hero
(what would Homer have
been if he had had such heroes
as the Lawrences to sing?)
but what a difficult
course it is! It is not,
as Englishmen fancy it,
a despotic Government.
but it is a number of
little despotic Governments
which, their despots once
named, are all but
independent of the head
Government. Mr. Massey
goes out, full of will
to do good & he will do
good--but sublimely
unconscious of this.

I have also had to see
Mr. Villiers & by Mr. Villiers'
desire, Mr. Farnall, to
confer about introducing
Trained Nursing into
London Workhouse
Infirmaries. They are
much more frightened
at the death from the
Holborn Union than they
"let on". I was so much
obliged to that poor man
for dying. The man was
lost for want of cleanliness.
[Mr. Villiers says he shall
never hear the last of it
in the Ho: of C.] It was
difficult to me to recognise
the earnest Corn Law
repealer in a man who, as far as I saw, felt merely as if he were rehearsing a speech for an angry debate in the House.

I have the most enormous order for Nurses for India from Sir John Lawrence, of which a trifling item is 66 Midwifery Nurses 112 Asst " " for the female Regimental Hospitals: Matrons & Nurses for Military General Hospitals, of which ten are named. Then there will in all probability be these London

Workhouse Infirmaries to nurse.

We are training 18 Nurses for Manchester, & cannot find one poor Superintendt for Manchester.

We are at our wits' ends. To me it seems, the more chatter & din about "Woman's Mission", the less are efficient women to be found anywhere. It makes me mad to hear the cant about unemployed women. If women are unemployed, it is because they won't work. We can secure the highest salaries for
women that are given to women at all (Queens & actresses excepted). The women for Matrons we can't find.

If you can help us, I know you will. At the same time I know you will consider this letter as private.

[There was a most pressing invitation to me to go to India to do the thing myself. Nothing in the whole world should I have liked so much. If there had been a reasonable prospect of my living thro' the voyage & for 6 months after, I would have gone]

I fail much. I never leave my bed, except to see my masters. My face is so swelled, especially when I make any such exertion that I suppose this is what is meant by my "looking well". But it is a "grâce d'état" to get through these interviews well, even if you have fever after them for a fortnight. My writing business is so continuous, & lately tries me so very much, that you will please say, my poverty & not my will consents, to my delay in answering yours.

ever yours

The winter in London 27 Norfolk Street, F. Nightingale has been the Park Lane. W. darkest, longest, most foggy I have ever known.
Dear friend

I do think that an Article from you, as you so kindly propose, would help us very much. But the facts look so very small. And the possibilities, which are every day held out to us, are so enormously large. & these we have no right to lay before the public.

It is not money we want; it is workers. The public would give us money; they won't give us workers. Every body is tarred with the same stick. There is the "Times", congratulating itself on the thousands it has got subscribed this winter. But where are the workers?

No: we don't aspire, altho' they are needed by the hundred & the thousand,
to sending out Nurses by the hundred or the thousand. What we want to do is to send a small staff of trained Nurses & a Trained Training Matron, wherever we are asked, proper opportunities being guaranteed to us. But the material, especially for the latter, (the Matrons), does not come to us.

We have 23 Nurses in training now at St. Thomas’-- our largest number-- 18 is the largest number

we can entirely support at St. T's but this is no difficulty at all: even at this moment some of our 23 are supported by others. We should never lack the money. Wherever people really want Nurses, they will give the money to maintain them. [Of course, the Training costs are paid by us for these.] But we want the workers. The only other limit is put: not by want of money, but by the undesirableness of
having too large a proportion of Nurses to Patients. Under St. Thomas' temporary diminution of beds, I think 23 Probationers should not be exceeded. But, by the goodness of King's Coll. Hospital Superintendt, we not only train Midwifery but general Probationers there now. We have 10 for Manchester training there now. Of these, as of the

Midwifery Probationers, the cost of board is willingly paid by those who send them. [For the sake of having more beds, it is proposed & seriously thought of, that we take on another Hospital. But this again is private.] A higher calibre of woman is required for a Training Matron than for a Midwifery Nurse. I will not say a higher, but a finer & a larger sort
of calibre. She, the Training Matron, must have some power of organization & of authority. And hitherto women of this stamp have quite declined never thought of learning the technical Hospital detail, which it is quite necessary to know.

Now see our opportunities. Messrs. Villiers & Farnall would gladly (I have seen them again) form Schools of Nursing, on all the London Workhouse Infirmaries

with our Trained Nurses as heads & Pupil Nurses from the larger Union Schools—i.e. the bigger girls [I think this plan most promising.] India would take from us any number of Trained Matrons & Nurses & pay highly. As it is ridiculous of us to think of sending them out by ship-loads the more reason why we should send out a high stamp of Matrons & Head
-3-
Nurses, as nuclei, to form
in India a sort of
"Covenanted Service" of
Nurses for India.
I think I will send
you (privately) a copy
of a private paper.
I am preparing for
Sir J. Lawrence.
[I have got 7 millions
did I tell you? for
Barracks in India:
Sir J. Lawrence says
it must be 10 millions.
And Mr. Massey says
it shall be 10 millions.

My dear millions.
How well it looks—
six oughts after a 7.
£7,000,000. Like
the man henpecked
by his heiress wife,
who used to retire to
comfort himself with
her Banking book, I
am married to the
India Off., confound
it. But I retire to
comfort myself with
the look of my dear
millions].
I am afraid you
will think I have given
you no materials at all
for the Article you are
so very good as to
propose. But you see
my difficulty.

I shall be so glad if
you see Lady Elgin.

One question of yours
I have not answered.
We have no superfluity
of applications at all
from any description
or class of persons
wishing to be trained.
We can scarcely make
up our number of the
right sort. But not

many of any sort apply
to be trained. We never
once have rejected one
of the right sort for
want of room. But
really not many come
of any sort, to be
rejected. Yet they are
not only maintained,
trained, & paid wages,
free of cost--but they
have a certainty and a choice of
well-paid places,
when certificated--for
as {illeg. to?} we have always
10 times as many
situations
offered as Trained persons
to fill them. Indeed I am
Sorry to say that Nurses of ours have been made "Superintendents," who were totally unfit for it, & whom we earnestly remonstrated with, as well as with their employers, to prevent their being made "Superintendents," but in vain, such is the lack of proper persons. And this again, you will see is private.

Ever yours gratefully 
F. Nightingale

{back to f284 for another subscription, which is written above letterhead}:
ever yours gratefully 
F. Nightingale

{in H.M.’s hand:} F. Nightingale
Febery 20/65
{printed address:} 27. Norfolk Street. Park Lane. W.
Dear friend,

I don't know whether you have seen the last Reports of our Training Schools not that they tell one any thing. I am just as anxious about the Training School of St. John's House (which is at King's College Hospital) as about our own St. John's is a Society, which keeps its Sisters & Nurses, does not send them out, as we do--we are a mere Training School. It is the only sensible Society of the kind I know in the Anglican Church--because it unites cordially with a great secular Institution, like King's Coll: Hospital, instead of keeping aloof as Miss Sellon's & other Societies do.
The Augustinians at Paris unite cordially with the great Hospitals they nurse. The Sisters of Charity do not.

Yet Miss Jones is just as much at her wits end to get "Sisters" as we are. I don't understand it.

When I was a girl, I would have given both my hands (only that would have made me useless) to have x the Lady Supt of St. John’s House

been received into a Hospital on the terms in which these her "Sisters" are received. I am sure too that no one knows Matrons as I do. Yet there are still only two. Miss Jones & Mrs. Wardroper, to whom I would entrust the training of Probationers. I have seen enough of Governesses to know that education is by no means an universal fanaticism in England.

Why do gentlewomen
who have to earn their bread, never take to anything else. Between being a Matron & a Governess, I should have thought few would hesitate. With regard to our Workhouse Nursing, I will just say that, if London Boards of Guardians were to get a scent that the Poor Law Board was colloquing with Miss Nightingale to nurse their Workhouses,

it would upset the whole scheme. For, tho' the P.L. Board has the power of forcing Nurses upon the Guardians, the Guardians have a very unpleasant power of dismissing any Officers of their own, who gives information they don't like. Indeed, part of the scheme I shall have to work myself with the Guardians if at all; whose backs are always set up by the P.L. Board.
As for Sir J. Lawrence's scheme, I have no right to mention it at all.

Ever yours gratefully
F.N.

This is the longest, darkest, foggiest winter I have ever known in London. The Esquimaux have 4 months' darkness. So have we.

signed letter, ff295-96, pen black-edged stationery

27. Norfolk Street. 4 Park Lane. W. {printed address:}

April 1/65

Dear friend
I don't like to let the day pass without thanking you for your invaluable article (Cornhill) which stirs up the whole subject, & brings it into the region of the respectabilities—an amazing thing in England.

But I have neither time nor strength to say what I think on what I ought of it.

The long dark winter has tried my strength so very much.

And we are in all sorts of Indian distresses—the India military authorities attacking our facts again. (sanitary) & requiring an answer
and finance looking bad, as you know-- income tax to be kept on, & even with that, £800,000 deficit owing to Bhootan war & short opium crop. ever yours gratefully F. Nightingale

I saw your Nursing article in D. News some time ago-- & thanked you in my heart for it.
Dear Miss Martineau

I have been so very sorry not to be able to write a word of thanks to you for your note, of sympathy for your anxiety, of enquiry. I was indeed afraid that she was much worse.

She will be sorry to hear of poor Hilary's sufferings. I believe the best hope is that they will soon be over.

Now, in consequence of opiates, she scarcely takes notice. But there is still wonderful strength of pulse. Suppuration threatens. If there were more constitution left to bear it, it might even now give her two or three years of comparative relief. It is a tragedy from first to last worse, to my mind, than a Cawnpore tragedy.

I would so gladly have written about India
Statistical matters. But I fear neither of us are able to bear it. I think I sent the Return for Queen's troops (Mortality) every year subsequent to those for which the R. Comm: could get returns. (This was not produced) in time to be noticed in our Reply to the India Govt. They charged us with exaggeration. We now find that the average mortality for India for these last 9 years (1856-64), (which they say, prove exaggerations on our part.) has been 42.9 per 1000, & for Bengal 51.1 " " We know that, of late years, more men have been invalided & have returned, many to die at home instead of in India, since the Mutiny. And adding these, we find that the Army in India in these "model" years has lost 91 per 1000. (by Death's } invaliding and returned men. & in Bengal. 107 per 1000 {by same causes The total loss is thus above what was stated in the Report of the R. Commission
So little is understood of the whole subject of Statistics as applied to Health purposes, that, when the India Despatch appeared, it was stated that the Report of the R. Comm. was false & had been demolished by the India Govt. We felt assured that Sir J. Lawrence had no such object. But, as the opponents are always stronger than the supporters of good, we have been replying with all our mights.

Mr. J.S. Mill's return to Parlt is a great boon to us. But what I am practically working at now; is: to get the Presidents of Sanitary Commns (in the 3 Presidencies) made Secretaries to Govt & Ministers of Public Health--to be in short personally responsible as heads of the Sanitary administration. & to have direct communication with Govt.

Sir J. Lawrence helps us all he can. I do not write more, because I can't always yours

F. Nightingale
Miss Martineau  
The Knoll  
Ambleside

34 South St. W.  
Sept 6/65
Dear friend  
I just write one line  
to thank you for your  
kind letter, & to say  
what I cannot tell  
you how thankful  
I am to say that  
Hilary was released  
this morning early.  
The end was quite  
easy. But the  
suffering has been  
cruel. Of course they  
will write to you--  
But in case they

should not have time  
today, and remembering  
how you and I  
have been one in  
sorrows, I just  
write to say that  
all her suffering is over.  
ever yours  
F. Nightingale

{in H.M.’s hand, upside down}:  
F. Nightingale  
Sepr 6/65 (Hilary B. C.'s death)
Private May 2/66
35 South Street, {printed address:}
   Park Lane,
   London. W.

Dear friend

I cannot help saying [8:629-30] one word. Your note gives the most convincing evidence against yourself —viz that your work in life is not necessarily over for ever. It may be a season of mere temporary mental exhaustion, such as is inevitably the lot of those

who are suffering from both severe exertion & illness & grief. I do not say this to give you pleasure. I am afraid, if it is true, it is just the thing to give you pain. I am afraid that to live is with you little more than an effort & a suffering as with me.
But I cannot help thinking that a period of complete mental rest might restore for a time the mental power. And I can hardly help hoping that it may be that you will once more enlighten public opinion & public feeling in England. Else, I am sure, the painfulness & the desolateness of a bereaved & infirm life is not what one could wish, a friend, like you.

I saw the other day a letter from a man resigning work for the same reasons that you do. But his own letter, poor man, was the best proof that the step must be taken at once & for ever--quite the reverse of yours. I could not but say these few words, at the risk of displeasing you, tho' I am not able to
write more today. Otherwise I should have put it off till I could write more. For I have so much I should like to tell you, if I could. You will know that we have been rather in a fever lately, because Ministers were hovering between `in' & `out'. On the whole, we are glad they stay `in'. The Public Health Service is going to be re-organized in India. The reasons connected with the peculiar forms of Indian Government--new to me but not to you who have gone so deeply into Indian Govt which Sir J. Lawrence gives me in two letters--are so curious that I think I shall copy them for you--sometime. Lord de Grey does better for Sir J. Lawrence in these respects than
Sir C. Wood, tho' the latter
was a statesman & Lord
de Grey is not.

Next I should much
like to tell you a long
story about a Bill
which Mr. Villiers
promised us quite
early, in the year for
a London uniform
poor rate for the sick
& consolidated Hospitals
under a central
management. [This was

before we got our Earls
& Archbishops & M.P.s
together to storm him
in his den.] We shall
not get our Bill this
Session for Mr. Villiers
is afraid of losing the
Govt one vote. But
we shall certainly get
it in time. "In 1860,
"The consolations of the future
"never failed me for a
"moment; and I find
them now an equally secure
"resource." Can you guess
who wrote those /illeg/words?
They are in a note
--from Mr. Gladstone,
written the morning
of his speech, on
the Franchise Bill.
Could you have believed
he was so much in
earnest? I could not.
And yet I knew him
very well once.
His speech (he was ill)
impressed the House
very much.
"And e'en the ranks of Tuscany
could scarce forbear to cheer"

I have much to write
in answer to yours--
but not now.
Please burn this.
ever yours
living or dying
F. Nightingale
Ambleside  
May 13/67

Dear friend

It is an immense time since I wrote to you. The reason why is easily told. One does not wish to send dismal letters to invalid friends; & this dreary Spring has been full of anxiety & trouble to us--as to many other people. I will say nothing of family illnesses--very alarming at the time--wh have passed away: & of remaining troubles the only one that I need speak of regards myself chiefly. If there was an old woman in England securely & comfortably provided for in a moderate way, we shd have said it was myself; & now--when I cannot work, nor stir, nor alter my way of living, I find myself likely to be deprived (for the present, with wh alone I have any concern) of nearly two-thirds of my income. It is the Railway panic wh cause this; & a most strange
perplexity it is for a careful body like me. It comes up in my confused & broken nights disagreeably; but we are not much troubled by it by daylight. --And it may not happen, --I being a holder, not of Shares, but of Preferential stock. And I have money enough in bank & in hand till November; & I don't often look so far forward as that. And I cd raise a loan on good security; & I have plenty of friends eager to help me. But I wish to keep my independence, if possible. We all believe that there will be no loss of capital, --that there will be a complete recovery, sooner or later; & if so, my legatees will get what I have left them: but I don't expect, myself to touch either principal or interest. --How many, almost as helpless, are set fast at present, -- & in a worse way, as being shareholders! I have heard of some-widows with young children, spinsters with narrow incomes, old people & the like, who don't know wh way to turn. The anxiety among my family & friends is that I shd not drop the very few things that it is possible to drop, --the Times the {illeg. nurdie box?}, wine, &c & I have promised to go on with them for the six months. By that time, if I am not
past all wants, we shall probably be able to form some notion what we ought to do.

Nobody need fear my attempting to write again. I never wrote (nor suppressed) a line for the sake of money; & I shd certainly not begin now, if ever so able: but I am utterly unable. At least I believe so.--My condition is odd,--& especially in contrast with you--so unable as you are to bear opiates. The bowels continue to be the trouble; & I try in vain to get out of the practice of having two washings-out, & two opiate enemas daily, in addition to all I had before by the mouth. They make me very much more comfortable than I was till my doctor ordered this bold stroke: but I expect to pay for it; & it is a very thin disguise of various failures that I become more & more sensible of. The cold of this strange Spring (not bitter as in the Midland counties) has served me so well that I was ashamed--hearing & seeing how everybody else suffered by it: & now, my turn is coming. With the first warm days, my strength runs out like water from a leak. I hope I may think of it as good for you, --as far as good is yet possible. I have heard
nothing distinct of you for a long time. Julia Smith has been at Liverpool,--amazing my sister,--& in truth overwhelming her--with her energy,--in the schools &c. I hear of her often--always as looking old, worn, & over-energizing. The old story! I have often wondered whether she sees, more or less, that she might do all she does, & more, without wear & tear, if she cd introduce order into her thoughts & ways. But, unhappily, she despises order--steadiness--regularity, as the ways & means of small & low minds,--& bad even for them. But in saying all this I am only groaning over a dismal waste of life & power,--not finding fault. I honour & admire & love her that I can only mourn, & not blame. It is a case of constitutional liability,--so ingrained in her constitution that she wishes to be as she is in regard to that class of conditions. There is something fearful in passing into old age with an incapacity for repose, or even for any stationary form of energy. What an exquisite moral nature hers is!--in my experience one of the most awakening & moving disclosures I have been blessed with in my whole life. I always tell myself that she must have been happier than I can see that she ever has been.
But what am I about to write all this to you who, if it is true, must know it so much better than I can!

How doleful all public affairs have been looking,—abroad & at house! All those mightily religious Governmnts & Courts abroad,—what a temper of heathen barbarism they have been showing, on every possible occasion! And our own hopeless Parliament, & set of public men! But they are the inevitable dregs of the Palmerstonian system & period; & they will be purged out sooner or later. O yes, --where you & I differ it is because you are thinking of one thing (administrative rule) & I of another,—the principles of political conduct:& I certainly think that, with all his charms as a friend, & all his ability & graces as an administrator, Ld P's living so long as he did is a misfortune to the country wh it will take generations to get over.--The regeneration is, however, sure. The worse the disintegration, the helplessness, the laxity now, the sooner will the renovation come; & one begins to see a good head here & there popping up from the chaos. If it does make us ashamed, as Lady Elgin says, to contract the statesmen of the period of Ld Grey's book --with the officials of our day, we see the need
of a return to earnestness, truth & principle
growing so urgent that what we want must
soon arise. The real menace seems to me to be
in the tone of "Society" being, as I am told, so low
in morals & manners, while the Court is so
much better than perhaps ever before, & the middle
& lower classes rising fast. The aristocracy who
consider themselves "Society" had better look to
themselves: but I am told that they will flock
to Willm Brougham when he becomes Lord B, &
that other scoundrels, --not merely profligates
about women, but cheats in money matters,
stand as well as other people when it is in
convenient to see their dark stains.--Well
for all this I am more hopeful than I was
five years since. I believe the national
quality is, on the whole, improving; & I am
confident that the goodness there is--intel
lectual & moral,--will become more & more
available. --I suppose you have not read Lady
Herbert's book ("Impressions of Spain") That is a
puzzle to me,--her denial of the plagiarism.

From what I saw of her when Miss {illeg.}
I understand the rest. But one longs for
him to have had another sort of wife--Yet,
under the circumstances, it was hailed
at the time.--How I have run on!
& now I am dining & writing at once.
Do you savour the boiled beef?--or the
custard?--Cow-keeping & poultry (illeg. dilts?) give
us such custards & other good things!
I hope we shall not have to make
such a change as giving up that.

I met with an odd thing last
week;--a book--& one I was glad
to read--full of sneers at Sanitarians,
--at all of us, & all our ways, & by
an army surgeon, & one who knows
India from end to end. I had read
Dr Rennies' "Peking", & got his "Shoot an
War," & found the latter wonderfully
poorer than the former. I had never
before heard Sanitary action reprobated
en bloc. It was a novelty, if not a very
amusing one.--You must have been
very unhappy about the famine in India.
If I could, I cd tell you such a story

--a glorious story--of the feeding of the
people of Portland (Maine) after their
fire,--saving a multitude of lives,--
all by the organizing faculty of a
Negro of the name of Smith, He
is a great man, in more ways than
one.

Dear friend, I must say
Good-bye, & send this as it is,
--without a glance at it. I
hope I may hear how you go on,
from somebody, some day.--My
household are well. Ever yours
affectionate      H. Martineau
Dear friend

I never thought of your being long in writing. My complaint was against myself—so long as I have been silent after receiving Wm. Rathbone’s book from you.—That book has made, & is making a wide circuit, & I hope it will do some good, by the small portion of it that is practical. He must have a curious sort of mind for so wise a man as he is in some moral regards. The amount of repetition,—of whole paragraphs & pages,—is unaccountable; & so is the apparent unconsciousness that he is proposing a subversion of the social system, without either end or means for replacing it by another. One does not expect him, or any man, to solve the most unmanageable of difficulties; but his apparent unconsciousness of what he is dealing with is very striking. Yet the book may probably do a great deal of good, & can hardly do much
harm; & I am sure, if he stirs up others to anything like his earnest activity on behalf of the sick & suffering, his will have been one of the lives best worth living in our time.

I somehow missed the damning review of the book in the "Pall Mall." He took it so to heart as to make pertinacious inquiry into who wrote it; & at last found it was Wm R. Greg,—his uncle! I can fancy how opposite their notions must be.

Well,—my not writing has been owing partly to its seeming best to wait till after the decisive meeting on the Railway matter but more to my being really so little fit for writing that, unless roused, as today, by being spoken to, I let my silences run on too far. My condition is considerably changed within some months; & I become more & more sensible of head-failure. I am so slow about everything,—have so little ability to read & to converse,—feel so dreamy, & often as if everything was unreal or unaccustomed,—though our life is as monotonous as ever! The more prominent by differences to others are
the constant disorder of the bowels, & the frequent haemorrhage from them. I get great relief, as throughout, by the (now large) opiates & I doubt whether my head wd not be much worse without them:-they do "give tone to the heart", as the Doctors say, & sustain appetite & digestion (in my case) wonderfully: but I feel no sort of doubt that my state is a declining one, both as to bodily strength & faculty. My bad sleep wd confuse any head. I can go to sleep almost any minute; but I cannot keep asleep, & often have 4 or 5 wakings in an hour--owing, I am told, to uneasiness caused by bad circulation. --This is a full account of my condition; & I wish I knew as much of yours,--the more, & not the less, from the painfulness of the little you tell me. When you tell me of keeping your eyes & right hand only, I do hope you don't mean that your ears have failed. I should grieve to think that so terrible & peculiar a loss as that of hearing had been added to your heavy share. What Maria told me of your nights has always remained with me; & when I am most confused by my broken
sleep I always think how much more suffering a night yours has too probably been.

As to the Railway affair,--how cd I have not told you (if writing on the subject at all) which Railway it is! Mrs Arnold is the Great Western--Blanch Clough's & Julia I am told, the Great Eastern, & mine the Brighton;--& so the story runs, all over the kingdom. I was surprised at Midsumm by the usual cash-warrant for £17, due at that date (as also at Xmas) I had forgotten that a small portion of my investment was in Debenture stock--wh has been regularly paid. Except a very small amount in Ordinary stock, the rest of mine is in Preference Stock:--that is, just upon £200 a year. I get no dividend for the last 1/2 year; but the Board seem to expect to pay for the whole year at the end of it. (Practically, in February I don't believe this: & if I live so long, which never seems probable, I shall be well satisfied to get one half-years! I have enough in hand & in bank to carry me on for some months --probably through the year: & we live for wonderfully little, --thanks to Jenny's house-keeping abilities, & the hearty, homelike
affection of my two delightful maids,--who are more like daughters than servants to me. They know all about it; & while we all make ourselves sufficiently comfortable (& they don't suffer in any way) we live for very little. We four women, & the house (not the land, man & livestock) lived for the first half of this year for £92,--including above £6 worth of wine, & other stores. Wages, taxes,--everything, in short,--all for £92! I think it very little. My dress cost 5/4d. We cd not go on long at that rate, however. Almost everybody I know has wanted to help me: but I don't think well of money gifts, & dislike them for myself. Friends want me to make "no difference" in my ways, under this new sort of change: but that is not possible. I must not, & cannot leave off, nor even diminish the wine, the most expensive article; & I don't propose to do so. I have no right to make my health worse: but otherwise, it is impossible to make "no difference" between having a sufficient & an insufficient income. It is
impossible to give, right & left, as I have been in the habit of doing, as a matter of course; & so on. But all this is very different from taking other peoples' money to live upon. Brother Robert understands my feeling about it; & he will lend me what I may want, on good security, & at interest. And he suits me for the purpose because, as a family man, it is proper for him to take interest for his loan,--(if I need one.) I must tell you that I have one money gift in my hands wh it was impossible to refuse,--though I fully expect to return it, with hearty gratitude, for the benefit of somebody else who may then be wanting it. Mr Oc: H. Smith receives, as a creditor of Dr Chapman, half the clear proceeds of the yearly sale of my Comte's "Positive Philosy,"--the other half being mine. In the Spring, "Uncle Oc" sent me the whole proceeds for 1866, with a letter in wh he tried, most ingeniously to make out somehow or other that I ought to have the
whole. I told him I perceived that he had heard of my new trouble about income, & his silence admits it. I could not be so ungracious as to return the £8 odd on the instant: but I told him that it was probable that the difficulty might not recur, in which case he would of course resume his rights. And if I live to receive my dues, my first act will be to replace this money in his hands, for use à la Franklin, or in any way he pleases, of course. It was charmingly imagined & done, & I am very thankful to him. --And here is all I have to tell about my own affairs, --except that Jenny is at Edgbaston, --in fulfilment of my earnest wish that she should be at the Birmingham Festival. It delights me to see how full she is of it; & nothing could be so good for her. Her family are all delighted with her looks & spirits. My sister Ellen's only daughter Harriet is here during Jenny's absence; & a most
charming girl I find her,--not the less but the more charming for having left the Bedford Sq: College with certificat es wh are equivalent to the degree of B. A., in regard to the results of examinations.--Jenny comes home tomorrow week, after the due months' visit, --paid very early for the sake of the festival.

I am full of what you say about India & everything. For years I have held up Sir Bartle Frere (& lady) in "Daily News", & it is a great pleasure now to read what you say of him. In all ways your letter is precious,--& indeed quite an event, --so unexpected as it was. Yet--I am going to burn it. I ought & I must & will: & I am not likely to forget any of it,--failing as I am.

Your Nursing news is always most welcome--Parsee, Australn, & all everywhere. O yes,--let me have your paper on Workhouse Nursing.

With all sympathy, love & reverence yours H. Martineau
35 South Street,  
Park Lane, {printed address:}  
W. Feb /71 &  
Sepr 20/71  

Dear friend  
I was so thankful to have your letter, tho' so long ago.  
I write as soon as it is possible.  
O this year of desolation.  
The one gleam of comfort thro' it all was the rush of all English-speaking people, in all climates & in all longitudes- not the rich & comfortable but the whole mass of hard-working, honest, frugal, stupid people--who have contributed every penny they could so ill spare- women have given the very shoes off their feet, the very suppers out of their children's mouths- not to those of their own creed--not to those of their own way of thinking at all--but to those who suffered most -in this awful War--all, all have given--every man, woman & child above pauperism.
I have been so touched to receive from places I had never even heard of (but which it would take me a day to enumerate) -- from congregations who had seen my "name in a stray London newspaper -- the only paper they had seen" -- as helping in the Relief of the War sufferers -- sums collected by half-pence -- with a long letter to say how they wished the money spent -- from poor hard-working negro congregations in different islands of the West Indies -- poor Congregations of all kinds -- "Puritan" Chapels in my own dear hills National Schools -- Factories -- London dissenting Congregations without a single rich member -- -- London "Ragged Schools" who,

having nothing to give, gave up their only feast in the year that the money might be sent to the orphans in the War "who want it more than we" women's working parties, consisting of the wives of War Office clerks & the like, who have to keep up a good appearance on £120 or £150 a year & who keep no servant. [I have known one at least of these women who, when I sent her game & wine, almost the only thing I could make her accept, cooked the game with her own hands for her poorer sick neighbours] on this War occasion they sent us quantities of valuable warm clothing for the War sufferers -- & poorer women still gave their
work & refused to be paid
for it.

They gave to the sick & the suffering
of whom they know nothing but
by hearsay--gave, knowing that
they should receive nothing again--
gave to replace in their ruined
homes as far & as fast as possible
the people of villages utterly laid
waste--some of the most industrious
in the world--whose tools, beasts,
corn, kitchen pots & pans, the
very floors & wood-work of their
shattered houses, were all, all
gone--gave to enable these poor
people to return to their work,
to their former lives, as quickly as
possible.

signed letter, ff318-21, pen black-edged stationery [8:632-34]
I cannot retrace this wearing, tearing subject.
Let me send you this unfinished scrap, merely to show how often you have been in my working thoughts.
I hear a rather better account of you.
Let me hope that it continues to be true.
I came here because I do not like, as long as it is possible, not to see my father & mother, by being in the same house with them And I was glad to be here this time, because our good housekeeper, Mrs. Watson, who, with her husband, the butler, & her son, a lame boy, now aged 21, has lived with my father & mother, in a patriarchal sort of way, much above that number of years.

has died here, after a few days' illness--tho' she had been ailing for 3 years How little I thought she would have gone before me! How I remember her tears & kisses of welcome, the first person who spied me 15 years ago, when I returned from the Crimea!
She was sitting beside me here one Sunday last month. The next Sunday she was buried! Her loss to my parents is almost greater than they know themselves--the Sovereigns are not strong enough to bear great changes. All the villages round turned out to see her coffin go by--my father's carriage following with Aunt Julia & all the servants--besides of course, her own family.
I used to think always of her as a real "mother in Israel" She had brought up half the girls in Hampshire & here as domestic servants. Three of my four maids I had from her.
And all of her bringing up were so unlike other people in their high principle & true feeling. Aunt Julia does a wonderful deal, and I hope is very happy. I believe, (like you), she might do more at less cost to herself. But this I think would be cruel to express.

Madame Mohl is gone back to Paris--he who has been in Germany too. He writes: "my opinion is "more & more that these stupid governments (German) have missed a good & very rare opportunity of reforming the R. Catholic Church & getting rid of the Jesuits, the celibacy of priests, and a cart-load of fetishism. XXX "and now there is all over Germany a devil's kettle boiling of Prussian supremacy & impertinence--of anti-prussian feeling in the South, in Hanover & Hesse--of Catholic quarrels,--of discontent about excessive taxation for armies, and of fear
of a new French War. Bismark is stirring this infernal broth, corrupting or intimidating Ministers and his underlings are very active in paying newspapers. They have abundant means from the French contributions & from the confiscated estates of the King of Hanover & the Elector of Hesse. The chance of Germany is in the antagonism of the South against Prussia; they may do one another much good, just as the English & Scotch have done much good one to the other, --only the Southern must defend themselves against being swallowed by this poor, methodical, rapacious, calculating & very laborious race in the North. xx

"Bismark is a man of strong common sense, with no depth or delicacy of mind, not at all pedantic nor troubled with a conscience, not of Prussian essence (except that he is rapacious)
"he is like one of those barbaric kings one reads of, pleasant in conversation, easy in manner, no 'faiseur de difficultés', an audacious & calculating gambler in state affairs & war."

I have sent you some of M. Mohl's lucubrations--they are better worth sending than mine. And yet I think I have some to send you, especially about India. It seems unnatural to let so long a gap of intercourse intervene. I hope to be able not to let it again do so. [The Crown Princess came to see me in London. & let me tell her a good deal of the "behind the scenes" of Prussian Ambulance-work.]

I do like her so very much--& twice as much now that she is really worn & ripened by genuine hard work & anxiety]

But I must stop  If you are so good as to write to me, write

to the old address in London, 35 South St.
in great press of business & illness but ever yours, dear friend

Florence Nightingale

We hear from my aunt Octavius Smith (at Ardtarnish in Scotland). You know she is a "widow indeed." Her health seems reviving in her care for others--& for the little "grand-bab"--tho' sometimes she says: 'it is a hard matter to live'.

f320v

f321
Add Mss 45789 214 folios, 19 pages, miscellaneous correspondence, Adam Matthew reel 26

ff1-57 typed copies of correspondence with Rev Mother Moore at Bermondsey, ff58-99 corr with Irby
ff100-169 with Carpenter and miscellaneous
ff170-214 corr with Mme Schwabe, Schwabe letters hard to read and some cross-written;

ff1-3 Letter 7 July 1856
f4 Letter 1 December 1856, but Convent letter 3 folios longer
f5 Letter 5 January 1857
ff6-8 letter 26 January 1857
f9 letter 17 May 1858
f10 Letter 18 May 1858
ff11-12 letter 21 October 1863
ff13-16 letter 15 December 1863
ff17-20 letter 24 December 1863
ff21-22 letter 3 January 1864
f23 letter 20 January 1864
f24 letter 3 February 1864
ff25-26 letter 21 June 1864
ff27-29 letter 3 September 1864
f30 letter 24 September 1864
ff31-33 letter 31 October 1864
ff34-35 letter 9 January 1865
f36 letter 23 January 1865
ff37-38 letter 23 January 1865
ff39-42 letter 3 February 1865
ff43-44 letter 28 February 1865
ff45-46 letter 11 March 1865
ff47-48 letter 3 July 1865
f49 note 4 December 1865
f50 Holy Thursday 1866
ff51-52 letter 1 March 1867
ff54 letter 20 February 1868
ff55-57 letter 8 September 1868

Irby correspondence

ff58-59v, Algiers, January 5, 1870 from A.P. Irby, about schools, mostly written in German

ff60-61, [27 December 1869] from Maria Burger, from Kaiserswerth to Miss Irby re schools. Yesterday only I got your letter. I was so happy to know at last where you stay and what is your address. I will answer at once. I got the books and found the box, but I never knew from what place they came, so I presumed you wished to stay a perfect anonymous. I even venture to write in English, it seems so strange to write to you in German and if the old stumbling blocks make you laugh, perhaps you are not over merry and
it will do you good. I have not the slightest idea how you came to be in Africa, I suppose you shall go all round the world before many years more have passed. I made a journey too in autumn but only to Bavaria, to see my sisters and brothers in their homes, at last I had only one week left to spend with my parents at Munich. Since I returned we have been at our old work...

Hausordnung. It is done after the consecration, one day or two after it, by the sisters newly received. But it was never meant to be a secret and I wonder how the lady can fancy that in the ceremony of the consecration is included simple promises of obedience to our director and of conforming to the Hausordnung. Now Mr Fliedner thought as it seems to me this promise would be more impressed in certain minds if they put their own names under the book (one exemplary with many white leaves at the end which is carefully kept). It was an opp more to see them after the consecration and before they left Kai again for their different fields of labour. You have seen enough of the busy agitated life here to know how highly personal interviews are valued by everyone. Mr Fliedner was very fond of all his sisters and that list of their names, written by themselves, was precious to him. With deep pain and with many a sigh I saw him efface the name of such a one as had left the est in an unkind manner. I have signed the Hausordnung too, of course, it did not appear to me to be a very important act, far less a illeg.

ff62-64v, Agnam, (Slavia Zagreb) January 5, 1876 from Miss Irby with news of a trip and conditions in Croatia

ff65-66v, Neu Gradishka, February 9, [1875], from Miss Irby asking for a letter, and telling of her work

ff67-68, Wimbledon, February 14, 1876 from H. Sandwith to Miss Irby informing her of money that has been raised for her work

ff69-70, February 16, 1876, with more details about the money raised for Bosnian refugees letter of H. Sandwith to Irby, re money for, FN comment in red pencil: I could not have believed in the existence of such an idiot!

ff71-78v, Pakratz in Province of Slavonia, February 28, from Miss Irby to FN, regretting not having received a letter from her, and sending a report of her work and conditions in the area, with underlinings and FN comment f76: Before she said “I saw at once that was the man.”

ff79-80v, March 10, 1876 describing difficulties about blankets

ff81-82v, April 1, to FN, thanking her for advice and describing her activities

ff83-84v, Leipzig, October 11, 1876, with details about her trip to Bosnia

ff85-88v, Pakratz, December 3, 1876, with information of the state of affairs in Serbia and with Bosnian refugees. I am grateful for your kind
words of 24th. Good illeg ...

ff89-90v, December 5, 1876, thanking FN for something sent through her and explaining difficulties with customs duties. It is the greatest honour to have anything sent through you and I thank you ever and ever. But that you shall be burdened and troubled with anything illeg is an intolerable pain to me.

I often wish I were illeg with your mother for I illeg say aloud to her

ff91-93v, Alt. Gradiska, December 12, 1876, reporting on her work and travels, Irby to FN

ff94-95v, Knin, May 4, 1879, thanking FN for her letter (missing), and telling of the work in Dalmatia, FN red underlining

ff96-97v, G Shaw Lefevre, 18 Bryanston Square, January 18, 1879, to Miss Irby from her cousin describing efforts made to obtain help for the Bosnian refugees

ff98-99, Christ Church, Oxford, February 20, 1879 to Miss Irby from H.P. Liddon describing his efforts to gain assistance for her work from the Bishop.

I am greatly indebted to you for your kind letter. As soon as I can do so, I will write to Bishop Strossmayer and will ask him to do what he can to protect your work. I shall however promote this object better if I ask Mr Gladstone to say the same thing to the bishop. Mr Gladstone is often in corr with him on political subjects and an incidental remark of this kind in one of his letters wd, I do not doubt, have weight.

When Mr Macl [illeg] and I visited the bishop in 1876, he spoke with great and I thought very sincere admiration of your work. He is, I suppose, in a very difficult position, both politically and illeg. His religious sympathies are much more generous than are generally found in the high places of the Church of Rome, and he is of course regarded with more or less disfavour by the official Hungarians. If he does not do all that we cd wish, we must make allowances, I suppose that the new R.C. arrs in Bosnia have been issued directly from Vienna or from Rome. You yourself ought to provoke no opposition in any quarter, as your work lies illeg the path of rival churches while it achieves results which all might be thankful to recognize and promote as truly philanthropic and Christian.

During my short Christmas holyday I paid Mr Freeman a visit and was glad to find him much more like his old self. ...
Carpenter correspondence f100-

ff100-01, Government House, Calcutta, January 8, 1867 to FN from Mary Carpenter, telling her of her kind reception by the Governor General and her efforts re education and nursing in India. I cannot leave this place which I do tomorrow without telling you how very kindly I have been recd here by Sir John & Lady Lawrence. My being recd there has been I am sure a very important step as it has shown sympathy with the objects to which I have directed my attention. I send herewith a paper which will show you what I have been attending to....

The grand and illeg want now is a number of kind hearted educated Christian women who will go without any prompting effort to India to work among the natives such are rare but I am persuaded that they may be found. Will you kindly mention this as you have opportunity, or I shall hope on my return to have a commission to send lady supts and trained mistresses for normal schools. By my going out at my own expence and unconnected with any society has produced a great effect on native gentlemen and ladies, and I have been recd by them with the greatest kindness and gratitude.

I shall henceforth do all in my power for India. Will you accept my wishes that this new year may be a better one to you.

ff102-02v, Red Lodge House, Bristol, May 11, 1867, enclosing a pamphlet describing her efforts re nursing in India and offering to see FN. The accompanying pamphlet will give you a brief summary of my work. I wish that you cd stimulate your workers to send their training for nurses to poor India!

I am going to town by an early train on Sunday morning for a second interview with Sir S. Northcott. I hope to leave the same day. If you wish to see me re India, I will arrange to call on you if you tell me the time but do not trouble yourself to write otherwise.

My journey to India has infinitely surpassed in worth all my highest expectations and I thank God for having given me strength.

ff103, front page of pamphlet by Mary Carpenter

ff104-05, Bristol, June 2, 1867, thanking FN for her letter, and describing the lack of nursing in India

Thanks for your letter. Be assured that I never think you neglectful for not answering letters, being fully aware that you are always working above your strength.

I am well aware that you have long turned your attention to India, and doubtless your efforts have produced valuable fruit. But I have seen no effort to train nurses, and there is a universal want of any decent nurses in the hospitals &c. I believe illegs

I shall be at 24 Regent St on Wed morning about 3 and shall not leave until Friday morning. If you shd wish to hear anything from illeg writings, will you send me a line to that effect. It wd give me much pleasure to call on you, but wd not wish to do so if you are not equal to it.

ff106-06v, 24 Regent Street, June 5, 1867, arranging to visit FN to talk
ff107-07v, with more details about her schedule

ff108-09, June 7, 1867 about her efforts to promote nurse training in India

After my pleasant and I hope useful interview with you, I saw the Hindu and Parsee gentlemen who were very glad to hear of the possibility of a nurse training institution at Bombay. They would much like to see what in London and would be most happy to have an interview on the subject with you before leaving for India.

I had also an interview with Sir Bartle Frere in the course of which I mentioned the subject. He was much interested and asked me if her thought you wd permit him to call respecting it. I told him that I wd mention the matter to you. He and Lady Freer wd be the very best persons to communicate with.

A letter written to him at the India Office will always find him.

F109 Will you allow me to say how much pleasure I felt in becoming personally acquainted with one whom I have so long esteemed. My sister Mrs Herbert Thomas, whom you know as Miss Anna Carpenter at Mrs Nicholson’s in your childhood is also very happy to hear of you.

ff110-11, Bristol, July 30, 1867, regretting that Dadabhai Naoroji cannot see FN at the time and telling of her offer to go out to India to establish female normal schools. Carpenter calls Dadabha Naorji her friend. Since FN cannot see two, he yields to his friend, who is about to return to Bombay, hopes she can see him another time, he is remarkably superior

f112, August 15, 1867 asking to see FN before her departure

f113, August 15, 1867 confirming her appointment with FN

f114-14v, August 18, 1867 advising FN of her next visit to London and her wish to see FN

f115-16v, August 20, 1867, thanking FN for her letter (missing), and sending information, re a normal school

f117, 24 Regent Street, August 21, 1867, arranging an appointment with FN

ff118-19v, Bristol, August 30, 1867, acknowledging the need for trained nurses and her inability to divert her energies from her educational interests

While in India, my attention was very painfully drawn to the condition of the patient sin hospitals and infirmaries, owing to the general want of efficient nurses. I have heard medical men express their sense of this want very strongly. It seems impossible to supply this want except by the establishment of some training institutions for nurses, or the introduction of some experienced matrons or nurses into a well organised hospital, where, under the direction of the physicians, and perhaps a small committee of ladies, native women might be trained to nursing.
You are aware that my own efforts are directed to another object, which most fully absorbs them. Yet this is so imperative an object that I cannot be believe that when the want is known, many ladies may be found illeg to take it up especially if they have the benefit of your direction and cooperation.

I propose bring forward this subject at Belfast and shall be very much obliged by your informing me what course you wd recommend and in what way you wd be able to give aid from the institutions bearing your name.

I do not apologise for thus troubling you, though I know how much you are overwhelmed with business, because I well know your deep interest in India.

ff120-21v, London, September 14 [1867], HBC draft to Mary Carpenter re nursing education in India

In reply to letter of Aug 30 &c at present in communication with govt of India but glad these questions taken up by private persons &c

I shall be always glad to assist the efforts by training supts under conditions laid down by the N Fund. Wd have entered more into detail as to methods but no data for India.

Any private effort in India wd be only tentative and subsequent organizeaton wd be based on experience thus gained &c &c

Nothing surprise more than illeg theories people put forward without knowing &c.

Repeat ready to assist any such effort in manner stated to the extent of means of Fund now,,,,

Additional probationers on payment, if find material suitable ... our great difficulty ...

ff122, {September 15 [1867] HBC draft stressing the necessity for government action in order to achieve reforms.

My notion is that no good is to be done in the way proposed except thro’ the govt, that advice thrown adrift at the meeting to be taken up by volunteers might induce misdirected efforts which mt embarrass your present negotiations or relations (whatever they may be called) with govt and cd in themselves lead to nothing.

In answering the letter I shd propose to state in very few words the general principles upon which alone the system cd be improved, adding illeg that, as far as your knowledge of India goes, you consider it impossible to carry out any reform except thro’ govt.

If this meets your views I will draft a letter, or follow any other suggestions I may find in your already written letter.

ff123-24, Bristol, September 17, 1867, to FN from Mary Carpenter explaining her inability to act. Many thanks for your letter (missing) which is really right and for your kind thought in copying them. It happens most unfortunately that a ... Mr Furdoonji is most gratified by your letters which I sent

ff125-25v, October 20, 1867, sending the proposals about India she will discuss with Sir S. Northcote
I ought to have written on this to tell you that I sowed seed in Belfast and Dublin and found the soil ready. That is as much as can be done at present, until my own plans are more formed, and ...

I am devoted to India.

On Wednesday Oct 30 I shall have an interview with Sir S Northcote. I send herewith my proposals. I am not aware whether he has yet come to town and seen them so mark them private. I shall hope that you will have half an hour for me on Thursday or Friday.

f126, October 30, 1867, asking FN to state when she could come to see her

ff127-28, February 5, 1868 requesting that FN see Dr Hunter and his wife

ff129-30, February 4 [1868], Ruislip Vicarage, nr Uxbridge. from Dr Hunter to Mary Carpenter expressing his willingness to establish a training school for nurses in Bombay and to see FN.

I was glad to receive your letter and shall be happy to render any assistance I can in establishing a nurses training inst in Bombay The want of well trained nurses in our hospitals is very much felt as I think I mentioned to you earlier in Bombay. If you will kindly forward me a letter for Miss Florence Nightingale I will take an early opp of calling on he. As Mrs H and I leave by the Marseilles steamer of 18 illeg, our time is very short. If you could conveniently hurry to reply to this letter by return ... I could call on Miss Nightingale on Thursday. Mrs Hunter....

f131, February 5, from Mary Carpenter to FN, a letter of introduction of Dr Hunter

f132, Thursday [February 6, 1868 from Dr Hunter to FN fixing the time of his appointment with her that aft

ff133v-34, June 8, 1868, from Mary Carpenter to FN, asking for an appointment to see FN and expressing the conviction that they can proceed without government help

f135, printed notice of a meeting Mary Carpenter will address on Education and Reformatory Treatment in India

f136, 24 Regent Street, London, asking for an appointment with FN

ff137-38v, Bristol, August, 1868, informing FN of her departure for India and her desire to know the situation of the training affair in Bombay

f139, printed notice of a paper on the jails of India read by Mary Carpenter and a motion passed

ff140-41, printed piece about female education

f142, 24 Regent Street, October 15, 1860, thanks for packet, informing FN that a copy of her paper at Bristol will be sent to FN
Add Mss 45789

ff143-44, printed article
f145-46, Red Lodge House October 24, 1860, from Mary Carpenter re prison conditions

f147-48v, December 19, 1868, Malabar Hill, Bombay, explaining Mrs Hunter’s plan to start training independently of government and outlining her own program of finding out what the natives want

f149-49v, July 26, 1869, 24 Regent Street, expressing concern about FN’s health and thankfulness for her own restored health

f150-51, August 5, 1869, printed letter re Conference of ladies interested in questions, at Bristol, from Edwin Pears, gen sec, National Association for the Promotion of Social Science

f151, Miss Nightingale (written on back of above)

f152-53v, August 10, 1869, illeg, from Mary Carpenter enclosing information about the conference and her imminent return to India. I hope that you are now getting rested and refreshed. I am looking forward to returning to India in October after the Social Sc Assoc, which is to be held in Bristol this year, as you will see by the enclosed. I think that such a branch of the assoc will be very important; it will certainly be a great help to me in India to know where I can refer for information respecting the various depts now so illeg increasing of sufficient and intelligent woman’s work. To inform some of this into India is my grand central idea, but as it must be introduced solely in the way of sympathy and friendship, without any possibility of suspicion on the part of the natives of interference with their secret habits or of ulterior motives, such as proselytism or of the government of illeg. The whole thing is surrounded with difficulties but I feel so clear that my object is right that it is comprehended and believed in by the intelligent natives with whom I have come in contact that I do not hesitate in going again and think it but to be illeg rather bring on myself hindrance from professed helpers.

To return to my prospectus or invitation to ladies of course I do not suppose that you can take any part, but it will be a pleasure and benefit if you will send me a few lines of sympathy which I may read to the ladies and any reports &c which you may think useful [red FN und] Those you sent me on going to India I lent and your illeg

f154, September 24, 1869, Bristol, asking for any papers which would explain the Women’s Training Institution. I trust that you are renovated by your absence. Do spare yourself as much as possible. Your life is very precious!

Your spirit will be with us in our conf. Please let me have one time to say so. And will you send me any papers which will explain the plans of your Nurses Training Inst.

f155, September 27, 1869, thanking FN for her notes and documents and asking her to have them printed. Many thanks for your loving notes and documents. I shall lay them with pleasure before our ladies’ conference.
Miss Mereweather will ably develop that work.
   Will you not print in a separate for illeg.

f156, May 1, 1870, asking for an appointment to see FN I am going to London on Tuesday and hope that you may be able to appoint a time to see me after Wednesday. I have so much to ask and to tell you!

f157, May 4, 24 Regent Street, expressing regret at FN’s state of health and hoping she would be well enough to see her the next week. Thanks for your welcome! I am very sorry that you are suffering more. I am staying through part of next week and hope you may be able to let me know that you are well enough to see me. Yours affectionately

ff158-59, May 10, fixing a time to see FN and sending her an outline of an address she had given

ff160-61v, July 31, 1870, Bristol, expressing regret at not seeing FN in London and asking FN for her support for the Association

ff162-63, September 5, 1870, expressing thankfulness that “this horrible slaughter” is over and acknowledging FN’s influence in alleviating distress. Our time to sympathize with you in thankfulness that this horrible slaughter is illeg stopped and the authors of it safe from doing further mischief. I shd not have written before of anything else but so habitually withdrawn my mind from the dreadful subject that I forgot that you must be absorbed in it. I doubt not that you have ben privileged to be the means of having organized such means as exist of alteration. Our dear principles! How delightfully they have been helping. When you have time I shall be anxious to hear that you are not overdone. Your life is precious!
Miss Carpenter
May 15/76
Nursing in India
Calcutta Hospital good
“a lady from us”!
Madras Training School
for Normal Schoolmistresses
natives good
Miss Marter: native Christians reformed Middlesex Hospl
always more “great talent for organization” civilized
laid up for 2 years ill
took with one English Assistant
Nursing at Hospl: Madras [9:979]
Nurse training Eurasian women only
poor sick women: before no nursing
so delightful with Miss Marter’s kindness. good (they speak English)
Miss Carpenter wd write to her
to ask if she will send one to St. T.’s:
to be trained
Choultra Nugu: Madras: Workhouse orphan dept
Dr. & Supt both Eurasians no Matron
train Eurasian women from without for 6 months
on beds in sick Dept: (do not live in building)
then they have 6 months in Lying-in Hospl
also no Matron
then certificated & go out as Nurses [end 9:979]
get 60 or 70 rupees
Bombay: Dr. Hunter: trains Eurasian women [9:979]
Add Mss 45789

f165v

Begum of Bhopal
founded a female Hospl
memory of P. of W.’s visit [end 9:979]
asked an American Medical woman
to be Doctress
but she asked 700 a month: & was bumptious
Baroda Mr. & Mrs. female Dept to Hospl
Melville
young
Guikwar [?]
well brought
up
Sir Salas Jung  first of Mahometans
Sir Madhava Rao  first of Hindoos
Gaols everywhere better than Hospls
but at Dacca very bad:
Dacca falling off never will be a Liverpool
Kurachee will
W.C.’s mere Cess pits in Women’s apartments
smell atrocious
European Officials’ ladies made ill by it
husbands won’t let them visit
Dr. Hunter
Miss Carpenter’s branch Commee } all speak English
at Bombay Dacca (not Baroda
Hyderabad in Sind Kurrachee gave these
Poona Lecture on
Allahabad Voluntary
Benares effort in
Madras benevolence
Calcutta in England

ff166, {no date} from Mary Carpenter to illeg saying she cannot go out due to a cold
Oh facts - oh facts now let facts
be ours. not disquisitions on the
‘eternal fitnesses’ but what is the fact
what is the truth of facts - what is
to be made into facts; Facts are God’s
opinions
are men’s & especially women’s
‘Ei dice cose’ – as some one said of
M. Angelo’s sonnets.
My prayer is that we may all speak &
hear ‘cose’. O how weary are words, not
things - phrases, not facts.
How weary those ‘Opinions’ of
‘representative women on Women’s
suffrage. ‘Opinions’ indeed
Not a fact, not a thing - no ‘cose’
among them. If anything could
convince me that women are not
fit for the suffrage, they have done
it themselves. That is a ‘thing’,
Are these the women to ‘represent’
us? What do they represent?
Bosh.
I want something to take the
taste out of my mouth
And I find it - in your work -
The phrases of Govt in face of India’s
miserable realities do the whole
mischief.
Madam

Mrs. Jameson was a writer, not a worker. She is also dead. No “society of Protestant ‘Sisters of Charity” exists or has existed, as “proposed” by her, in England.

I am overwhelmed by illness, by business, by heavy affliction. And it is quite impossible to me, either now or ever, to write you a treatise upon German Protestant ‘Deaconesses’

I would advise you to write to my dear friend Pastor Fliedner, Diakonnissen Anstalt, Kaiserswerth am Rhein, Düsseldorf, who is the father of all Deaconess Institutions.

In Germany.

In England I would advise you to write to Miss Jones, the Lady Superintendent of Nursing Sisters (St. John’s House) who nurse that Hospital.

Or, rather, I would, if I may, advise you not to write at all — for these persons are as much overwhelmed with business as myself, as all workers must be — and to put off your researches till you can undertake them in person.

For if you are intending to work & not merely to write, it
would be impossible that any
writing of ours could help you –
or anything but seeing the
actual works.

Florence Nightingale

London
August 7/61
The “Maison Mère” of the
Catholic “Béguines” exists at Ghent,
as you are doubtless aware.

{in another hand}

ansd Aug 12/61
Miss M. Fischer
Copenhagen
information as
to Deaconesses
in Germany

signed letter, ff170-71v, pen [7:325-26]

For Mme Schwabe
Sister Eleanora Cordero, the
Supérieure of the “Sisters of Charity”
of the Sardinian Army in the
Crimea, and since of the Educational
“Sisters of Charity” at Sienna –
whom I mentioned to Mme Schwabe –
is now at Paris for a short
time
Maison Mère des Soeurs de
Charité
Rue du Bac.

She says
that they have 200 children
& more in their house at Sienna
– but are almost without resources
– Sienna is so poor – that, without
me, she could not have given
them “soupe et quelques vêtemens”
f170v

She is trying to establish for "demoiselles" a "paying class" - both to give education to those so lamentably deficient in it & to give them some means for carrying on the education of the poor.

They tried to raise 3000 fr. in Sienna for necessary repairs; they can only raise 1000 fr. And therefore obliged to give it up even this project.

Of all the persons I ever saw, Eleanora Cordero is the most fit for educating Italians. I thought that, if Mme Schwabe has raised money - some might most fitly go to her. And for this purpose I would subscribe 50.

f171

Mme Schwabe must not forget that "Sisters of Charity" cannot go where they like. E.g. Soeur Cordero must stay at Sienna: but what they do is (judiciously) left much to themselves. E.g. They may extend their work among the poor, among the rich, among the young & old, as they find means.

S. Cordero is now (at Paris), arranging affairs with her Superiors - And anything that can be done from here must be done quickly.

P.S. I cannot conceive that any scheme of Italian national education can succeed, except it is supported by Government. We must know what the Italian
Govt means to originate, and
work with it, if at all -
E.g. they may think the Sisters
of Charity too papal, though
I do not think so - But I
regret to see that the tie
between the “Maison Mère” at
Paris & the branches, even in
Italy, is are being closer drawn -
For undeniably the “Maison Mère”
at Turin had better be independent.
For it is Catholic, without being papal.
F. Nightingale
Aug 7/61
{in another hand}
Sent the Substance of this to
Mme Salis Schwabe
Rhodes House
Middleton Manchester Aug 9/61 - illeg

ff172-73v, August 9, 1861, Sienna Maison Centrale, from Sister Eleanora
Cordero, to Mlle in French with thanks for assistance received

ff174-75v, {no date}, Glyn Garth w Bangor North Wales, from J.S. Schwabe, a
letter to be lithographed and sent with the circulars asking for support
for the “poor and ignorant” in Italy

ff176-77v, August 8, 1861, Turin, extract from a letter of Mde Matencie re
the state of affairs in Italy

ff178-79v, printed. General Garibaldi Address to the Women of Italy

ff180-80v, handwritten note on Garibaldi’s address to women of Italy

ff181-81v, envelope addressed to Samuel Smith, Combe Hurst, Kingston Hill,
W London, postmarked D BANGOR 23 AU 61 and LONDON S.W. D7 AU 29 61
handwritten on back: For Miss Nightingale with Mme Schwabe’s kind regards,
kindly to be returned at a convenient time

ff182-85v, July 14, [Albisetti says 1866, archivist [1862]], 8 Clarges
Street, from Mme Schwabe asking for FN’s name on a circular in support of
help for Austrian and Prussian wounded. Although my thoughts have been and
are often with you, it is with reluctance that I trouble you with a note. I
find however your sympathies are so strongly with what I am trying to do at
present that I cannot refrain from asking a question which I trust you will
only answer with a simple yes or no, for whilst it be the latter, though I
shd regret it, I shd feel convinced without any further expl that it is not
want of sympathy but that you have some good reason why you do not add your
influential name for good, on the enclosed circular which I wish to get
printed still today if possible, as speedy help in this cause is double
I have suffered much of late for this time I have been not merely harassed by my thoughts of poor Italy which I love so much but also by the painful accounts I receive from my poor fatherland. My son in law Dr Carl illeg an excellent young man is with the Prussian troops since the 30th of May, thank God to heal wounds instead of inflicting them. He is at the head of an hosp with several young doctors as his assistants. The govt does all that it can for their poor sick and wounded, both Prussian and Austrian sufferers fare alike with them (There are great numbers of wounded Austrians illeg Prussians are) but the number of the sufferers are so unexpected, so overwhelmingly great, that the doctors are short of many things and private help is needful. In Germany the ladies are all busy in collecting and sending slings to the battle field. The only comfort I can find in my depressed state of mind is if I with others try to send also some little help from here to the poor victims of such illeg policy. The Lady Shaftesbury has united on a former occasion with me for a similar object. I begged her to unite again with me, which she has willingly done. I enclose draft of a circular we have drawn up to which Lord Lyell, Mrs Lyell, Miss Goldschmid (Sir illeg) Mrs Roberts have added with Lady Sh and myself their names. As your name wd bring I believe a greater number of active sympathizers than any other, I wish to ask whether you have any objection to associate with us. I may add we have no committee, no meetings and you wd have no trouble beyond sending perhaps some of those circulars (which shall be sent to you ready folded up in envelopes) to some of your friends who you think wd like to help and to receive the things wh may be sent to your house and for which I wd send once or twice a week. I shd try as much as it lies in my power to get all we have in hands abroad where it wd be so administered as to do most good, and if you have to tender any advice I shd but be too thankful. When you see your brother in law Sir Harry Verney who used to have great [?] German sympathies I shd feel obliged if you wd tell him that I shd be most pleased if he wd call here. I shd ave called upon your sister, but I am certain they are residing at present in the country. I have recd 4 letters from different parts of Germany, Saxony, Bohemia, Silesia which I believe wd interest him and the contents of which he cd convey to you. Believe me dear Miss Nightingale with most affection and deep sympathy ever sincerely yours [good letter, FN gets details of defects]
feel grieved to have appeared so inconsiderate, but you will now understand and forgive me. The young Hungarian, whose letter you sent by him to me, seemed an honest well meaning young man and I believe I have succeeded in doing for him what he required. Altho I am also at times a little overworked I shall always rejoice if you can make me useful and pray do not hesitate in doing so whenever opportunities offer.

I fully approve of your address not being published and thought at the time the pub of that letter a great indiscretion. Unless done by your special desire. If you think there are things we shd buy and send instead of forwarding money from here pray let me know.

I have recd today again painfully interesting letters from Rome and Breslau. The Austrians left on several battlefields their sick and wounded, but you will rejoice to hear that I learn from authentic sources that they are nursed and treated with the same tender care as the Prussians--my son in law is now in a hosp near Koeniggratz with several hundred wounded under his charge. He is an excellent and clever young man and if you wish me to draw attention to anything that may benefit the poor sufferers, I shall be happy to do so. If you wish to see any of the letters, they are at your disposal, but some are German and if you ask Sir Harry Verney to call here I can read them to him to communicate the contents to you. ..
ff188-89v, July 24, sending FN tickets for her friends and explaining she is waiting for an answer from Lady Shaftesbury

ff190-90v, July 26, [1866], thanking FN for a donation, explaining she expects an advertisement to appear in the papers and that she has sent money to Germany

unsigned notes, f191v, pencil

ff191v

pay

Prussia
made Hamburg 36000
Hanover (city) 150000

ff192-98, July 26, 1866, explaining how she has distributed funds and other necessities in Germany and the efforts made to achieve a union between the charitable associations

ff199-204v, [end of July 1866], explaining why she had not communicated more fully with FN and continuing with an account of her activities

ff205-10v, September 3, [1866], from Mme Schwabe thanking FN for her letter and detailing her activities for the relief of suffering in Germany and Italy

ff211-12v, September 19, 1866, thanking FN for news of Princess Louise’s activities and providing a forwarding address

ff213-14v, September 27, 1866, thanking FN for her letter and enclosure and explaining what she had done about it
On Saturday afternoon we weighed anchor, & left the harbour of Alexandria to run clear beautiful solemn Egypt we had bidden adieu when we left the Nile - but I was almost as sorry to leave adieu to Arabia - we had a head sea against us & made our way till Tuesday morning, when I scrambled on deck to see the snowy mountains of lovely Crete, glorious Mt Ida with her virgin head against the sky - Cythera (how dignified with the ugly name of Cerigo) we passed soon after - & in the evening we made Cape Matapan - & the Coast of Messenia, but it was too misty. In the morning we were off Clarenza (from which our D. of Clarence takes his name' & on the other side of us Zante, with that beautiful little city lying along the shore in such a position. Monte Oleno in the Peloponnesus & Mt. Parnassus behind even plain
ly visible, capped with snow. I doubt whether any one ever first saw that graceful outline, those lovely mountains without feeling my Greece, my home, instead of looking upon it as a mere panorama. I think the outlines of a country speak so much of the character of its inhabitants. the square corners of the Egyptian ridges speak of the love of law - of order and the love of Philosophy on and drawing conclusions - the exquisite grace-fulness of those peaks of Greece, in which there is nothing savage; (even when crowned with snow), as in Switzerland - but only variety, endless variety, speak of the love of Beauty & Liberty, not for the sake of a fierce & rugged independence, but because it is beautiful. The mountains don't look like a ridge or a barrier along the shore to keep out other nations, but they run far inland & seem to invite you in, as long as you do not
molest what they love. We steered between Cefalonia & Ithaca, saw the place where Penelope came down to the sea - passed the Lover's Leap in Leucadia & came into smooth water among these islands. It was a dull day, but they are bright & glowing even in a mist - & the vines & cypresses looked warm. We passed between Actium & Paxoi - & the sun set upon Parga, miserable Parga, in which there is now not a Xtian left, an exquisite little town, crowning a ℗ rock on the sea shore. All the line of coast & of villages was lighted up - & oh the beauty of those Albanian hills in the evening light. But it was too cold to stay on deck - & it was not till the lights of Corfu brought us up again to see the approach into the harbour at midnight that we came. That is a beautiful approach Straight for the beacon
stern Straight for the high land
I shall always think of, when I
think of the light on that rock
as we steamed merrily in, the
sea flashing with phosphorus
at every stroke we made - so
that we quite lighted up the
water. At Corfu all was done
for us that could be done to
enable us to land. Mr. B knew
the Master of the Port, & he de-
clared he cd do nothing for us &
so on we went, & saw no more
land till we made Trieste on
Saturday morning.

Now, what made the fable of
the Corbeau & the Renard trot
in my head continually, who have
certainly not read it these forty
years- I see before me the
Corbeau perchéd not upon a branch
but upon a chair, nay, I see
four Corbeaux all perchés upon
chairs- & (I have the gift of
prophecy as well as of memory)
to morrow I shall see five - and
Maitre Renard, La Fontaine wrote
Maitre, but that was a mistake, one should write Maitresse, Maitresse Renard flatters them so well, & the poor amiable, as I must say the vain & simple Corbeaux let themselves be "plumer". And the best of it is that each of the four Corbeaux laughs aux éclats at the three others. What the fromage is the Renard knows better than I but she seems to care for it very much. People do well to teach fables to stupid children - who believe in them tout bonnement - then, in their old age, they make the application, like me -

Now the application of this fable is, my dear people, that there is a certain Mrs. Williamson, an arrant flirt or something worse, whom we had been warned against at Cairo, & whom the moment we got on board an Englishman we knew warned to make no acquaintance with. One after another every one of the men on board, married men & all, fell under her clutches - & at last this very Englishman, after
having called her to an impudent woman, fell also, flattered in.

Of all the men on board the only one who resisted her was Benc Czik, constant only he. & I quite respected him for it. But the reason why I tell you the story is that she will claim us for acquaintance, perhaps make you act upon this claim. We avoided her constantly, steadily - & one day (I never dined downstairs) she came up upon deck during dinner, sate down on my mattress, & asked me why - & I told her tout bonnement - no one else on board would, & I thought it was not fair, I had not the pretension of thinking of reforming her - she cried very much, was determined to take no offence, was even civiller than before to both of us - but what did that matter? She was, if possible, more improper than before - & we held out to the last, tho' nothing cd be more painful - we wd have nothing to do with her & now, if she claims us, you know.
I have now performed the office of introduction for one lady, let me do it for two others. Mrs. Lushington, though helpless & an Indian, I hope you will be kind to - & also to the little Koch, whom I am afraid you will not like, because he speaks little but German, but he is cramfull of information, did everything for us - & we had not even a knife to give him in return. Pass him on to the Carters, if they will be kind to him - & if he is not too shy for them, to the Nicholsons, - & be sure you give him something pretty & useful when he goes away for us, for he is poor. We saw him under the most difficult circumstances, acting like a man of honour & a Xtian, when somebody else was doing very much the contrary - an English boy he had under his charge. Since Cairo we have lost sight of him. well, my heart was very sad as we approached Europe - the spouseless Adriatic mourned her lord - I thought when we went away to Africa, that if we shut our eyes for a winter somehow when we opened them, we should see something else - but here we
were fast nearing Europe - & nothing
was changed excepting that it was a
little worse than it was before. And
everybody was congratulating us that
we had been carried off to Trieste,
because we should see the Emperor,
who was going to have fêtes given him
at Trieste, Venice & Pola. Fêtes on
the ruins of Venice! If the Emperor
passes in the streets, I shall go to bed
if there is an illumination, I will be
operated upon for ophthalmia. But
no! every body seemed to think this
merely a joke.

Well, we arrived at Trieste &
found the whole town prepared for the
illumination. but we left on Monday,
& so, providentially for us, escaped the
Emperor. We came with a good
jog trot old Venetian merchant from
Trieste to Ancona, not given to rhapsody
on feelings - & he told us that
three fifths of Venice were "non rovinate,
ma quattate" that the Caravaggio
& the quarter of La Salute had
suffered the most. that only 2 fifths
of the town remained entire - that the
republic had not sold one of the
pictures or works of art - that the
population had been obliged to take
refuge in the two-fifths of the town
which the balls did not reach. That he
for his part, had made ample provision & could have stood a siege 3 times as long, but that he had 3 dogs at home, & that they would not touch the bread which the people eat, without murmuring—that they the people not the dogs suffered dreadfully for want of water & ate the very dregs of everything—that 10,000 people have now left Venice & she has ceased to be a Portofrance—this is where the Emperor goes to make fêtes.

Well, we went ashore at Ancona, which we reached on Tuesday morning. found the city broken, the palaces burnt & broken, & a bomb thro' the Duomo, where the people had taken refuge during the siege Austrian bombardment which lasted from March till June—a powder magazine blew up in consequence of a bomb, & the city looked as if it had been shaken by an earthquake—the place was full of the Austrian garrison—Bologna, Ravenna, Forlì, Cesena, have also Austrian garrisons—Oh when you come back to this land, & I think of the convulsive struggle there has been here for 2 years, & of how it has ended, Austrian garrisons in every town—(she) & I must tell you, a lie put up on the very Duomo walls, & a fête celebrated the very day before
because the Pope was returned to Rome!
It seems to me that people will sell
their consciences for a show - political
principles are to me just as true
an incarnation of religion as moral
principles - I would not go to see
a man who had disgraced himself
morally - I will not go to see a man
who has disgraced himself politically.
I cannot understand people abusing
the Austrian Govt & then going to stare
at the Emperor. I would not ask
the favour of Mr. Ward - a man whose
politics I dislike & despise - changing after he has been a Radical too, to get
us on to the island, any more than of
a man whose morals I despised.
But people think that all a joke-
It always seems to me, though it sounds
such an odd thing to say, that the English,
who are supposed to be interested in
nothing but politics, to talk on no other
subject, to think of nothing else,
have no serious politics at all - that
what they care for is only party - they
dismiss the struggles of the Italians, as
if they were a work house row, they
speak of Hungary & its immense sacri-
fices as if they were a piece of
Dilettanteism, & sit at their shops
& the corners of their hearths, (well-
earned & richly deserved, I grant
you). & cease to believe in Politics.
Oh if you were to see the Coast of Italy now, O thou forsaken, tempest tossed & not comforted - & think of what our hopes were 2 years ago. We went to the Duomo, thro' the steep streets of Ancona. the small, the little awkward heavy carts, painted fine with colours-every thing reminding me of my beloved Rome - but Austrians meeting us at every step in that hated uniform. I really could hardly look about me for sorrow.

The position of the Duomo, S. Ciriaco, is magnificent, overlooking the whole coast, high on a cliff. it was all hung with tapestry, to celebrate the Pope's return to Rome !! The subterranean church is curious. full of old tombs of the 6th or 7th century. There was one of the Beato Antonio of Ancona. Potrebbe esser Santo, said the Custode, ma ci vuol molto denaro per esser fatto Santo - e la sua famiglia, povera gente, li mangiare - ciastuno pensa ai suoi interesse - Ci vuol due mila scudi per esser canonizzato - cosa vuole? i preti pensano, anch 'essi' al loro interesse - & as grave as a Judge half empty with the povera famiglia for not sacrificing their Mangiare to the honour, he went rambling on. We went down to the Lazzaret, seeing marks of devastation everywhere, & then on board again, before the time, for we were sad at heart.
Loretto high on its cliff, with its grand Duomo, looks beautiful from the shore sea - & indeed the whole line of the Apennines is magnificent from bare ridge behind ridge - I had no idea they were so grand. & capped with snow, as they were now, a thing never known before, they looked as wild as the Alps, without their ugliness for the outline is beautiful, & some lovely little cities, set out on trays spread themselves, high on every bosom of the mountains, to the Sun But it was too cold to stay on deck We saw no land till we reached Brindisi - indeed the weather was too bad - we reached Brindisi on Thursday morning - the Puglia, a long low line of marshy coast, with an old tower here & there, against the Saracens, is hideous - but the richest country in the world, it might be - only the Dazj are so high that no one will cultivate - every one talked of its powers & its short comings - it is the poorest, it might be the most prosperous - we were an eternity before we got pratique - the authorities are so slow & then, when we went ashore, the miserable little town, which looked as if it had never seen us before, did not wish to see us then, & hoped
never to see us again, its steep white streets perfectly deserted. the Captain said they he never brought anything there. there were no imports - but a few remains of ancient palaces - half plastered - oh how forlorn it looked -

We did not reach Corfou till Friday morng - I really was glad to leave this wretched Italy. we had a Bolognese on board, who was going to try his fortune in Corfou, under the British flag. he said the University in Bologna was closed because the Govt= did not choose Unione di Gioventu - the medical classes, the best in Italy, dispersed - & the town a desert. The Venetian said that in the Piazza di S. Marco, where "non si poteva passare la sera, i caffè, la musica, tutta la gente affollava" - there were not ten persons now, not a soul went to The Caffè, the silence of the place was intense - I was glad to hear this, because the it is always said, if the Italians can get their music & their pleasures, they care for nothing else. The Giudecca, he said, was ruined.

We landed at Corfou as soon as we could. & drove a little way into the island - & to the Gov:ment summer palace, which is uninhabited, on account of its
unhealthiness. I would not go & call upon Mr. Ward. The day was bad. the Albanian hills clothed with mist & snow. Still it is the most lovely island in the world, but I believe the most unhealthy. If you want a contrast to Egypt, it is here - the olives & orange trees, the most beautiful companions which God has created - they set off one another like joy & grief - for the olive tree is so strong in its one greatest association that it always reminds one & stands for the type of the greatest sorrow the world has yet seen - while the orange tree in all ages has been our type of love & joy. I never see its shining bright leaves & white blossoms against the dark olive, placed as Providence always has placed them together, without thinking of the Spirits of Good & Evil & calling tho’ Isaiah has told me not, calling Evil good - for has who shall say that the suffering Evil of the Mount of olives was not good?

There is not a square inch of flat ground in Corcyra - & there is nothing more beautiful than the cypresses & cactuses, which (I cannot say slopes
but) jumps down into the sea. The line of the tall cypress shooting up into the sky, out of the cliff descending into the sea, is so picturesque - It was a hideous day, but the amphitheatre made by the mountains of Corcyra & the Albanian ridge is wonderfully fine, & the little villages sunning themselves everywhere - & the sea running in to the island at every gulf it can find, & from the One Gun Battery a little rock, called the Sail of Ulysses with a tiny Greek chapel upon it - & the Greek priest in his patriarchal dress putting off from the bottom of the cliff to it in a little skiff - then the rank rich vegetation, the profusion of flowers & grass & malaria* - & the pretty Corfiots, with their English cottages, all are such a contrast to Egypt - The colouring, if you can but catch a gleam of light, is like Guido’s of St- Michael while the solemnity of Egypt - consists in its being all one uniform colour, all one light or one dark, while here the immense variety makes it look three times as big as it really is - We walked thro’ the deserted Government summer-palace garden, where the almond trees & roses were in blossom & every thing smelt of luxuriant malaria - &
I ran down a path overgrown with cactus & aloe down to the sea, what a view that must be from that terrace on a summer evening or a moon light night - Now it looked wretched & dilapidated. The funny little town all crowded together, looked busy enough - the Govt= house about 3 times too big for its size - the Venetian walls still show the lion of S. Mark. But I could only see him gasping on the ground, his wings cut, his muzzle on, dying in agonies. We were hurried on board again - the sail out of the harbour would be magnificent on a fine day - And this morning at 6 o’clock, when I went on deck, we found ourselves anchored in the beautiful gulf of Argostoli, disembar king & re embarking. Cephalonians - of course my British eyes were averted with disgust from that stiff necked generation & rebellious people - Cefalonia has not the beautiful hills of Corfu, but is rather wild than grand, rather stony than rocky, it is only sown with stones & olive trees. A Greek campanile was ringing to prayers - but we did not land and steered out of harbour in an hour Another little town, Lixuri, lies on the opposite side that beautiful harbour - Zante - April 20. 1850.
Athens. April 24. 1850

Look at that date, my people, & wonder & rejoice. It is the last date I expected to put - what with the blockade, our panoramic voyage, & the Newfoundland weather, it is politically, personally & meteorologically a wrong date. Still we are here. - at least I believe so when we arrived at Corfu (I mean returned to Corfu that was on our way back/ we were told by two English authorities) one of them the Captain of the Port/ that the Growler was blockading Patras a "strait blockade" were the words used. & the rest of the fleet the Piraeus. If it had been on our way up, I really think we should have given up Greece - but what could we do? we could not go back - the Adriatic had seen enough of our faces already. So we came on - when we reached Patras - the Growler was not blockading at all. (can you conceive that possible!) but they might have orders at any moment they said. So we
went on, thinking it very possible
that when we reached Salamis,
Mr. Wyse might advise us not to
land. Patras is lovely, that is,
the town is wretched, having been
burnt by the Turks over & on & re burnt,
as often as it was useful or
agreeable, in those days when its
valiant Archbishop Germanus
thought that the best religion
was (not to determine whether
clergymen's shirts should be white
black or oxford mixture but)
to give his country independence
& a constitution. In those days
& in this much despised church,
bishops had "pluck" not to drive
out poor clergymen, but to drive out
rich invaders. Patras is sacred
to the memory of Germanus. & the with its
little citadel, whence he drove out
the Turk. Alas for him that that
was all, and a Christian Turk
now holds their place. I did not
walk much about, but went &
took a Turkish bath, while the
Bracebridges went & called on
numerous friends. But the view
from the top of the long nasty street
upon the blue, blue sea, with constant caravans of jaunty Pallikars, Moreas women, old shepherds, their girdles fastened with the real old boss & their sheep skins on, beautiful girls, half veiled in the white handkerchief - who came winding down the hill from the interior, for it was Festa. (I like the young man's dress least of all, with his full white fustanella, & his tight girdle, like a wasp, & his long hair under the red cap. it is too much like the Theatre) They look like dwarfs after the gigantic Egyptian race - but the excessive cleanliness & attention to dress & the beauty of the women is wonderful after Egypt. Over the blue Gulf were the Acarnanian mountains. The ground all the way from Patras to the Isthmus is brown with the little grape, which we call currant. (We re-embarked at 12, with half a gale blowing out of the Gulf - & the deck covered with Pallikars, who cannot sit or stand like Xtians, but lie in every possible & impossible attitude, yet not like the Arab, who lies flat
like the snake sunning himself-
but upon one another's knees like
the puppy. We gave them carriage,
board & lodging they gave themselves
sleeping upon deck, women & children,
in the coldest, wettest night - & living
on the black olive. Then, we steered
up that Gulf of Corinth, which seems
as if unwearily it would make
itself heard in history - for as
we went up the Gulf, we went
up earlier in its story - here at
the mouth, the defense of Missolonghi,
the death of Marco Botzaris, the
rising of Patras - & behind we
could see the mountains which
hide Megaspelion, where were
hatched all these great doings-
monks were men then. here all
the interest was modern - in an
hour we touched at Nanpactos, now
Lepanto - where the triangle of forti=
fications, of which the sea is the base,
running straight up the hill, four
tiers of Venetian & wall one above the
others - only a stray house here & there,
not standing in streets, but dropped
in among the fortifications - as if they
were the principal & the houses
only the accessory - the very port
walled in - such a little jewel of
a place - with an orange garden
at the bottom. I shd like, tho' not
given to chivalry, to defend that
place myself - then we touched
at Vostizza, the old Aequium, the
capital of the Achaian league &
at night we anchored off Corinth
the most poetical spot I ever saw.
But it is all so little - as you
run along that coast - & see first
the Acarnanian hills, then Missolonghi
in Dolis, then a strip of Aetolia,
in which I think is Nanpactos,
then the Locri Ozole, then Phocis,
with its Mount Parnassus, & the
bay running up to Delphi, (you
cannot see Delphi its own self)-
& lastly the Isthmus of Corinth-
you think, why every individual
man here must have been a hero
or a philosopher - there can have
been no room for the common
herd - for there is not place enough
for more than two or three in
each state - & all were famous -
it is true, I must say, that it
makes as much room for itself
as it possibly can by tumbling up into
hills & valleys continually, so
that every square inch becomes
three - indeed you can see nothing
else as far inland as you can see
but peak within peak - ridge
within ridge sounds too regular.
It was too cold & rainy to stay on
deck - but I could not go to bed
till we had anchored - which
was not till near twelve at
Thermae, now Loutraki - where I
could dimly see the Acro corinthus
by the moon light. At dawn we
were preparing to land - & there
before us lay poor lovely Corinth,
at the foot of that glorious
isolated mountain = rock, which
overlooks the whole of Greece,
crowned with its citadel, no
other hill daring to approach its
noble feet - raising, like man,
it's sublime face to heaven, the
Acro corinthus - I cannot describe
to you the poetry of that spot
Sicyon lies a little beyond.
We were carted across the Isthmus
about 6 miles, the whole ground
 covered with thyme & little spring
flowers, not of washed = out
water colours, like primroses or
id genus omne, but with bright
deep autumnal colours, a little
dwarf red & black poppy, like a
geranium in colour, dark blue irises,
grass of Parnassus, a deep pink
clover &c. All the spots of the
Isthmean games, (the Hippodrome,
the Temple of Neptune, &c) & the
wall which once protected the
Isthmus can be seen from the
road. & about half way, cried
out, I can see the Acropolis - it
was not the Acropolis however -
but Salamis, Aegina, Poros, you never
forget the first sight of the Gulf
of Salamis. We came down upon
Calamakè, (Kenchraea in another
little bay) & waited long in a
Station, like the Great Western for
the other fine & fast sailing ship
to come in. in which we embarked
about 1 - & were blown down
the Gulf of Salamis in a storm of
wind & rain - even the Amphibious
Pallikars were sick - & the Capt.
said, if he had known, he would
have gone inside Salamis - which
he has been obliged to do continually this winter. All our fleet are anchored just inside Per Salamis, except the Odin, which with Baron Gros's French frigate, is in the Piraeus. All Athens was veiled in angry clouds & we had hardly made good our domiciliation, before such a storm of rain & thunder & lightning broke forth as we never see in the North. Right glad were we to be housed - tho' we cd hardly believe ourselves in Athens. The same night came our letters, two for me, dear people, for which many thanks - you may certainly write here till the end of May, I think - the mail comes in the 8th, 18th & 28th- we shall not go before the 28th of May - always to the same direction - it was a great comfort to me to hear of you - but are you not going to London? you don't say a word - I am most thankful Shore is not going to travel we brought a good Tout here, Lord Lothian, with his tutor, Mr. Morrish, who have been in Rome, are in Athens, & are going to Constantinople. He had been, he said, to a number
of places yesterday - he did not
know their names - one, he thought,
was the Temple of Theseus - yet
it is not vicious - poor beast -
but it wd be wasting its time less
after a rabbit. I don't think
18 is the time for travelling.

You confound me, heresiarchs
about Egypt. As for Solon, I don't
think we know much about him.
Grote is a clever man - he may be
right or he may be wrong - tho'
I think circumstantial evidence is
greatly against him - but as
for Plato & Pythagoras, if there is
any value in evidence at all,
Plato's 13 years at Heliopolis, his
own assertions - the extraordinary
identity of the Pythagorean doctrines
& what we read (better every day)
at Thebes - if there be any justice
& if there be any truth, think on
these things. "Perdition catch my soul
&c" the same thought may come
into two great minds at once.
Still it is a remarkable fact that
that Pythagoras & Plato were in Egypt.
Illeg the fact - we shall have
people proving illeg & that the
Tombs of the Kings are not posterior
l'Egypte to Pythagoras. "Comme quoi Napoléon n' a jamais existé. I don't see any thing else for people to prove do or prove. Don't use my soap, or throw away my palm-fibre-tow, till I come back - for sweet my love, thy wish forego - I keep it all for me - don't wear my jacket or trousers either - those I keep also for me. but don't give anything to At Mai (that you like yourselves). I have got a raal Arabian scarf, which I think I shall think too sober for Mama, which will do. I crammed all my crannies with that tow, which is what they rub you with in the Turkish baths. I hope my Theban letters came safe else you must have thot old glorious Thebes came off short. I wrote (I forget the count) but 9 or 10 times at least & fat ones - which I mention, because desires me. Keep my 6 churches of Thebes for me, (against I come back), if you have it - I could have written that so much more truly, if I had
Add Mss 45790

f14
had time - it vexes me to think how
much more true I might have
made it. the Amenophysian now
destroyed, of which the Colossi/ the
Pair/ where the portal wardens
ought to have been one, the sixth & a failure -
there ought to have been the
seven churches of Thebes - & Karnac
the 7th accepted, because it
did homage to the one God,
& to all the qualities in one.
While I am about it, I must
testify that nowhere did I see
the least trace of the frightening
& childish process we attribute to
the Egyptian priests in the mysteries.
tho' I was particularly alive to it,
& (an evidence of rather more
importance that mine) the little
doctor, Koch, never was able to
find any proof of it - & is it
likely? he says, knowing what we
do of the Egyptian priesthood & their
lights. With regard to their
keeping back the knowledge of
the one God, could the x Greeks understand it, nay what man, I ask
you, understands it now? do you
suppose there is one Xtian out
of one hundred thousand, who x

x Greeks from whom so much of our knowledge of Egypt
has hitherto come
spiritually apprehends the one God
is He not an old gentleman, angry
& jealous, sitting on a throne? and
among the most spiritual, is not
the superstition of three Gods, instead
of one, rife in every land?

Well, I must not go off to Egypt,
being now in Greece, I suppose it
is a geographical error. Yesterday
we rested, being besides an ugly day - &
I did nothing but a Turkish bath,
which was conducted on decent
principles, very unlike Cairo. I
was granted a pinafore - & all the
women had aprons. The whole of
Athens called upon the Bs, who
sate at the receipt of custom all
day long. the Hills heading the van
& bringing up the rear. Today Mr.
B. is gone off to the fleet. With
regard to my letters, is of opinion
that (from previous experience) the
country postmasters pocket an
occasional prepostage & the letters
& that perhaps the error may be
nearer Romsey than Dongola -
of my having had so few.

I am VERY MUCH obliged to you
for thinking of writing to the French [?],
now in heaven, whence I hope
she will write to me.
Add Mss 45790  584

ff15-29  LETTER TO Parthe Nightingale  HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PEN [7:376-85]

f15

she

Athens - April 29. 1850

Well, my dearest - we have been

a week in Athens today - & we

have now left Aeolus Street - &

taken up our abode at Revd

I.E. XIΛΛ, so stands the name

upon the door - they got really

"hurt" because we would stay at

an inn keeper's, so we were

obliged to come - leaving old Trout

at Aeolus Street - they are more

kind than kindness itself.

And now I suppose you are all

agog to know what Athens is like.

And as I have been here a week,

I don't so much mind telling.

My dear, the first feeling one has

about Athens is not disappointment,

but despair (but this is strictly

between ourselves - I wdnt have

ever know it for the world)

how shall I ever feel the venera=

tion for this, one says; without which one

never can really love anything?

it looks like a cork model, like

an antiquarian's plaything. The
f15v

Acropolis is so small, so spoilt by the battlements & fortifications that I think Edinbro' is ten times grander And when the next morning I rushed out on my balcony & saw the Theseum lying so low behind a few modern houses, I could think of nothing for the life of me but a baby house.

The next feeling that comes over one is one can't help laughing - and really, out of this little place, one says came the people who resisted the whole of the East, who civilized half the [see odd] West? it is like the mouse saving the lion - like Gulliver among the Brobdignags - why you little Acropolis, you I could cover you with the palm of my hand.

Well, my dear, I expect you will murder me - but I tell the truth as it came to me - & now I begin to recover myself - I fancied all the way, as I came up the Gulf, what were Plato's feelings on

f16

returning to his beloved plane tree by Ilyssus, on seeing the Athens no Athenian ever forgot - after Helio= polis & the Nile - I was certain of what he felt, when he saw again the places where his first Master lived. I could pretty well guess what he thought. I like to follow his steps from Egypt to Greece - to think how he looked again from the Pryse upon that blue, blue sea, which excited the Athenians so that the thirty Tyrants were obliged to move the Bema. to imagine how he stood again by the Prison of Socrates, "& he saw & believed." Now, my dear, don't bite me - I have walked round the Theseum & the Areopagus & by thro' the Street of Tripods & I have seen & believed, believed in the power of the genius here, of Grecian inspiration which breathed
life into everything it touched - the life of its own overflowing reverence for human nature. But it is quite a different genius from that of Egypt - in Egypt, it was God they raised & exalted - in Greece they deified man - in Egypt, they did all to the glory of God, in Greece, to the glory of the country. how truly one sees here the res publica, as the spirits of every thing they did. A res publica cannot exist now - the spirit of it is gone - it is like trying to dress the Parisian revolutionaries of '89 in Roman togae to try & dress us in a republic. The assertion of individuality is so strong in this age, so overpowering that every one must work for his res privata, if he is to work at all - thro' his res privata he must work for his race - but here you see the res publica was an incarnation, a reality, a living image in the mind of every one - a person. I cannot laugh any more when I look up at the Acropolis - even after my dear & solemn Egypt. You see what enabled this little ground=plot to do so much - the glory of the country stood them really in stead of the glory of God.

As to their worship of humanity, how sublime was their appreciation of what man was, of what he might become - of how every part of him might be cultivated, ought to be cultivated, not subdued. I doubt whether any nation ever understood this like the Athenians - & what were not the results-? That walk round the Acropolis shews such as are not to be imagined even elsewhere.
We began by the Theseum, which stands upon its little brow, no longer low when you are close to it, covered with the Chamomile, which smell after the rain the mile off - so fragrant it is like no other smell in the world besides. This little temple, dedicated to a hero - the hero of Athens - the Roman Catholics have followed nearest in the steps of the Greeks in their appreciation of heroism - their divinizing of what human nature might be brought to arrive at - but the Greek made his tree too luxuriant - the Roman Catholic ran his up into a pole, by dint of pruning & lopping. Those Doric Columns, which ought to be stumpy & are the perfection of harmony, how beautiful they are We went in

the cella & pronaos are thrown together & turned into a museum. Several new things have been lately found - there is a curious transition figure between the Egyptian & the Greek - little sepulchral stelae - an Apollo, beautifully easy & graceful - divers fat legs, like real flesh - but I could look at nothing but 3 women, one of whom had no nose - & the other two were mere rough marbles - but that is really "an inspiration, not an art" which gives in the first rude block such an idea. They were not Goddesses, not the least, but they might have been Aspasias. One of them, in form of face, not in expression, was very like Mrs. Herbert. But with all the perfection of female loveliness, such character, such expression, such intellect. That
broad-ridged Grecian nose always
gives such strength to the face -
but this was not the strength
of passion, which made the long
enduring heroines of Missolonghi,
nor the strength of the woman
who looked out of her window & cried to heaven, to heaven
my love & leave me in the storm
it was the deep meditative calm,
the philosophical contemplative
strength, of which we are so
entirely without example in
modern woman's history, that
I am obliged to fall back upon
Aspasia again. Yet Philosophy
has always been female - & those
statues were essentially women.
From the Theseum, we walked
between the Pnyx & the Areopagus
along the Agora, where St. Paul
had been talking with the people
below - & was then carried up
into the Areopagus (the steps of
which we could not see,
they are behind on the other
side) we looked at the door
of the Prison of Socrates, where he
laid down his life of himself-
& round the back of the Acropolis,
Aegina opening upon us, at every step
to the Dionysiac Theatre, just above at the top of
which is the Temple of Bacchus -
& above it two columns, the
remains of two Chorajic monuments,
from which ran the Street of
Tripods, which o the Street of
the dedications (by the successful
competitors in the dramatic contests)
of their prizes to the mystic Bacchus. one
of these is the Chorajic Monument
of Lysicrates, (what we call the
Lantern of Demosthenes). It is
the loveliest little thing - the
flowery calix at the top, which
once supported the successful
tripod is still there in part -
& the inscription tells that
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the subject of this contest was
a dithyramb, for it mentions who
played the flute when Lysicrates
led the chorus. One of the columns
over the Temple of Bacchus was
the dedication of the successful
Chorajus at the Helen of Euripides
for, though the poet's name is
gone, those of the actors remain.
That Street of Tripods seems to
reveal the whole secret of Greek
inspiration; or why has no genius,
no art, ever approached the
Grecian? Why is Shakespeare
only an artist, (though the first)
and Æschylus inspired? Why
is Greek art not art, but inspira-
tion? I have always felt,
(though it is treason in an English
man to say so)- when I have
opened Shakspeare, this is only art,
I shall never open this book except

f20
at a leisure moment, never open
it to fit me for the struggles which
convulse our lives, to teach me
the way of the Ideal, that is, of
the Perfect, whether of Divine Perfection,
or its image & impression, human
perfection. There are many inferior
artists, far, far inferior artists to
Shakspeare, who have had a
higher ideal, especially in regard
to women, than his. With the
exception of his Brutus' wife (&
perhaps Isabella), I don't know
one of his women who lives for
anything but her personal hopes
& fears. But Æschylus - who
will degrade him? any more than one wd Isaiah by calling him
an artist - whose Prometheus
is so clearly a fore shadowing,
an anticipation of Christ -
greater than the sufferings our
Son of God found necessary to achieve his work for men did the poet give his Son of God for what is the crucifixion of a few hours compared with the chaining of thirty thousand years?—less than our Master, how far less, in his appreciation of what were the real goods for man. And Sophocles' Antigone, what ideal of woman is there equal to her? Ah! those were th Among the Greeks, poets were prophets, & that was the place nation for poetry. As Pythagoras popularized Egyptian philosophy, so Æschylus popularized Pythagoras, or if you like it, Py. philosophized Egyptn mysticism, & Æschylus popularized Pythagorean philosophy. But why was Shakspere only an artist, Æschylus a prophet? The Street of Tripods tells one the reason why. For the same reason that Raphael's Virgin is a Goddess & Sir Joshua's only a woman. Because the Greeks considered dramatic poetry, as every other faculty of man, a sacred thing, considered the development of his every power a matter to be placed under the protection of the res publica, to be made a dedication to the Gods, while we say This faculty shall be sacred, that shall be utilitarian, that shall be only an amusement. The Greeks knew no such classification. Dramatic power was a human, therefore sacred power, had its ideal like all others was to be cultivated up to that ideal. It is wonderful, it is inconceivable to a modern European, thinking to what we have degraded the
dramatic & especially the lyric art, to a thing to be exercised by the most sensual of our race, proscribed by the most spiritual, considered by all as an amusement inferior to looking at a fine statue, the living breathing art inferior to the lifeless speechless one, to stand in the Street of Tripods & see the tribe offering its poet to the state, & its chorajus to enable that poet to give his thoughts form, the poet in the great Hypaethral Theatre, the Acropolis before him & the sea behind, speaking to the Gods & the men - once, & but once, (the representation was never repeated till more degenerate days). & the chorajus reverently offering his success to the Gods.

How The very word "chorus", which

meant originally the market place, the Agora, answers the question perhaps better still - reminds one of the time, when the whole population was the chorus, meeting in the market place to offer up thanksgiving to their God, in the form of a hymn to be sung by the whole nation with a solemn dance. among the Dorians where the God was Apollo, his lyre the instrument, lyric poetry was the worship. among the Athenians, where Dionysos was the God, dramatic poetry by degrees grew out of the dithyramb, (which was first danced round the blazing altar) & a contest between Æschylus & Sophocles solemnized the consecration of the bones of Theseus at his canonization in the Theseum. How often I have thought that the violent repression of man's
tendency to act, has produced half the coquetry, hypocrisy, intriguing, deceitfulness, & everyday acting we see everyday, especially in the female. If Madame de Chevreuse & that Miss Smith (of the Ferrers case) had but been allowed to act. I don't mean act before an audience — but let everybody learn to act as they learn to write — You see in children what an irresistible & therefore natural propensity it is. You see in Greece how it may be cultivated & consecrated. Whatever was natural was to them a means of worship, a subject for the Ideal. But to us the idea of consecrating dramatic power, of putting it as well as our knives & forks under the protection of the state seems inconceivable. Yet out of this republican idea grew an Eschylus — as, out of the theocratical idea in Judea, grew an Isaiah.

The Greek religion seems to me to have been the divinification of the faculties of man — as the Egyptian was the worship of the attributes of God — I confess the latter has the greater charm for me but after all, you arrive at the same point, tho' you begin at different ends. The Greek personified his Ideal of a faculty & called it a God — the worship of perfect goodness, which is all that God desires, may be secured both ways. I do not say a word about matters here. By the English boat, which goes next week, I shall have a remark to make upon the dress of Mr. O'Brian, the Times correspondent, who is now here. In Egypt, the priests were clothed, or were meant to be clothed, in righteousness — & wore a frontlet of truth on their foreheads. In consequence of the unusual
severity of the spring here, this garment is found too transparent by M. Gros & Mr. O'Brian at the Hotel d' Orient here. Well, they will be hot enough at some future time.

I have not been up to the Acropolis yet. is so coquette about it. She will not show it without a fine day - & we have not had one yet. All the groves of Academe are as black as a cinder - it will take years to grow them again. On the 29th Jan, the day after of the great storm, & a fortnight after Mr. Wyse went on board the Queen, he told me he was walking on Salamis & a poor Greek he knew said to him, God Almighty has become an Englishman - what true wit- he just said what every one thinks (& has thought since the time the Jews thought him a Jew). Certainly it never came into any Englishman's head to think God Almighty could be French as well as British - much
less Hungarian. I don't think myself.He can be an Austrian. I was sitting by Mr. Wyse at dinner on board the Howe when the submission of the Greek government was brought to him on the 27th.

We spent that day on board the fleet - which looks in the bay of Salamis like a whale in a rivulet. 3 great 3-deckers, besides frigates four & steamers many, with their poor little dirty prizes. I was irresistibly reminded in the contemplation of them of myself catching fleas. We had a grand laugh against Capt. Hall of the Dragon, for coming in with a tail of disreputable looking craft, mud-dredges from Nauplia. I could see no crew on board any of the prizes but an angry dog.

Well, they are all at liberty now. That war We had 7000 men, our population at Salamis. each
f24v

3 decker has 1000 inhabitants & we have caused a famine in the land. I hate an English man of war - the three grand luxuries of life, solitude, space & water are so unattainable there - what wd be said of us, if we stowed 1000 persons in a work house, as they are stowed on board a man of war. The tree of freedom & the British oak &c never excited my enthusiasm - Still I must say it is in the finest exemplification of the bump of Order that can be [lump?] seen. Sir James Stirling (H.M.S. Howe) took us out sailing in the bay - shewed us where the Corinthians "kept the strait in the brave days of old" Where the Athenians formed, so as to protect their families, all on Salamis - & where the Persians before & behind hemmed them in Psyttaleia, the little island where the Persian "Immortals", the "noble guard" of Xerxes were posted to
intercept & destroy all the fugitive Greeks,
& were themselves destroyed
by Aristides, is now Lypso. We
passed close to it in our sail
from the Peiraeus to Salamis. And
The same breeze was just blowing off
the land of Salamis, which put
destroyed in confusion the Persian fleet -
when the Greeks, singing their
mystic chorus, in those days
when Aeschylus was in the ranks,
(we had his birth place, Eleusis,
before our eyes) when everybody
fought "for the ashes of their
fathers: the temples of their
Gods" - rushed on. Sir J. Stirling landed
us on Salamis & walked us up
to the promontory of Ampelakia,
where the old walls, the founda=
tions of the Temple, the emplace=
ment of the old city of Salamis
are plainly traceable. It was coverd
with the most lovely little
flowers - & on either side the blue sea
At Kolouri, the modern town, it was proclaimed a few days since by public crier that the people must keep their children within doors, as they would be kidnapped by the English.

The Acropolis, I think, looks best from the Peiraeus, where the Parthenon stands out alone, & the battlements disappear.

We were two hours tacking in the man of war's boat to get back from Salamis to the main land opposite - & were obliged at last to take to our oars - land - & go get back in the dark across that desolate plain which lies between it & the Piraeus.

I have been a good deal at Mrs. Hill's school, which is perfect. We have not yet seen anything else, not even the Academy of Plato, but the Temple of Jupiter Olympius.
But I have been introduced to the hero of Missolonghi, Mavrocordato & his wife, now living in Athens upon literally nothing, or rather upon the hope of the cause ultimately prospering for which he has sacrificed all.

One advantage of this weather is that all the springs are full - even Callihrae has been quite a fountain & the Ilipus now really "rolls" its waves along round the foot of Jupiter's platform - those Corinthian columns, battered & broken, are very beautiful - the Kephissus too, as we drove down to Peiraeus on Saturday, was full. & I cannot describe to you the beauty of the luxuriant tufts of infant vines, spurge & crimson poppy, growing up against the walls - not like a cornfield, as our poppies grow, but in fairy groves & underwood.

The Wyses came back last night & all here, but I went to the
housewarming. tomorrow we dine there.
The inside of our little church here is very pretty, illuminated with 's texts. (this is Greek Passion week, by the bye) As we went in on Sunday, we met the unfortunate man, who more ridiculous even than our fate, had come over from India to be married - his lady had come to Corfou to meet him - & he was carried on to Trieste like us, without being able even to call out to her - don't wait for me at the altar. After this, we cannot talk of Greek vexations. I must draw up after our calling at the Porta del Paradiso, being refused admittance, then at the Purgatorio - scratching modestly at the gate - venne not an Angelo but a Guardiano no non si entra qui but it's no such great favour to get in here - no, no one gets in here - ma cosa bisogna andare bisogna
a much worse & much hotter place than the Corda mia, into our berths - andara giù giù giù fino a Trieste, più malincomici, più sconsolati, più mesti di prima, we did go giù giù giù for ten days more at sea - by that larga strada, the Adriatic.

Do you know I am getting to feel the very diminutiveness of Athens, makes her more piquante & more touching? it is like the Infant Hercules strangling the serpents - like Proserpine in the Infernal Regions - Whe & when you think of her philosophy, like the boy Christ among the Doctors.

andare giù, giù, giù, fino a Trieste e più malincomici, giù sconsolati, giù mesti di prima we did go giù, giù, giù, fino into
I wish I could express what I feel for these dear people here. I never saw before any in the Protestant church who had the real Missionary in them, or if they were self-devoted, it was to some fad or other, which they called "Scriptural principles", or "the Church", or "the Truth" or some such nonsense, but of God & their fellow creatures was not at all the question; at Alexandria & Cairo, among the Sisters of Charity there I saw real martyrs for their fellow creatures' sake - women waiting for death in order to soothe the sufferings of the poor Arabs; & without any of the pomp of martyrdom. I hate martyrs for opinion's sake at least I respect them, but I do not love them. I always felt even with my dear Abbess of Minsk much more, with the Free Kirk, how inferior
a kind of martyrdom it was -  
a very secondary affair to the 
martyrdom for one's fellow creatures. Now here 
in this house is the true  
Missionary spirit. Of course  
I perceive that this is a 
higher life than that, where  
the same spirit is put under 
the safe guard of total obedience,  
chastity & poverty. I only say 
that the other life is the 
easier one, fitted for infancy, 
& a very good preparation,  
& protection for the by far 
larger portion of the human 
race who are infants, unfitted to act 
for themselves & incapable of 
planning for themselves. There 
is not one woman in a 
hundred years, who would have 
the courage & discretion to lead 
the life these people are doing 
& therefore something safer & 

lower ought to be provided for 
the thousands of useless and 
miserable lives I see in En= 
gland - where I imagine the  
spirit of individuality has 
reached a heighth quite un= 
known in any other country 
or age - & the Missionary spirit,  
driven out, has sought refuge 
in two very opposite bodies -  
the Roman Catholics & the  
Americans.  
The people in the house here 
are Mr. & Mrs. Hill, Mary  
Baldwin, a Virginian, & a  
single woman - & Elizabet  
Kontaxaki, a Cretan & also 
a single woman. Elizabet  
is very clever & somewhat  
wicked. She is the best  
company - but Mary Baldwin  
the best woman. As for  
Mrs. Hill, I never saw any  
body the least like her. She
is the ideal of woman. I see in her the highest life which I believe can be led, on earth I will not say, for I believe she does God's will as it is in heaven - & therefore I suppose her, when I see her washing up the tea things, or giving her Bible lesson in the school, or teaching the Maids of Honor, to be already in heaven. And she is so like a child. What world they come from, I don't know. I never saw any thing like them here before - for in my eyes their greatest glory is that they have not converted, in 20 years, one single soul. Their own words, when giving to a girl a copy of Archbp. Plato's Catechism, were, "that she might reverence the more the doctrines of her own Church in which we most earnestly desired her to remain." That is what I call a Missionary - the rest are only Theologians. [end 7:385]
Add Mss 45790

LETTER TO PARENTS, HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PEN DATED MAY 1 (?) [7:386-90]

ff30-35v

£30

May Day - Athens

Well, my people, my tongue is untied now, because I am writing by the English boat. All letters thro' Trieste are opened. But I have but few moments to write. All I can tell you is that the friends of Broadlands need never have been less uneasy for his reputation - all parties here give him raison the zero "Zero" tort - & even the sufferers are almost all of them for him. It is no use recapitulating an affair, which every body is sick to death of here - but I can tell you this, that the Zero's position will be a very disagreeable one when our squadron is gone. For all the Greeks thought that we should upset their king for them - they did not know exactly how - but the English had put him there, they said - & the English ought to
take him away again. that was
the reason we were so welcome.
now they will find they must
do something for themselves. The
Queen is a jockey, a tomboy, as
they call her - the King is a
corrupt idiot - the Chambers
have behaved wisely, in as far
as they would not, at the 11th hour,
consider a question which had
never been laid before them. But imagine what they have done
now. Kleomenes, (ask Ld Palmerston
who he is - he knows him)
a few years since he murdered
enticed out & murdered a young
lawyer behind the Greek burial
ground. I cannot tell you all
the particulars - they are too disgust-
ing - his accessory (accessory only
before the fact) was hung - Kleo-
menes was clearly proved guilty
at the trial - but escaped. By
the influence of Coletti with the
King, he was brought back returned to Athens but
at first only skulked about the city by night - then he had an audience of the King of 3/4 of an hour - no one believed it - but it was true - then he was made Demarch - & now this man whom no Greek will speak to, a murderer, has been made deputy by the King, who went down himself to canvass for him - & tho' he had not 3 votes, & the other candidate had them all, his election was declared invalid, & Kleomenes was named. And this murderer is received at the palace - & made a favourite of. But these are things which it is no use telling in England because they won't be believed - how can they? Well, this man, with a packed minority, has voted an address to the King, thanking him for his obstinacy in the English affair - & tho' he had not a majority, the thing we deputation
was unconstitutionally made - & unconstitutionally received by the King yesterday.

As to O Brian, the Times correspondent at Constantinople, who is come over here for the sake of sending true & accurate accounts home of this affair, no one believes one word he says here. He knows nothing, except nobody, excepting that most gullible of all nations, the English. X Neither he nor M. Gros wd believe that our squadron had orders from England to put on the embargo - on Saturday he came in to our consul's office, after the consul had received official intimation from the fleet of the blockade having been renewed, & said Ah! I always thot. so, I knew Parker had no authority for coercive measures. He has been detected in such barefaced lies - that about Pacifico's house - that about the amount of the revenue of Greece.
that the English here think the
"Times reputation must be ruined
by it" - Ah! poor people - il en a fait
(et imprimé) bien d'autres-
Curious enough, the two correct
accounts which have appeared
of this affair are the Daily News,
& the Morng Post - so people say
here.
The real reason of Ld Palmerston's
choosing to settle this affair now
is supposed to be that we could
not stay in the Dardanelles, &
yet we could not send the fleet
away altogether out of the way,
while Russia & Turkey were in
that state. And another thing
which is not generally known,
but which Ld. P. knows well
enough, X is that there is a prophecy,
set on foot by a certain prophet
Agathaggelos, who lived about
100 years ago, that in 1850 there
would be a great insurrection
against the Turks. Russia has
done all she could to foster this
superstition in Greece - & it is very likely
to fulfil itself - this was another
reason for having our fleet here.

If you read any other paper
than the Times, whose lies are
perfectly inconceivable, uncredited
even by Greeks. (by the way, some
of those articles are set down here
to Reeve's account) you will know
so much of the affair that I
need not trouble myself. I will
only just say that Gros is going
overboard. He drew up a
"project" which Mr. Wyse could
not possibly accede to, for the
honour of England he would
drawn up by Wyse
not accede to the contre=project, drawn up by Wyse project & now
the "Solon" French steamer is come in, after Mr. Wyse
has let off the Greek govt £ 1500 of
the claims demanded in this his
protocol project, giving in the French
adhesion to this original protocol
(in a protocol of Ld P. & the French
ambassador in London) to terms exactly
similar to Mr. Wyse's first. The truth
of it was that Gros's project was made by
him on purpose to be rejected - & he is suspected
of more double dealing than this.
The Greek government the moment it had sent in its submission, was in such a hurry, it actually sent down an order on the Treasury for the 330,000 drachmas to Mr. Wyse, who had only demanded the 180,000 in money. (security for the other 150,000, in case Pacifico substantiated his claim on the Portuguese govt) So ends this mighty matter - why could not they do it before?

I have been to see Pacifico's house - the Times representation of it as a hovel, is an incredible lie uttered by a man who had seen it. Mr. Bracebridge has been to see Pacifico on board the Caledonia, & his idea of him is very different from the impression we all had before. Capt. Carter of the Caledonia is very much interested in him.

Well, the greatest is behind. The English claims are settled, but the Greek claims on their king, a much heavier bill, are yet to be settled.
Mr. Wyse here is much liked - but his firmness about this matter was unexpected. He says however that he knew Otto must give in at last - he had nothing else to do - for France cannot help him. Socialism is spreading so fast, she may want help herself from England - Germany cannot help him. He may be expecting a republican representative from Berlin any day Russia cannot help him - she is too much alarmed herself at the spirit spreading among her army - that message of hers was only a rhodomontade.

He is perfectly horrified & disgusted at the conduct of the diplomacy here, which, he says, passes belief.

Up to this time, the Greeks said of him, England has sent us a Professor, but not a diplomat We dined last night at Mr. Wyse's with the hero Gros.
I don't think I need say another word about Sir Henry Ward - the article in the Examiner was quite enough - & was literally accurate. You have no idea what the island of Ceffalonia has suffered, because Sir Henry Ward was in the heroics - & happening unfortunately to have been reading Amadis de Gaule, could not send a constable like an ordinary mortal to take up a villain Naco) but must arrive with an army half an hour too late. However, you must be sick of the subject, & so must the poor Cefalonians be, I assure you.

At the same time, the recall of the two exiled Representatives is very honourable to the awaking of Sir Henry, who was by that time recovering from his war like dreams. But what wd you say of Mr. ---- the magistrate of Stanfield Hall, if instead of taking up Rush, he had laid Norfolk under martial law, & flogged the village of Stanfield?
As for our friend zero here, what shall I say? I will tell you a story about him - but don't believe it - I ask you not to believe what I say because it can't be true. The nephew of Marco Botzaris came here this spring, after having had his education at Lepanto, to be examined & received into the Military academy here - he passed his Examination brilliantly, carried off everything, was at the head of everything - and - was rejected - because, said the king, the Botzaris did not work for - me. The boy, an acquaintance of our host here, is now following the plough at Missolonghi - one of the finest lads you ever saw.

You cannot think what a nice old man is Genl Church - quite
the preux chevalier of Bayard's days
sans peur & sans reproche - tho'
not inclined to the melting mood,
I cd find it in my heart to be
in love with that good old warrior.
He is now living here upon nothing,
having been removed by the king
from the superintendence of the
Army. But I must stop my
politics and come back to my
first love.

We are going today to Karà
it being the Greek Good Friday,
to give the Easter presents to
the ladies of the village. But
I don't savour the Greek religion -
the priests are so ignorant, so
indifferent, so careless of their
people - they certainly are free
from the fureur of proselytism,
for they never do anything. There

is none of the magic of self=
devotion of the Roman Catholic
church here.
x The Greek does not seem
un frugal or inactive - but all
the zeal & flower of Greek industry was
frightened away with the Sciots,
who are called the Jews of
Greece. They wanted to settle
at the Peiraeus, if they were
allowed ground - & when Greek
independence was proclaimed,
all the rich Greeks of Vienna,
Constantinople &c came here -
but that did not suit the
Bavarian views. To keep Greece
poor & dependent was their
ideal - & all the wealth &
industry of these new settlers
was driven away by vexations
& open prohibitions. In one year,
6000 left Greece. The only reason
why she has not driven away the
author of all this is that they do not
know whom else to get, & they do so
dread another year of anarchy such
as preceded him.  

[end 7:390]
Easter Monday 2 April [No Greek Easter [5 May]  
I have been to the service of  
the Greek Easter - on Good 
Friday night to see the people  
kiss the bier covered with flowers in which our Saviour  
is supposed to be laid - & to the  
night service of the Resurrection  
on the night of Saturday at which  
the king & queen always are. The  
first was in the Russian church  
& the music was beautiful - a  
number of prayers were sung - then  
two priests bishops carried round  
outside the church (one was Aeco=  
nomus, a great rascal) the cover  
of the coffin - on which was a  
figure of our Saviour - then it was  
replaced - re covered with flowers.  
the Gospel read - & the people all  
licked the bier - & each took away  
a rose. The Saturday service  
was in the little cathedral - every  
one carried a lighted candle - the  
a great deal of chanting thro' their  
noses - a great many bishops -  
all the riff raff - including the
king & queen - but nobody respectable, because they did not choose to associate with such rabble, meaning the court. As to the services, people did not seem to feel anything at all. I am sure I didn't. The Greek church seems to me to have fallen between two stools. The Roman Cath church has played a dan great stake, & ventured her all upon exciting feeling - she has said, I will not have services which my people must follow, word for word, for if a child knows that this time next week it will have to beg pardon of its father, & promise him an entire change of conduct & a "new life", it is a premium upon saying words without meaning them - for if once a week it is to say such words, & knows it is to say them beforehand, how can we suppose that it will make an entire change immediately?
Then, in her strong faith that she was to embrace the whole world, she said I will have my services in a language which has spread over the whole world, but which those only who perform the service (& those who choose) understand - & they shall be a kind of acting over again of the life & death of the Great Master. But the people shall not be required to follow them word for word - how can a multitude of people be supposed to feel exactly the same thing at the same hour every day. & if they don't, it is teaching them to say what they don't feel. But the service shall be as if it were a series of pictures suggesting rather than dictating thoughts - & each, if he can read, may have his own little book, with the title of what is going on written at the head of each little prayer. So shall we insure unity with variety - unity of
communion with variety of feeling
And accordingly you never see a
Roman Cath. who cannot tell
by merely looking towards the
altar, at what part of the
service the priest is.

The Protestant church has said
No, we will not have the
priest muttering words for us
in a language we can't understand,
as if he was to come between
us & God - we will follow
every word he says - never mind
whether we can't feel what
he says - at least we will
know what he says - he is here
to teach us - not to be engrossing
God's attention upon himself.
Now, lilt up, old fellow - & [lift?]
let us hear every word - & say
as many as we can. And
don't give us any pictures -
even in words - or play any
of those dangerous games - we
will feel, if we can, for our
own selves - if we can't, you
shan't make us - we will think
Now the Greek church, it seems to me, has done neither the one nor the other - it sings on, it is true, in a language no one understands, ancient Slavonic in one church, and ancient Greek in the other, like the R.C church - but unlike her there is no series of pictures (nothing to suggest thoughts, rather than to insist upon them) the people don't know what they are to think nor to feel - & accordingly feel nothing - neither are there sermons as in the Prot. church to teach them. The insides of the churches are bare & unsuggestive to a degree - a few wretched pictures on the doors of the choir, behind which the priests are - the readers dressed like livery footmen, the priests in vulgar gold crosses. I never went to a church before & felt nothing but curiosity. As for the king &
queen being there, togged out in full Greek costume - the king screwing his eyes tight shut, & twirling his moustaches, the Queen looking cross & ennuyée to the last degree - one of them a Jesuit, the other with no religion at all. it is a farce. But as to their not feeling anything, I cd not blame them, for there was nothing to feel. The R.C church has ventured everything to give feeling - the Prot. ch. to give knowledge - the Gr. ch. gives neither that I can see - but it requires neither knowledge nor feeling to abuse those who differ from ourselves - & to hear the same abuse of Roman Caths from Greeks which we so liberally bestow, of their confession, of their superstitions, is a commedia that povera umanità might well have spared herself
Yesterday, Easter Tuesday, we went to the Feast of Saint Theseus - that is a sight I shall never forget. The whole population in costume turned out upon the three hills of the Nymphs, the Pnyx & the Thesium round those steps from which in old days they had been so often excited to great things. They were singing the Klepht songs, sometimes improvising them - we made an old blind Homer sing us the song of Botzaris upon his wooden lyre with 3 strings. Two or three circles of men were dancing the Epirot dance - it is on an entirely different principle from our dancing - (but this is exclusively for Mama) all European dancing that I have ever seen has always seemed to me to rest exclusively upon
the connexion between man & woman - & is to me, even when properly conducted, sovery reignly disagreeable - it rests upon the principle of sexes & their union & is only to give them opportunities of intercourse which in civilized society, they cannot otherwise have - when improperly conducted, the same principle amounts to intoxication. but whether proper or improper, the idea is the same in both cases. In Greece, man & woman never dance together. the men dance alone & the women do not dance in public at all that I see. at all events, it is no more a principle that a man & a woman shd always dance together, as with us, than that a man & a woman shd always read together or always go to church together.

The Coryphans, with a slow solemn movement, leading a long Cornu ammonis of men linked together hand by hand, comes forward, and executes divers steps, the rest following & singing Klepht songs, but [but it?] is more like a solemn invocation to the Goddess of Liberty than like an amusement. I never had the least idea before of David's dancing before the Ark - it is clearly a relic of the ancient times - & to compare it to our effréné waltzing is to compare the choruses of Aeschylus with the love songs of V. Hugo - they are not even of the same genus - the one might precede a religious festival - the other is a degrading amusement - which leads to nothing that I can see.
While they were in the very act of singing their Klepht songs, in the very presence of the hero who united all the tribes of Attica into one, & gave thereby to the city her plural name Αθηναί, before the steps of Theseus - & solemnizing his own Panathenaic procession, that insolent woman, the queen, rode up, I could have murdered her for coming at such a moment, the king following like an idiot. Not a cry was raised - hardly a hat touched - but every body made way, like gentlemen & she rode thro' in the most dreary silence. I wish she could have seen our queen - & known how a constitutional sovereign can be loved. X

We were looked at - & the people said, as we went by, Do you know I believe those are Parker=izi! (Parker's people) but with no signs of dislike. They are getting to call the

English "Parkers."

On Good Friday we rode to Karà - it is a lovely spot looking on the Aegean, & with such a view of the Acropolis - on a fine day it must be beautiful - we went into all the cottages, hovels I must unwillingly call them, with more truth than the Times does Pacifico's house - they are much like the Ross shire cabin, except that they do not enclose educated beings - the presents met with great approbation - one woman said May you live as long as the mountains. All the others were Albanians & do not speak Greek. Mr. B. & I rode home by a gorge in Mt Hymetus, where is a monastery (suppressed by the Bavarians) called Carreos. The most romantic spot I ever saw is prosaic com= pared with this. Deep in its
mountain cleft, sheltered with Pinus Maritima - in its deserted court an olive, which looked as old as the world, & a fig tree, & at every wind of the mountain road which zig zags down the hill from it, fresh views of the Acropolis, & Pentelicus - there even Otto's vulgar palace looks well but the Acropolis is like what one sees in a Turner or a dream - I believe the especial piquancy of the Acropolis is that one's eye mounts the steep rock & one expects to find at the top an Ehrenbreitstein or a Heidelberg - & instead, one sees the most fairy like, the most graceful, the most airy delicate sprite of a structure at the top of that rugged rock It is the Ariel of architecture. It is like the "baseless fabric of a vision" mounted all of a sudden upon a base & a very solid one. Here you lose the fortifications & see only the rock & its fairy crown - & the bay of hills behind, encircling it with loving arms - at one turn of the road - no other house is seen.
The king & queen have had the abominable taste to refuse to receive Adml Parker - c'est pis qu'un crime, c'est une faute. & to forbid all intercourse with English to their court - nous nous en passerons bien. What is more, he has given the Grand Cross, the cross of the Redeemer, the only order he has to give, to Thouvenel & (to mask the reason why), to Persiény also, who is not of rank to wear it. But we shall soon have Parker back - the king seems bent on it. his own destruction - they call him here (d'après Macaulay) little James, or Jemmy, the Third being an exact copy (in miniature) reduced of that worthy James II. But the best is to come - M. Panas, whose name you will find, in made honourable mention of, in

the blue book of the Greek affair, scents robbers, who do not exist, in an island of the Echinades, which as you know, belongs to the Ionian isles, & with a parcel of liberated convicts, goes over to take up the invented robbers - burns a village & destroys property to the amount of a million & a half of drachmas. It is said that such an inroad into another power is unknown in modern annals. The only explanation satisfactory is that the king is so attached to Parker, that, not having been allowed to receive him (by Bavaria), he has invented this method of getting him back. I am sorry I cannot confirm our opinion of Pacifico. The old Jew offered Mr. Bracebridge...
5000 drachmas to distribute among the proprietors of vessels who had suffered under the late blockade - then reduced it to £90, & finally went away to Malta, & we were left without any. X

The Greeks are very much disappointed that Lord P. has not urged the question of the Greek loan, as they were in great hopes that would have done them some good in the business they have to settle with the king.

It is no use telling English people of the way in which elections are forced here. It is a remarkable fact that when Boudouri's ballot box, who had the people with him to a man, was examined, there was not a vote in it. But English people will say, these things cannot be. X
We dined with Adml Parker at Mr. Wyse's before the fleet sailed. He says that the bombardment of Messina has not been in the least exaggerated - that the Sicilians struck their flag at night, (as they cd not bear to do it by day) & that the next morn the Neapolitans went on firing for 8 hours - after the Sicilians had surrendered.

As to the destruction in Sicily, he does not blame the Neapolitans - because he says, it is the regular thing, if a shot is fired, that village is to be burnt - this is a Q.E.D.

The Temple Bowdwins are gone leaving here a not very favourable impression - i.e. at the Hills.

Pray thank Mr. Parker for his letter to Mr. Wyse - he is charming
You will be happy to hear that King Otho has presented Mr. O'Brien, the Times correspondent, with the gold cross of the order of the Sauveur - I hope this honour will appear in the columns of the Times - "for services received", the diploma bore. Genl Church immediately said he should send back his. When the last article in the Times appeared, (the "Chronos" as we call him here) - an Irish friend of ours ran down to O'Brien's, who was already in bed, and roared out, Eh! Sir Patrick O'Brien, my dear, get up, & run to the market to buy your cross, or you'll never git it, my darlin'. The only real joy however that was felt on the occasion was, I believe, by me. I am delighted he has got it. I wish the English could read the Elpis.

the Ephemeris tou Laou, which are the respectable papers here & the ultra Palmerstonian view they take of the question. The Ephemeris out = palmerstons Palmerston. However I have nothing to tell you of affairs here - for England is the place for news. i.e if you read the Times, like a witch's prayer, backwards.  

[end 7:396]
My dearest I have had all your
letters - (you are very good child)
directed to Athens - also one from
Aunt Mai - but none from Louisa.
I only hope that Bourne will set
you both quite up, & that you are
now in London - & that Mama
feels her bilious attack no more.
I was so sorry to hear of that -
But I hope that tomorrow,
I shall have better news I
am sorry my letters are too full
of phantasies, too little of realities.
Now I will try to be more personal -
& begin by introducing you to
Elizabet Kontaxaki of Crete, my
friend here - tho' no one comes
near Mrs. Hill in the adytum
of my heart - But she is in=
describable - her godlike life who
can tell? from heaven she comes,
in heaven she lives, in heaven
she has her perfect rest here.
Elizabet spent the first four years of her life in the caves & fastnesses of Mount Ida, running away from the Turks at the time of the revolution. She remembers it all quite well. Her father died when she was 40 days old, & her mother, who was 15 when she married, ran away into the mountains with her two children, as she was an object of peculiar suspicion - her husband & consequently the baby now being a Janissary. Ah what a fine school is the school of hardship. How it has nerved Elizabet's character to uncomplaining exertion - how it has softened it to feel for all sorts of woes. As soon as she could walk, she & her brother were always too proud to be carried, or to give any trouble but were
determined to keep up with the rest of the party - Two servants followed them without wages - one carrying a jar of water & a quilt - but afterwards these left them - She remembers once when they had been walking for many hours, her mother was quite exhausted & asked her if she were not tired. The child was getting quite purple in the face. She persisted she was not. The Turks were on their heels. At last the child felt she could not go on - & she said, Mama, Mama, you forgot to comb my hair this morning - hoping that her mother wd sit down & do it & give her that respite. All the party laughed, & the laugh did them good. The two children supped full of horrors. Often they trod on the legs of dead or dying men -
often they lived on the Corouba [Carouba?] - which is what we translate "husks" in the parable of the Prodigal Son - in the winter they slept on the snow - in the summer on a sort of rough grass. once the child & her brother found a headless body, swelled to a tremendous size, & perfectly black (with the heat) as they were playing. She never forgot it. Once Elizabet was lost for 24 hours - & the poor mother's courage completely failing her, she was on the point of giving herself up to the Turks, when her little boy said to her, Mama, Mama, won't you take me up & run away - And she carried him thro' the middle of the Turks & escaped. The mother was the most beautiful woman of her day - & had been several times before her husband's death, nearly carried off by Turks.
Once when they were living near Ta Canea, a powerful Turk sent for her - & her husband was afraid not to let her go - so he sent her, with the usual body guard of Cretan ladies - first walked the old Aunt, then she, then two women servants & then a servant. The Turk of course told her that he meant to marry her, & get rid of her husband - she said she wouldn't - he pointed a pistol at her & she ran & sat upon his mother's knees, who was in the room - then she struck the pistol out of his hand, & it went off. His friends came up & afraid he should kill her, represented that he had better lock her into the room & leave her for the present, which he did. She then looked about for means of escape, & finding herself in a
tower, but that the ground
below was cultivated ground,
tho' the windows were grated -
she said a little prayer, bowed
herself 3 times to the floor, and
wriggled herself thro' the bars;
she fell on the ground, and
though she was about to be
confined, & threw up blood in
consequence of her fall, she ran
straight to her husband's house,
& bursting in, cried, leave all
our goods to the devil, this is
no place for us, & come into
Canea. The child lived & so
did she. The Turk, when he
undid the door & found her
flown, fired straight out of
window, & killed a bridesmaid
in a marriage procession which
was passing. Then he went
down to the house of the
wedding, & killed 8 men there -
& all on her account - she
never recovered the grief.
Elizabet's mother knew how to read & write, but forgot it all in the mountains - she however taught Elizabet the Lord's Prayer, & when the child was frightened at having to go anywhere alone, told her to say the Lord's Prayer, which she always did. She used to say too "Lord have mercy upon us" with prostrations, touching the ground with her forehead, & kneeling on the prickles 30 or 40 times a day. The other fugitive families used to come & ask her to say it for them, because they said Perhaps God will listen to these children - so I was, she said, quite a little Pharisee. Then her uncle, a monk of Mt Athos, joined them - & he taught her all manner of prayers. And her mother used to say to her, Trust in God, my child, & he will take care of us. All manner of hungers & thirsts they suffered - they were driven out of every village they took refuge in - the Turks always captured the women for the Hareems & the children for slaves. Once, when her poor mother was quite discouraged, Elizabet repeated to her, Trust in God, My Mother & he will take care of us - And you don't know, said the mother, how much good that did me. At 4 years old, Elizabet was old in sufferings & experience - they then escaped to Sira - & Elizabet was put to school at Mr. Kildair's, the Missionary there - her mother, after a while, returned to Crete but Elizabet, at 11, could not endure life - the crimes she saw, the recklessness, Sira was then crammed with political refugees. She saw a hog under her window eat a newborn living child, which had been thrown there. That was the last drop - she had never
been a child - she was weary of life - & hearing that Mrs. Hill, who had just arrived at Athens, was enquiring for a native teacher, She offered herself - she wanted to do something useful & support herself & did not care for anything else. When Mrs. Hill, saw this hearing the new Teacher had arrived, hurried to meet her, she saw a little scraggy ugly child sitting on a stool, whose feet did not reach the ground, who did not speak a word of English & looked like a Cluricaune, not a wholesome child. But Mrs. Hill, so like herself, was not discouraged - she considered that for a Greek to offer herself to a Protestant, was, in those days, no inconsiderable proof of strength of mind - & she set her to work - she found her capable of managing the whole school of women old enough to be her mothers, some of them, & at 11, the most efficient teacher she has ever had. This is my new friend - I cannot say I am in love with her - she has been brought up in the hard school of hunger & persecution - & is somewhat hard. she was weak against the strong - & is somewhat cunning. she has never had any of the joys of childhood & is somewhat ungenial & uncanny. but, though she sometimes makes me creep, with her drawn cheeks, & old wizened yellow face - yet I feel this girl has already worked a life's time - has done more, in her youth, than most people do, in their whole busy lives. & tho' she is worn & weary of the world, I feel how valuable has been her experience. She remembers perfectly seeing her house pillaged in Crete - and many
is the curious story she has told me. She is full of prejudices, abhors the Roman Catholics like most strong characters, dislikes rich people, English, abhors the Roman Catholics & the High Church - & there are few she does like, excepting poor people. Nuns & "Pope", as she calls him, she abuses like the most zealous opponent of Antichrist & follower of John Bunyan. She is an immense talker, but never says a thing she does not intend to say - an immense reader of all her own beloved Greek classics, which sheds a golden autumn light over her withered tree of life. Poor Elizabeth a little happiness would do you a deal of good - but all enjoyment seems burnt out of her. She is nervous & excitable to the last degree - has taken the employment teaching, in disgust, which has occupied her whole life & has now completely given it up.

Our plans, dear people, are, as far as we know them ourselves, to leave this on June 3rd by steamer for Trieste, (via the Isthmus) where we shall arrive on 10th to be at Vienna 15th Dresden 22nd Berlin 26th Hanover 30th but their plans are so uncertain that I think you shall write only to Vienna Dresden & Berlin - as I am so afraid of losing letters. If Aunt Ju likes us to find out any of her old friends, to see M. Bartelmann, you will send me directions - but it will be more for the sake of bringing her home any thing, as you see we shall be too little time to make much permanent acquaintance. I am sure however Mr. Bracebridge will much like to have a glimpse of all such good men.

I hope you will tell Mrs. Strutt when you see her in London how much we have thought of her grief.
I would write to her, but that such epistles, coming so long after date, seldom touch the string - but when you see her serious, tell her how touched we were by her sister's death, & how yet I cannot help rejoicing to think of what that enduring soul will accomplish, freed from the suffering body. Now it will be a nice job for Mr. James to see after those poor poor children.

Anne Plunkett's confinement was the greatest relief to us all - tell her, when you write, that I called immediately upon her friend Madame Nicoupi here to announce it.

Now you want particulars - we do live in a small house looking up a steep unpaved street. I sleep in the Library which opens on a terrace, looking upon the back of the Acropolis.

Mary Baldwin is in every respect the exact reverse of Elizabeth - I cannot describe her better - both of them types quite unknown to us in England - Alas! how worthless my life seems to me by the side of these women. Now do you want another character? ὁ Ἰωάννης Μαβρομιχαλίς - the Maid of Honour - & one of Mrs. Hill's pupils. She is of the Spartan Mavromichalis, the grand daughter of the Bey of Mani. All but the old widowed mother of the Bey are come to Athens - She says that the Maniot should never leave her native land. I suppose you know all about the Mavromichalis, so I shall only say what I believe is not known, that the old Bey had a brother, who, when a child was sent to Constantinople as a hostage. The Turks put
about the report that he had fallen overboard in the Black Sea & was drowned – & brought him up as a Mussulman. He rose like Joseph, to a high place – & when another insurrection of Mani made more hostages necessary, he begged to be sent to Mani as the organ of Constantinople. He so completely won over the Maniots that he persuaded his brother to send his two little sons with him to Constante. as hostages – & he persuaded the Sultan to make his brother a Bey, as the strongest chain upon the Maniots saying that conciliation was the best policy. Once he asked his brother & some other chiefs to go out with him in a small boat & appeared on the point of telling them something of consequence, but refrained with great agitation. His own mother did not recognise him – no one did but an old nurse, who insisted upon his undressing to shew her some mole but he, of course, as a Turk refused with a great show of indignation at such an unheard of proposition to Turkish dignity Bref, he returned to Constante. with the two children – but they fell sick with homesickness – & were at the point of death & he prevailed on the Sultan to send them home to die – but they the little cats, no sooner had they seen the walls of Sparta, but they held up their drooping heads & shewed no intentions of dying yet at all. Death however was not so very far off In Argos, one of these very children, grown up then, was, with his uncle, brother to the Bey, the murderer of Capo d’Istria. The uncle was killed on the spot – the nephew
Mavromichalis was executed at Palamidi, where
the old Bey was in prison
for the revolt of Sparta - & was,
it was said, dragged to the window
to see his son executed -
However that may be, he lived
to die at Athens - where his
other son father of Photinie, is now a Senator, after
having lived here many years
almost a beggar - & Photinie,
who owes every thing she knows
& has to Mrs. Hill, is now the
Maid of Honor. They behaved
very well to Mrs. Hill at the
time of her persecution in '42,
otherwise I have no great
opinion of this degenerate branch.
This week I am to be presented
(not to the queen, abominable
woman, but) to the widow of
Marco Botzaris.
I hope, indeed I am sure
you sent my poor little "Trisaltà"
Felicetta her year's board.

I hope I shall see a great deal
of poor Mary Stanley.
What a contrast this country
is in all respects to Egypt. Egypt,
where all knowledge, & all science,
political, ethical, religious, was
in the hands of the priesthood -
& this, where all religion was
in the hands of the people & the poets. How hard to be
obliged to admit, as Papa says,
that this deification of the human
qualities had such a fatal end.
No sooner by this hot bed process,
had they forced great men to
bear unheard of fruit, than
they themselves, hasty after the
same greatness, must tread under
foot those thus brought into being.
The rides about Athens are lovely
It is the most ideal scenery - every
view so perfect in itself - as if
it had delighted to form itself
into a perfect whole- the Acropolis
always rising between the fork of
two other hills (in this curious
plain which is full of them - a tray for isolated rocks)
we have however had horrid
weather. One day Mr. & Mrs
Hill, Σ & I went to Amgelō-
kipi, a corruption of Ἄγγλακπ (the angel of gardens, or the garden
of angels.) the ancient Ἀκω πεκης
where Socrates was born, where
the artists lived, who used to
come down to Athens up to the Acropolis every day
to work - where Aristides too was
born - we sat down in the lane
under the shade of a locust tree
to wait for Pittakys, who was to
come & shew us his garden (people
come out here for the summer) &
the Temple of Venus, where he has
dug up four marble doves. We
found the sacred myrtle in the
Temple. It is a lovely spot.
As Mr. Hill & I sauntered up
the lane, we saw a little maiden
with the red Fez & long plaited
hair, & white Albanian coat -

leading an old ragged mangy donkey to
the spring "by a ragged rope
she drew the ragged ass along" -
& in her little hand she carried
a red earthenware plate. She
stooped down & filled her plate
at the fountain & gave him to
drink. I never saw a donkey
drink out of a plate before.
But the spirits of Aristides had
rested on the little girl - to make
amends to the donkey for all the injustice he had suffered.
As we came home, a fawn
sprung across the road, & cantered
up Mr Lycabettus. But a moment
after, one of those huge savage
black Attic shepherd dogs ran
after it. I was in an agony -
for he gained upon it every
moment - & they are so fierce
that no woman rides alone in
Attica, as they will pull her
from her saddle by her clothes,
& did one of Mrs. Hill's sisters.
But when the fawn heard the
dog at its heels, it suddenly turned round, stood at bay, gave the dog a roll with its head, & then pursued it - the dog being so utterly astonished that he fled away without more ado - & the fawn having chased him some distance, made good its retreat to Lycabettus.

One glorious sunset we have had which I shall never forget it. Mr. Hill & I had been out riding along the beach to Cape Kosina, the ancient Axgone, & home by Trakones - passing the ruins of innumerable Demi on our way - how thickly inhabited this part of Greece must have been - the day had been cloudy as usual - but just as we passed Kará, a beam so golden, so rich, so lustrous shot across it that we looked beyond, & all the Mountains of Morea were transparent violet & behind Corydallus the sun was going down in a blaze of amber cloud. I never saw such a change - & grey in the distance sate the proud Acropolis. Some Albanians were driving their asses over the brow of the hill at the moment & saluted us, as they always do.

I had just got so far when we were thunderstruck by the news arriving about our difference with France, & disgusted by the idea of the triumph of the Court party here - I see that little female toad spitting at Mr. Wyse next time she meets him. what can France be about? to quarrel with us about such a trifle.

au revoir my dearest
the post goeth
Well, my dearest, I have seen the Parthenon at last by moonlight - & all my expectations of Greece were realized. As you stand within the Western end of the cella, & look out thro' that mighty door between the columns down upon the sleeping world beneath & the distant Aegean - it is impossible that earth or heaven could produce anything more beautiful. Hitherto I have felt there was a something wanting to me I did not know what - a want of imagination in all that the Greeks do - do not think me cracked - but there is. the Greeks were above all, eminently practical - eminently the Artist - there is an entire absence of mysticism in every thing they think - the Doric temple, so faultlessly perfect, it is like a proposition in Euclid you know exactly what you are going to see. that there can be no variety, that one part brings another with as much certainty as the steps bring the Q.E.D - The side always one column more than twice the end - the proportion of the column always faultlessly mathematically the same - the Theseium is a diminutive Parthenon - the Olympium is an ornamented & gigantic Theseum. You will say it cannot be otherwise - to alter the proportions of beauty is to make something ugly - it is true. I only state the fact - Greek art is not like the poetry of Aeschylus - it is like the philosophy of Plato - transparent, logical, severe - it cannot be other than it is one feels.
All the Attic temples look towards the east - the Parthenon stands upon the highest point of the Acropolis, to shew the superior purity of its Deity - it seems to look to where the horizon opens between the mountains to give her a wider range. The longer I am here, the more I am convinced that the Athenians did not know the one God - Plato knew him - that no reasonable person can have any doubt of - but the Athenians in general did not - there is no trace of it in any thing that remains of their religion, as bodied forth by their artists - they took each separate faculty of the human soul & deified it, but the very perfection of their artistic perceptions prevented them from going further - as the greatest genius is commonly the man who can least trace the steps by which he arrives at origin of his conclusions. The Greeks had not sufficient imagination to conceive the Unknown God in spite of what St. Paul says - what they knew, that they worshipped.

But the Acropolis by moonlight it is so strikingly like Philae (in plan) that I could not but believe myself all the while in Philae, modified by the different character of this differing nation. The one an island in the deep still flowing river, so like the silent, dark profound philosophy of the Egyptians - with the roar however of the Eternal Cataracts in the distance, so like the perpetual voice which Eternity raised in their ear, ever present as it was to their minds - the Acropolis an island in the air, the pure light warm blue aether of Greece
radiant even in the night -
without a cloud - so like their
transparent perceptive philosophy -
but which did not see beyond their perceptions x
the Attic Temple is more like Pope
than Shakspere - To compare
Philae & the Acropolis in beauty
would be absurd - for the temples
of Philae are positively ugly, while
there is not a stone in all
the ruins of the Acropolis which
does not seem to have fallen
in the place for perfect beauty.
The striking likeness consists in
both these sacred islands being
entered thro' a sacred portal,
the Propylæa of the one - the
landing place & porticos of the
other - the principal place being
occupied by the Temple to Isis
in the one, that to Athena in
the other, but the one a mourning
widow, Nature mourning the
absence of her God, or the Church,
x the future world occupied a very small place in
their imaginations.
as the interpreters of Isaiah would call it, mourning her Husband. the other the pure triumphant Virgin Goddess, triumphant both in wisdom & in war - in War where necessary to preserve the State committed to her charge (not, as Ares, delighting in war), in wisdom to administer it. How beautiful is the myth which shews her springing from the head of Jupiter - the offspring of his pure intellect, superior in this respect I think to a similar Xtian myth, which represents the Incarnation of our Ethical System as springing from "a pure Virgin." The conception of Isis & Osiris comes much nearer our Xtian sympathies than that however of Minerva & Jupiter - The situation of the Erechtheum answers exactly to that of the God Nilus - & the salt spring
of Neptune in it answers singularly
to the conception of old father Nilus.
The Hypaethral Temple does well
enough for the Temple of Victory.
In all the ground plan, there
is so singular a coincidence
that one cannot but reflect on
the vast difference which
separated the two Nations in
their appreciation of their Gods.
To conceive the Greek idea of
Athena I believe to be now
perfectly impossible. We have
succeeded so completely in
degrading man by our doctrines
of original sin & a fallen nature,
all which are perfectly true in
one sense, that we cannot raise
him again by to an abstract
image of himself - & are perfectly
right in going out of ourselves
& saying of ourselves we can do
nothing - work Thou in us, O God.

I have made no approach to an
acquaintance with Athena - the
nearest glimpse was when I
stood under her Western portico
& looked up to those mighty
columns, & out from between them
Oh Virgin daughter of Ethics -
how high, how immeasurably high,
I was going to say - but all is in
measurable harmony - the perfect
character, wisely planned - it
is as true a picture of the
Athenian character as St. Peter's,
which I once saw by moonlight,
is of the Xtian - there, imperfection
is everywhere perceptible - but it
seems to be stopped by in its strivings
upwards only by the inability of getting
any higher. It meant to go on
till it was stopped. There is a
want of calculation about it.
Here, how artistically is everything contrived that
lofty door of the Apistho domus
calculated not to cut the columns & the Temple raised upon its steps, so as to produce the greatest appearance of height & the view of the sea between the columns. The Parthenon by moonlight - a fairy island in the sky & the character of the Goddess, from which all passion was excluded, victory over enemies within & without her most beautiful attribute, her most touching character, seems fitly rendered in that faultless temple, white, but not dazzling, for the golden discoloration of the marble now replaces the old colouring. How beautifully does the little delicate Victory, perched on its little promontory at the extreme end Western edge of the Acropolis usher in the more majestic,

more solemn emblem of victory in the Temple of the Virgin Goddess the ivory & gold statue, of which the place is clearly traceable, carried in its hand a little Victory. I have overcome the world was dear to the Athenians as it is to us though our ideal of it is so different. "The path of sorrow & that path alone leads to the land where sorrow is unknown" as my dear Cowper sings - & I must say that homely image has more great things in it to my mind. Still the calm grace of that Parthenon standing above the world, claiming companionship with the moon & stars alone, that virgin daughter of Ethics in her moral sublimity has in it an inspiration which shews that God did not keep all the world in ignorance for the sake of magnifying the Jews. For I, says the Parthenon, sit above it all, I am alone with the stars. And as I looked
at the silvery Jupiter setting
that night
between her two Western columns,
I thought her a fitting daughter
for him.

You want to know what Mrs.
Hill is like - she is very much like
Grandmama, or rather what
Grandmama will be. For Mrs.
Hill is beautiful, even now
& Mrs. Hill is a woman of
extraordinary genius in the very
line where perhaps genius is
most uncommon - & her
manners are the most calm,
serene, & cheerful, I ever saw. Still
the likeness strikes me perpe-
tually. You want to know
more about our life - so I will
tell you of last Wednesday at
Karà where we went to eat the Paschal Lamb. We were off at 7 o'clock,
some of us riding, some in a
carriage - when we got there,
it was too hot to do much - so
we sate in an upper chamber,
till Bati, (the tenant, everything
here is on the Mezzerià system), summoned us to see the lamb roasted, which he had set his heart upon giving us. There was the beast whole upon a spit, having been killed five minutes before, which spit one of the collegas on sub-tenants, sitting on the ground & holding it in his hand, was turning slowly over a handful of fire. The lamb roasted, we sat down under a Persian lilac in the garden to a table whose legs were dressed with myrtle, which Bati had sent for from Pentelicus & whose table cloth was of vine leaves, a small wooden tub was put upon the table full of the sheep's cheese - & poor little Lambros, the son of one of the most wretched collegas, & now since 5 months the butler here, confided his woes to Elizabet." I was quite ashamed, he said, to have anything to do with
it - in an entertainment, to put a common tub upon the table instead of bringing it into the kitchen & having it put properly in a bowl - it was a want of common sense - a want of knowledge of the world - want of (ἀνθρωπία)

I took two steps here & two steps there - & did not know what to do - & before the strangers too - I was quite ashamed to have anything to do with it") In the afternoon came a small wooden instrument with 3 strings, & played before us & all the colleagues danced before the well - first all the men danced the solemn chorus, one leading - then each two danced a kind of minuet, one standing opposite the other, moving slowly forwards with various motions of the arms, as if they were playing castanets - one movement was like Waterton advancing upon a crocodile, moving forward in a crouching attitude - a most extraordinary feat - another was accompanied with a whoop.

Once two of the wives joined, & each crossing the arm of the other over her bosom, led the dance most graceflly - but a woman to dance, this is only done among the Albanians.

In the evening, we rode up Hymetus as far as the Quarries, the horses climbing like cats - & saw the most extraordinary sunset. Un-Ger first of all, all the Morea hills became the most transparent violet (Greece has appropriated to her sunsets a different tint of the rain bow from the rest of the European countries - they all take purple or blue - but her mountains are real violet) golden rain fell between them - then Mt Geraneca
(behind Megara) became on fire, 
& burned literally with a pure 
rose coloured flame. I never 
saw such an effect before. It 
was like Semele burnt up by the 
God. You see the sources of 
Grecian Mythology in her scenery. 
lastly in a blaze of gold & purple 
jewellery the sun went down 
behind Corydallus, a ruby & amethyst 
coronet about his head. The 
reflection of Geraneca like a 
burning fire was stamped 
upon the opposite Hymetus - if 
Moses had been there, he would 
have thought of his Burning 
Bush - as I did.

Now you want to know about 
modern Greece. The Greek Church 
is dead, it seems to me - the 
priests are her undertakers - the 
churches her vaults. The priests 
are so ignorant that they can 
hardly read, except the Liturgy 
which they learn by heart. They
neither are fit nor wish to be treated like gentlemen - & wd be quite embarrassed if you did - they come out of the lowest class & stay in it - they never preach a sermon & could not. The Bishops are all taken out of the monks The Monastines do not even wear a dress & are mere cultivators of the ground. I prefer the wildest most intolerant fanaticism to this - Out of bigotry can come a St. Paul & has come - but nothing can come out of nothing. Let there be life, my God, as in the day of Creation - Literally you may count the priests of the Greek church, who are educated men - three - Misael & Aeconomus & one other - & Aeconomus is a humbug What a contrast to the liveliness of the Roman Cath. church - I never go into a church without being disgusted - & in the monasteries, they seem not to have the remotest idea of doing good. of a vocation.
We heard from Mr. Hill yesterday of the death of a poor bride, Madame Χωνονουλος - just before we left Athens, we were at a wedding at her house - I wanted to see a Greek wedding very much - but when I had seen it, I was sorry I had. The silence of the two people most nearly concerned - they make no vows - the crowns of the bride & bridegroom, which it is the business of the bridesmaids to change perpetually during the whole ceremony - the bride's for the bridegroom's & the bridegroom's for the bride's - the promenading 3 times hand in hand, the whole family, round the table which is used as an altar - the whole concern looks like a farce, & the bridegroom in his chaplet like a buffoon. I send you home in the box my bridal chaplet - The Protestant ceremony is far more to the purpose.

I forgot to say that, as we drove down from the Acropolis that night, I got out to look at the Olympian columns, standing alone in the sky by moonlight. It was a magnificent conception placing the great God there power & wisdom - while his daughter, Ethics, sprung from, yet a higher than he, towers above him. The wild Hymetus background, & the long shadows of those noble columns on the platform Peribolus I never can forget. Under them, on the marble Podium, lay asleep, in his goat-skin cloak, a Klepht looking Greek in the moonlight - taking his night's rest upon this fitting bed for Miltiades - who was, after all, but a Klepht when he began. As you may perhaps see Mr. Lyons in London, & he may tell you that he has not seen me, I think it best to state to the British public in my own hand
that I have not been well since I came to Athens. I was a little knocked up with the fortnight at sea. & it ended in a sort of low fever - for which Mrs. Hill insisted on sending for her confidential Doctor & I was bled in the foot, told to drink a great deal of every thing but medicine & eat no meat, by which treatment à l'Orientale I was able to go up Pentelicus on Saturday. This is the reason why we have not been to Argos & the usual expeditions - I have been the means alas! of preventing Σ our departure is now put off another week - the Hills were so unwilling to lose her & you were so good about not wishing us to hurry. But I must tell you something about Pentelicus. Mrs. Hill & Σ, Mary Baldwin & I were off by 1/4 past 5 - & after a lovely drive by Kalandri arrived at Pentele's Monastery at 1/2 p 7. Here we left them under the great old evergreen oaks - Σ & I mounted horses,

which we had sent on, & with Demetrio & Spiro, men we knew, & could trust, began the ascent of those lovely mountain sides - all dressed in daphne, maritime pine, dwarf holly, poppies, and wide groves of lilac & white cistus - the profusion of flowers makes it like a garden. Across a moun-

tain bridge & up the steep white marble ascent to the quarries of the Parthenon & the Theseum, then to a mountain crag, where first I looked over upon Marathon - But alas! here the mountain fog began to gather & Demetrio advised us to wait - a pair of noble eagles were soaring above - & we sat down under a crag in that mountain eyrie & looked down as bold & brave a mountain gully as ever Klepht delighted in now & then
the curtain lifted & I could see
the blue bay of Marathon & the
marshy plain, crossed by the Marathon,
& a white spot by it - that was
the trophy of Miltiades - & a brown
spot which was the Tumulus.
Past the promontory of Gnosura,
the coast takes a sudden turn &
I could see the shores of Euboea
at intervals under the fog as far
as Chalcis. If I had not been
greedy & wished for a map, I
should have thought these lovely
blue vignettes, shining out from
under the curtain at intervals
more beautiful in reality than
a bird's eye view. In half an hour,
Demetrio advised our going on to the
upper summit, which we did on
foot. Here the Southern side was
clearer - & from Megara all along
the Bay of Eleusis, Salamis, the
Piraeus, all was spread out before
us - the Mesagaea, (the plain
behind Hymetus, which came
down like a great back bone.
I had not yet looked behind
Hymetus / Mount Gargetus -
the island of Makronisi &
Porto Rafti - all up that coast
we could see, I think it must
be the most beautiful view
in the world - the crags are so
bold - & the vegetation so
luxuriant. the colouring so
Southern & the features
Northern. we spent an hour
& a half on the top before we
thought we had been there
five minutes & at 1/4 to 11
were obliged to turn to go down.
The top was alive with bees -
& as we began going down, we
heard the shepherd piping to his
flock in true Arcadian fashion.
Coming round a point, we saw
the flock themselves, black goats,
(with long horns, not twisted Cornu Ammonis) standing, not bleating, not feeding, but perched all over 2 or 3 bare crags, the principal Goat occupying the top most. I never saw anything so droll as they looked against the sky. At the quarries we stopped on our way down & went into the great cave, where the coolness is perpetual, the water incessantly falls, & the ferns grow - & the little Greek chapel has succeeded the Temple. At the top of the over hanging white marble crag above stands a solitary pine like a stone pine. Everything in Greece always grows like an Artist. It was one o'clock before we rejoined the party at the Monastery - & there we sat under the ilexes &

drank water as cold as ice from the torrent & delicious coffee made by Demetrio. An enormous bay tree, the largest I ever saw, grows in the yard of I cannot call it a cloister. I put my head into a few of the un = sanctified cells - dirty, untidy, & secular, there was nothing to remind one of the sacred pretensions the inhabitants have chosen to put on. One occupant lay coiled on his mat in his sheep skin. It was four o'clock before we reached home. The day I saw the tomb of Themistocles was such a day for such a scene. It had been cloudy all day, as Mr. Hill & I rode down to Phalerum Bay through tufts of young vines & poppies & beautiful little lanes (the poor olives are beginning in some
places to revive, but the orange
trees are quite dead) we rode along
the beach for some distance - gallantly
forded the Cephisus - for the
Cephisus now is a stream. &
then struck across to the Piraeus -
where we met the others & walked
along the beach to Themistocles'
grave. The sun had by this time
set behind the clouds - a dark
red lurid sunset - the air was
soft as milk & as damp - Salamis
was as black as Cocytus against
the sky - & Egina not much
lighter - & here & there a crimson
break in the clouds shewed the
sea as dark & heaving as Thes=
mistocles' spirit after his exile.
There lies the solitary sarcophagus,
the waves washing over it - & on
the rocks, which are here level
with the sea, the fragments of
the solitary column which stood
above it. There is something
so wild, so dreary, so sublimely

melanc holy & alone in that spot,
one feels the spirit of Themistocles
hovering near & perhaps delighting
in it - that great weak spirit,
which toiled & laboured for the
love of glory, the sympathy of
his fellow creatures - which sacri=
ficed all for that & failed -
not so weak however as to use
his failure against those he
had toiled to win - his was a
great head, tho' a little heart.
He longed for a trophy like
Miltiades & he obtained it - but
how differently from what he
expected. And now perhaps
he sits beside that tomb &
wonders how he could ever care
for it so much.
We had still light enough to
ride round all the harbours
from Piraeus to Phalerum, exquisite
little bays running in - & all
surrounded by the ruins of the
Long Walls, which hemmed in all the whole coast - & by quags & steps What a wild solitary Coast it is - scarcely a fisherman - a solitary old man picking up seaweed for the tiles perhaps - no one else over all the Mung=chium promontory, with its many inlets & harbours. There it is alone with its ruins & its recollections. The ships in Piraeus were illuminated for the King's departure, & the French steamer was sending up blue lights, as we rode back. It was then quite dark. Bondouri, a Hydriot, joined us on a high white horse, & we rode home the five miles to Athens together.

On Sunday in the evening we went & sate on Mars hill, & looked upon the sea & the Pnyx & the Theseum & Mr. Hill read to us a sermon of his upon St. Paul.

It is very difficult to imagine the Areopagus sitting there without rolling off, especially as it generally tried causes by night. There is no place so difficult to realize. It is true on the side of the Eumenides cave, enormous blocks of rock have rolled down, probably from an earth quake, but this does not seem to have been the case on the Areopagus side. Yesterday morning Σ & I sate a long time in that cave of the Eumenides; though the overhanging part rock is broken off & torn away & lies on the other side, the deep black spring is still there, & you sit in the cleft & look out between the rocks upon the Acropolis, the Temple of Victory & the Propylaea. I sate & thought of poor Cowper's sufferings, but not bitterly. I like to think how the Eumenides' laws work
out all things for good - & I would not be such a fool as to pray that one tittle of hell should be remitted, one consequence altered either of others' mistakes or of our own. How true the Greek feeling of the suffering of Orestes for his mother's murder. Go on, Eumenides: - your cave is blasted & your worship destroyed - but the feeling which dictated it is as true as it was 2000 years ago, as it was in the beginning, is now & ever shall be. I love the Eumenides better almost than any part of the Greek worship & I love the spirit, which we have miscalled fatalism, which so nobly acquiesced in it, without understanding the reason why.

Eucharis Street June 6'. 1850.
Pray thank Mr. Parker for his letter & yours of May 5 only just received thro' Mr. Wyse. I saw Christabelle's son in the paper - congratulate. You are very good, dearest people, not to wish us to hurry home - for ever & ever
Athens. June 8 - 1850
My dearest We are still here, as
you see. The boat we were to
have gone by (on the 3rd) broke down -
& another has been sent for from
Trieste - & whether we go now by
the great Constantinople boat of
Thursday 13th or wait for this on the
17th depends upon how the boats are
settled & whether the Hills go with
us as far as Corfu. Meanwhile
I have been taking some lovely
rides with Mr. Hill to the
Monastery of Syriani on Hymetus,
along the Daphni road & to Karà.
How lovely the scenery is wd be
difficult to describe & why it is
so lovely. I begin to think that
it is the proportion & that there
must be proportion in the things
of nature as of Art - I am talking
nonsense, I believe - but nobody
minds me, you know. In the
valleys of Switzerland the heighth
is too great for the width - & it
looks like a bottle - In the
Valleys of Egypt, the width is too great for the height & it looks like a tray. For this reason, clouds are provided in Switzerland & Scotland, otherwise the height would become intolerably out of proportion, unless it were covered in at the top. For this reason, clear sky is in Egypt, or you would feel in a shelf. But here, where the clear sky is meant they say to be perpetual, tho' I can't say I have seen much of it since I came, the proportion observed has been perfect, the exact curve is always there, the exact slope which you want - & if a line were to change its place, you would feel the effect would be spoilt. You feel towards it as to an architectural building. I believe in this lies the great peculiarity of the Athenian views. Otherwise, for colouring I must declare I have seen nothing like the evenings of the Campagna.
I am perfectly certain, though I dare not say so that the Parthenon is much more beautiful now than when it was complete - & that, were those odious battlements but taken down, the whole of the Acropolis wd be so. I should Witness the Theseum - I believe that anybody who spoke the truth wd tell you that their first impression on seeing it from a distance was one of deep dis= appointment & that it was only after walking under the Colon= nades of this matchless little jewel that they had come to feel its beauty. I am sure the Parthenon must have lost as an object in a view, when its cella was complete, & its roof was on, when you could not see, as now, the sea through its columns from all the Northern side country when it looked like a box with a portico round it. The more I think of Architecture, the more it puzzles me,
because that alone of all the works of Man is not imitation - there it has been left to him to invent. I don't know whether it is a proof of the imperfection of the works of man, & that only those of God are perfect in themselves that when the human figure is broken, it is spoiled - its beauty is gone - a statue, without its head, say what you will, is an ugly object - but a ruined temple is almost always more beautiful than the perfect one - while the beauty you find in the ruined statue is certainly not there but only what you are reminded it has been. Here you know there is a great poverty of statues - you must go to Rome for that. Still in the Theseum, there are some lovely fragments - most of them, sepulchral monuments, bas reliefs, almost all of women - the dying woman

is generally drawing her veil round her head, as she is preparing to separate herself from the living - while the husband says his fare= well to her - & the friend holds up her little baby, Why will you go? Some of them are exquisitely touching & mournful. But the whole character of the Greek sculpture is to me so inexpressibly pensive & sad. I am sure no one can see the frieze of the Panathenaic procession by Phidias which is within the Portico of the Parthenon & not be struck with the unspeakable melancholy of the expressions of that festive procession. The attitudes of the horses, of every thing in that triumphant celebration of the Attic liberties, (the union of the Attic tribes) are joyous, exulting, glorious the heads of those who ride the horses are bowed in deep thought - their faces, not certainly sicklied
o'er, but composed with the pale
cast of thought. Even the indiffe-
rent ministers in the procession
are pensive – & the countenance
of Pericles is one of the saddest
I ever saw. The Athenians
must have been a very grave
people – in their passionate love
of art & beauty, melancholy. But
I have often observed how passion
& melancholy often go together. I
suppose that that very ardent character
is more perceptive of the distance
which separates its aspirations &
its performances than any other.
There are casts now here, done
by a German, of the whole Western
frieze of the Parthenon. There are
no duplicates – & he asks only £25
How I wish somebody in England
would buy them. They never will be
done again.
Please read & send the en-
closed for Mr. Bracebridge to the
Morning Herald. Also read &

send the enclosed, if you like, to
Anne Plunkett.
I am much better, thank you –
& last night climbed up to the
top of Lycabetus, leaving Σ &
Mrs. Hill at the bottom – &
there, at the chapel of St.
George, which crowns the top of
that rocky peak, all grown
over with a delicate pale
lilac wild holly oak, feasted
on the loveliest view of Athens
I think there is. The Acropolis
against the sea – the sun
setting behind Aethaeron [Cithaeron?]– the
delicate tints of the gulf & the
clouds – & then as you come down,
round a shoulder of Lycabetus,
the Acropolis bursts upon you in
all its unearthly beauty, so
solitary there above the city.
This morning before breakfast,
Σ & I went up there. It is never
so beautiful as by the morning
light – & I begin to understand
the beauty excellence of the contrast, by which the Erechtheum, which I never could admire, in its delicate & somewhat irregular magnificence, sets off the severe & solemn Parthenon. Any other building would have distracted one's attention - this only acts as a foil. How proud the Greeks were - how anxious to avoid any low or common images, when they represented Athena Wisdom springing at once in full majesty & perfection from the Primaeval Power. Yet I like our conception better - the conception by which our God passes through all the stages & humility of childhood - the slow growth by which he is made perfect thro' sufferings is more really sublime & certainly more true than that of the sudden development of wisdom. [end 7:428]

Mr. B is better yrs ever dearest people
Trieste. June 25. 1850 14
Safe arrived here, dearest people, & once more in Europe - the Levant is left behind for ever, & between us & it is a great gulf fixed. Europe received us today with very cold wet arms & a tearful welcome - but still she is Europe still & no European can ever look upon the East as his, much less her home. The dear Hills came with us as far as Corfu, unwilling to part & there we bade them farewell, after such a delightful two days in that fairy place island, where every flower grows twice as big as it does every where else, where no frost can touch the olive & the pomegranate, & every thing seems to grow as if it loved the place.
We left Athens this day week at four o'clock in the morning, (Monday 17th) having, by the favour of M. Gropius, got a passage by an Austrian war steamer to Callimaki, otherwise we should not have been here at all - as the "Baron Hubeck" had broken down, & no sort of arrangements had been made for conveying the passengers - Oh! you must take a Caïque, was all the answer that any one got. So every one else was sold, & we were wafted high & dry to Callimaki sworn to secrecy as we had been by old Gropius. The sun was just rising behind Lycabetus, as we drove down to the Piraeus & I thought, as I looked my last look at the Acropolis that the last was the fairest - backed as her white crown was with a band of crimson light, while all below her was grey. The sun rose completely as we embarked at the Peiraeus, & long after we left the harbour, the Acropolis was visible with the guardian Lycabetus standing by her side, taller but less beautiful (I always thought when I looked at them, of strength by physical & strength by intellectual gifts - they might stand for Mars & Athena. Only Lycabetus takes his inferiority so meekly & seems only intent upon protecting his more beautiful rival) Well, we steered out of harbour, & I think from no place does Athens look so beautiful - that insulated rock crowned with temples against
the circle of Hymetus & Pentelicus.
There is certainly nothing in the
world like it. So The Marianna
received us on board, Mr. & Mrs.
Hill, Mr. & Mrs. Bracebridge, Mrs.
Trout, Athena the owl, two
tortoises, a cutting from Plato's
own platane tree by the Ilyssus
& me. Athena is a baby from
the Acropolis, who has already
rubbed all the feathers off
her nose in her hair breadth
escapes from the cage - & eats
raw meat - & kicks over her
tub - & makes a scompiglio
like a wiser & an older man.
The captain of the man of war
was as sulky as manners
(hardly?) would permit -
neither board nor lodging
would he give, but only
carriage & that he seemed
right glad to put an end to
when he debarked us at
Callimaki. The view of the

islands, Egina, terminating
in a long point with its town
upon it, Paros & all the little
ones, the promontory of Methone,
& all the Moreas hills, ending
with the still unequalled Acro
Corinthus is beautiful - but
there is one thing more powerful
than Joy or Grief, even Joy at
seeing the very poetry of
landscape, even Grief at leaving
Athens - & that is a sandfly,
for many sand flies produce
many sleepless nights. & many
sleepless nights produce a
strong tendency to tumble off
one's chair even in the Gulf
of Salamis - to my eternal
shame & sorrow be it spoken.
The Capt was guiltless of giving
us any appliances or means
to boot to induce to sleep, that
much be said - so with His help
& that
of a very hard chair, I managed to keep awake enough to see Nicaea, the port of Megara, with its lovely little Acropolis, the scene of our last week's exploit. Landed at Callimaki, Mrs. Hill, like an able general never disconcerted by captain's méfaits, captain's rudeness or captain's want of forethought, gave us our breakfast, which she had brought with her in a basket, accompanied by breakfast for Athena, & water from the spring (very brackish) turned into lemonade by a canny old courier for us. And here horrible reports reached us of quarantine at Corfu, no boat coming to Loutraki, what would the Hills do? However we took a thing called a coach, with three parallel seats, & four horses & drove across the Isthmus. That lovely drive -

to Loutraki, where in spite of prognostics, we found the steamers & I gathering a great bunch of wild Oleanders, we went on board, promising ourselves to come on shore again for a walk (it was only one o'clock) as the steamer did not start till 10 at night. However the heat was so intense that nobody felt inclined to stir - & we dozed & wiled away our time till night, incredible as it sounds - I shall always think I never saw a spot so poetic as Corinth, lying at the foot of its Acro Corinthus, with the mountains of Sicyon on the right, of Nemea on the left, folding in one behind the other - because in all other countries that I have ever seen, the plain is the country ground the mountain is the fringe "of 'Peace's coat" - but in Greece
in the fringe consists the whole coat & there is no plain country at all. This is what gives it that consummate gracefulness of outline - that absence of wall outline effect - it is the difference between an avenue & a forest - an avenue has its beauties - but who would compare it to the glades of the New Forest? This & the proportion, (like a Doric temple), make the charm of Grecian scenery. In the North, where the mountains are always too high for the vallies, you see how the Gothic style arose - they could have no idea of completeness or harmony in architecture, seeing no harmonious architecture in nature - their idea therefore was to build as high as they could & only to stop when they could get no nearer heaven. The Egyptian architecture, in which Wilkinson finds "that elegant column, of which the heighth is three circumferences) is after the exact type of their scenery - & so is the Doric temple after this. The sun went down while we were still on board the boat, making the Halcyon promontory a purplish black fringed with gold against the crimson sky, & soon after the moon was up, we went to bed - & next morning found us just passing through the Strait of Rhium & Anti rhium & nearing Patras. We meant to have slept on deck, but the deck was so covered with fustanellas, male & female & their accompaniments that it was impossible. And in the morng Missolonghi's sum=

mists were shrouded in mist. We debarked at Patras for the sake of Turkish baths & British consuls, Crows & Woods & Co - who gave us to eat - illeg one of their number to take us on board. The view of the hill of Missolonghi from the arcades of Patras, (in its sun-lit mist as it was then) is like the hill of Gibraltar & nearer the mouth of the gulf is another Gibraltar. We were in Zante by midnight - but I contented myself with looking at the curious scene thro' the window of my berth 2 inch by 3. the moonlight pouring on the bay - the groups landing & embarking - the Zantiots screaming & screeching, & thrusting their great hands thro' my berth window. At 6 the next morning we were in the bay of Argostoli - Cefalonia differing from other islands by being a land surrounding water as well as a land surrounded by a water. It is nothing but a great ring opening to let the water in - I don't particularly admire Cefalonia - its great round stony hills, with vineyards by the water's edge are hardly pretty even at sunrise, in comparison with its sister island Corfu. We had a sea all day, so that we did not cast anchor in the port of Corfu till twelve o'clock at night - too late to get pratique that night - but we were on deck at 5 o'clock, when the heat was already intense - for the sea breeze had not yet sprung up. From 6 to 9 is often the hottest part of a Grecian day - then the "inbat" gets up & makes it tolerable.
We went ashore as soon as we could, i.e. as soon as the Austrian Lloyd had done us out of as much money as it could, by refusing to take its own paper money or anything but zwanziger - & toiled up the little narrow streets with their picturesque arcades & balconies from the port to la bella Venezia. Alas! My dear, into thy faithful ear be it whispered, to what advantage does an English town appear after an Attico = Bavarian one. I know that such were not my sentiments after coming from a Turkish one - for the Turks must carry the palm before any other nation in the civil (=economical line - what shall I call it? But to know what one means, conceive a town built without drainage, either natural or artificial, without water, without streets, where dead dogs lie continually before your door & will never be removed except by yourself, where you slip over decaying vegetables at every step, where unless it is not decaying offal, where water is dearer than house rent, all the water being kept for the king's garden, where if a street becomes by accident carriageable, an immense heap of rubbish appears the day after - (no road you have ever seen is to be compared to one of these streets) where the smells about sunrise are worse than those of any hospital - this is Athens, the Greco Bavarian Athens - the Athens which in the Turkish
times was well watered, well
drained, & thoroughly well roaded,
not only in the town but country
round & furnished everywhere with fountains.
If it were not for Nature's
scavengers, the myriads of dogs, that howl
the whole night through, like
jackals, Athens would be
uninhabitable, except by fever.
After this, Corfu with ten
times the disadvantages & none
of the advantages of Athens has
cramped, narrow & dilapidated,
but drained, watered & kept
clean appears with its neat
little streets, a paradise of
cleanliness. It does not attain
like Cairo to the seventh heaven,
but like Cairo, every atom of
dung & dirt is carried away
by hand before you are up in
the morning. Down from la
bella Venezia we went to the
sea baths, & there a delicious

seabreeze came springing up &
whispering in before we
returned to breakfast. After
brkft, a wonderful woman, by
name Ly Dorothea Campbell,
what you call Inglesissima but
rather what the "grand Lady" of novels (by
Elizabeth of Pride & Prejudice) is than
anything one sees in real life
asked us into her rooms, till
ours were ready - apparently
to complain of every man, woman,
& child's disrespect to her
under the sun than anything else.
Then divers visitors came to
see Mrs. Hill - & lastly I,
with some trouble & reluctance
& great difficulty about the spelling & penmanship,
indicted two epistolary documen-
tary evidences of my being in
Corfu to the families Ward &
Gisborne, providing that they
shd not be sent till late at night
& the Levant steamer being to
call for us the next morning
as soon as it was good after [see odd]
dinner, (la bella Venezia's thermo.
was getting out of the top of the tube) -
we went out in a carriage
with a Mr. Bowen, the Prince
of Owls & Principal of Students
at Corfu to a village called
Πσλληκα he wanted to shew us
Out of doors it was not the
least hot. But oh that drive -
fancy an island where, unlike
our dear barren neglected stony
Attica, every inch of ground is
cultivated to garden perfection
(if any sentiments here appear
not to correspond with Blue
Book - April 19. 1850. confer
now - now V. Blue Book)
where the olive trees are as
old as Gethsemane, twisted &
gnarled, every one a study in

itself - & standing like forest
trees on green sward - except
where vineyards grow up among
them - not one touched by
the frost as in Greece, where all are black - fancy the hedges of
pomegranates in full flower, except
where they are of aloe & cactus,
& flowering oleander - the myrtle
& red geranium growing wild -
the fig tree covered with ripe
figs - & the vines twining all
about them - & through this garden
the most beautiful roads & bridges
& wells - & beyond it the ranges
of Albanian mountains, which
shut the sea in, & make it
into an enchanted lake. Corfu
in June is an Arabian night's
dream - or rather a Persian night's dream -
such as Persian poets would
have written, if they had had
a fancy to write like one Northern
poet, a _Midsummer Night's Dream_. Shakspeare made a mistake when he associated his with an Attic name - Attica is an Artist = & Studio's Night's Dream - Corcyra is truly the Midsummer Night's Dream - fragments of the ancient Corcyra lie about everywhere, but nothing of any worth. The country alas! is not healthy - what is favourable to vegetable is not to any human life - the town, thanks to British prevoyance, & water brought to it from a great distance is perfectly so. Up a wonderfully engineered road we ascended thro' groves of olive trees, where women were standing at the fountain & hasted to give us to drink in their pitchers, holding the rope lest we shd swallow them - till we reached the top of the mountain which divides Corfu from the Adriatic on the Western side - alas! the higher we went the more we lost of the view, for the thicker grew the mist till when we reached Pellikà, we could see nothing at all - we were entirely wrapped in the veil - but I am glad we persisted - for of all the poetic mountain fastnesses, the little villages of Arcadian shepherds with their tiny market place, with church on one side & Signore's house on the other, & the third occupied by hut above hut in terraces, each with its own fig tree, the aforesaid square agora the only landing place in the hanging village, Pellekà is the most romantic,
& must always live like a dream in every one's memory. They brought water to us in a lordly dish. Before we got home, it was bright moonlight - we had left the mist completely behind or rather above. The good Gisbornes called that very night - but I was - in bed. & before sunrise the next morn came an invitation from the Ward's Our Levant steamer had not yet been signalized - wild hopes arose in our minds of another day's rest in Corfu - perhaps she had gone down with all on board - what joy! However we would not give up our last day with the Hills, as they had come all the way from Athens to be with us, nor our evening drive, shd we be so fortunate as to have our prognostics verified, & I set out alone to call at the

Palace - charged with the excuses of the whole party - they were all asked to dinner - I to breakfast too. But when I got there, they were so overpoweringly kind, so overflowingly angry that I had not come before, Sir H Ward himself came out, said that I had often called him tyrant, & took me in his arms like a father, & stood over me in the character of Grant, he said, till I had written a letter compelling them all to come, which he then sealed & sent, that I could not do otherwise. How could I, when they were all so really kind & glad to see me? So the whole posse comitatus of us spent the day there - they sending the carriage for us - & I am really glad to have
seen what is my idea of eastern luxury. I had a great deal of conversation with him at dinner where he kept a place for me next him & listened to his sorrowful confessions of having undertaken a place too hard for him - (which of course must go no further). he wd not have undertaken it, had he known [?] worse things were coming- the English were in a false position there- the place was an impossible one &c. But not the less do I feel that he ought to have weighed himself in the balance first & found himself wanting. Many think the islands are lost to us the best excuse his own officers make for him is that he was swayed by passion & temper - in the Hungarian War, they said, 300,000 were engaged- in the Cephalonian 300& in each an equal number in each was hanged- the number

of those flogged was 3 times that in the Blue Book - many of the victims were innocent, &c. However that may be, I am glad to have seen Sir H. Ward, because I like, I do (whatever you may think) to be at peace with my fellow creatures, & tho' I think him an insincere man, he had no interest to be so with me - But more of him when we meet. Before I went back to fetch & introduce the rest of the party, loaded with flowers, I had been shewn the Palace - it is a Palace indeed - had walked in the garden, where every flower & fruit is twice as big as anywhere else, as I told you, had been fed with apricocks, & green figs and dewberries & loaded with pink acacias and flowers. I hate being shewn a house, but made a point of "doing" this for Mrs.
Mackenzie’s sake (by the bye, 
I never had any letter from 
Louisa) & oh what views from 
every window - & oh that little 
three cornered garden - where 
under the shade of high trees, thro’ 
groves of flowers you look out 
over a balustrade upon the sea 
made into a lake by S Salvador 
the point of Corfu, & the whole 
range of Albanian mountains, 
or rather range behind range, for 
the last snowy point is 60 miles 
inland. In all the sea views almost, 
the only foreground you get is barren 
land or stony ground or bleak hill, 
but to have a foreground of gera=
niums & acacias & oleanders & balustrade & 
a different thing the sea is -This 
little raised terrace is the most 
exquisite thing. I gathered a bough 
of the pink Acacia to dry dry for Mrs. 
Mackenzie, in remembrance of this 
place which is always associated 
for me with them her - pray tell her 
how much I thought of her in her own kingdom

After this I went home 
to fetch my people. Pray tell 
Mrs. Mackenzie, when you write, 
that Mrs. Hill always preserves 
the recollection of the pleasant 
hours she owed to her in Corfu. 
We dined at 3 in the large 
oval summer dining room, exqui-
sitely cool & airy it was - & after 
dinner some went out in the 
yacht & Sir H.W. & Lady Ward 
(who is much better with this 
beautiful climate) staid at home 
to take Mrs. Hill & me up to the 
Summer Palace - that spot in 
summer is so lovely - the white 
Catalpas, wild scarlet geranium, aloes in flower 
red Oleanders, everything growing 
in such profusion of luxuriance, 
it reminds one of one of Guido’s 
pictures, in which the flowers 
have been showering (mere figure 
of speech in general) fresh flowers 
upon the earth. And all this 
growing upon the broken ground
(for there is not an inch of flat
ground in Corfu) gives it the wild look, which so dressed a garden would otherwise lose, from our association with these kinds of plants. But the peculiar mysterious charm of this Eastern vegetation to me is that, in the midst of flowering pomegranate & gay Spanish chestnut & shining green vine you see shooting up to heaven the black cypress, everywhere, such a curious contrast to all around, its sable foliage unmoved by any wind, giving to the scenery I think, half its character, the character of real life, Death in the midst of Life, Melancholy in the midst of Joy. It is like the veiled figure at the Egyptian feasts, like Lazarus coming out under the light of the Sun & his Saviour’s face, like the ghastly woman one sees in London at the door of Lady Palmerston’s soirées – like our day on the steamer after our day at Corfu – like the owl among the day birds – I like these contrasts, because people should not think that all on earth is good, ever. And on the mountains of Corfu you ever see that mysterious shadow passing, which the Greeks believe to be "Death with his shadowy train". We drove up to the One-Gun Battery which overlooks the lake (which is an arm of the sea) and Ulysses’ petrified ship & the little island Greek church & then home. The yacht was not yet come back, so Mrs. Hill & I sate long upon the balcony overlooking the little three cornered garden where the moon had risen & was playing under the trees, and throwing mysterious shadows on the sea – & a great broad defined shadow under the archway –0 for architecture has done her best here as well as Nature – behind the arch a
clump of foliage & a light in it-
In this sort of scenery I like the mixture of the hand of man with that of God. It was like a scene at the Opera (you know I have no pious horror of dramatic representations, which I shd only like to see set upon the same footing as they were in Greece) The Wards had most goodnaturedly left Mrs. Hill & me alone our last evening - & how we enjoyed it 0 & Mrs. Hill is going to put the Wards up to doing some little good - for they are willing & stupid - Just at that moment up went the signal ball at the Citadel - our fate was sealed - our steamer was signalized. I felt a pang, I must say - it was such a dirty, stinking cypress rising up among our pomegranates -They gave us fruit - the yacht returned we looked out upon the moonlight from on the Esplanade & walked home, I going to call on the good Gisbornes who positively offered us all a lodgment in their small apartment, if we wd stay till the next week’s steamer. How hospitable people are with nothing. The next morning we toddled out to see the flower & fruit market - & Santo Spiridion before embarking - a beautiful Venetian church, where the first spectacle of Greek piety, or of any semblance of any feeling of any kind, or of any pleasure in their churches, met my longing eyes, that I have seen since I have been in communion with the Greek church. It was pleasure to me really to see them kissing the silver shrine of S. Spi. - prejudice superstition is better than apathy - in front of every Greek chancel is the screen of the Water Colour Exhibition, Pall Mall East covered with small oblong frame, as that is but of saints. This there was at St. Spi. still there was something more, I don’t know what, a savour of devotion, about the church, as if people came there to pray, & people were there praying
I was so glad to find myself in a Roman Cath. country again, when I came here - Well, we embarked, Mr. Hill going with us as far as the boat. We were in quarantine as soon as we touched her - as she is the Constantinople boat - so he could not come on board - let no one conceive what wretchedness is till he has been on board a Levant steamer in June. Prisons & work houses are palaces to her. We had a tolerable passage of 54 hours. we were an age getting pratique here, but were too thankful to get it at all - as we had two sailors ill on board & there were rumours of quarantine - Two nights we stay here to rest - then go on to Vienna, where I hope to find letters from you - dear people

Sir H. Ward told me all about the prorogation of the Ionian Parlt which he had done effected just before we arrived - Under the unhappy circumstances, it seemed all that could be done. they fancied that
his hands were tied by Lord Grey not
to prorogue & had prepared three
motions entirely destructive of his
authority for the last week -
(particulars won’t interest English
people - but they want to join
with Greece) under these circum=
stances, he probably cd do nothing
but prorogue. They were frantic.
They need not wish a juncture
with unhappy Greece - but
our holding the islands long seems
impossible - Cephalonia is the
Ireland of the Ionian Isles. The
tenure of property there, most
gaged above its eyes, is much
what in Ireland gave rise to
the Encumbered Estates Bill. What
the English in Corfu say of Sir H.W.
is that he has great parliamentary dexterity
but is not the man for the hour.
The gist of his Cephalonian disaster
seems to lie in what Genl Church
said of it, What business had he
there at all? Caro Enrico, Che fate
là - Why did he go? But more
of Ionian affairs, when we meet.
With regard to what you & Mr. Parker say about Mr. Ward, we have now seen the blue book & that you may not think me violent nor unjust, I send you Mr. Bracebridge’s remarks upon it only adding his comment= ary that to execute 21 persons [?]
however just according to law, is unprecedented according to equity & he begs me to copy the following passage from Washing=
ton’s letters.

General Washington to Major Lee
Head quarters Oct 20, 1780 [1786?]
xx I agree to the promised rewards & leave the whole to the guidance of your own judgment, with this express stipulation & pointed injunction that he (Arnold) is brought to me alive. No circumstance whatever shall obtain my consent to his being put to death. The idea, which wd accompany such an event,

Mr. Bracebridge would remark that the cases are not parallel as Arnold’s execution was cer=
tain, is taken. But perhaps the refusal of the Cephaloniots to accept Mr. Ward’s bribe is the best commentary.

As to the story told Mr. Ward by the mask (the very circum=
stance which ought to have awakened his suspicions of a hoax), there was not a child in these parts who did not laugh at him for a gull.

Enough of that Mr. Bracebridge believes that the "dead or alive reward" has never been done offered by a British authority.

Enough of that. [end 7:440]
Letter to Mrs N. ff92-

   End of Sept [1850
My dearest mother, I am
sorry to say, in my dear
Grandmama’s impatience,
some of the partridges
were already gone as
presents, others into our
stomachs before your letter
arrived. But I shall
tell Emily of your kind
intentions, & of their having
been frustrated by equally
kind but more tempestuous
ones.

   Shore writes to his mother
that Uncle Oc has been
quite overcome -At Jane
had heard from Henry just
before -
   I send you a nice letter
from dear Aunt Hannah
I think Grandmama quite
as well as when I saw
her last - But rather
more difficult to understand.
I don’t think At Mai is well,
but she is very cheerful -
She does not know her plans
yet, but evidently dreads
the effect of this upon
Uncle Sam -whom she
has not heard from yet.
Shore writes very nicely
about it.

   Grandmama desired
Aunt Mai & me to read
a sermon this morning
together, so we read the
Sermon on the Mount

I was very sorry to leave home, just
when you were going to be alone, more
sorry than I can tell - but I think

"it is good for me to be here."
Letter to Mrs N f94

[September or October 1850]

Dearest mother, I opened the enclosed to Papa, thinking J.P. might be like Death "at the door," & have answered it, saying Papa is not here, but I hope he will be, or rather there tomorrow - if he hears in time.

I am quite well, thanks, & no draw back. I give up the mourning then as I am bid, & am afraid I should not have pleased. Aunt Mai puts all the children into mourning, as she thinks that all the family will be so at

Xmas, & she says if there is any meaning in mourning, it is that of a community of feeling - Uncle Sam has seen the account in the paper & writes, still hoping against hope - he gives up the I of Man, where he was going with Shore to visit the Bishop of Lodor & Man, in consequence of this even, "should it prove true" as he says he is to be today at Oban where he will hear all - & probably come straight on home from Achrannist. I have not yet been able to make out from Gdmama
If she will like to see Papa
She is so very exciteable-
The owl is watching quite
immoveable a most
tremendous storm of
wind & rain -
    Thank dear Pop for
undertaking my clothes-
I hope she won’t
overdo herself - If
Leicester cd take a
fat little book called
"tracts for the Xtian
Seasons," repapering it
to Maria Peach, (the
lowest of Sims’s houses),
I shd be glad -
ever dear Mum yr
loving child

You will like to see, dearest
mother, what Aunt Jenny
says of Shore. Indeed I have
sometimes hopes, since I have
given up all ideas of my own
about him, & taken up
ideas that are not my own,
that it may be as Aunt
Jenny says some day. But
then he must be furnished
with an employment which
interests him.
    We want exceedingly to
hear all that you can
about the poor Nicholsons -
tell them I long to see them -
tell them all that is
loving from me - I hope
you will write from Waverley.

I was so glad to see Shore
so nice during that short
time here.
Is the Athenian box come?
ever dearest mum yr loving child 20 Oct 8
My dearest mother
   Gdmama does not
wish to see Papa now - she
says "we will look forward
to Xmas - & it would be
too much hurry for me
now. He is very good to
me & I shd be very
ungrateful not to feel it."
She seems now in good
humours with all the
world.
   When I saw Aunt Evans
on my way here, she said
to me that she wished
all parties to do what
was most convenient - but
that she should not take
leave of me, because she
should look forward to the
great comfort of seeing
At Mai & me when we left Tapton or, at
all events, me. She was
so much moved that
I we could not say any
thing. She said either
that she had, or that
she would, mention it
to you. Perhaps you
will decide what you
wish me to do, & tell
her your decision.
Aunt Mai's own plans
perplex her much - she
is very unhappy at the
idea of not gratifying the
dear old lady, & wants to manage it somehow. She hears this morning from Uncle Sam that he has given up Ld Lovat's & all his visits, not having the heart for them - that he will be at Glasgow with Shore on Thursday - then matters are uncertain - if she could get rid of Shore at Embley, I think she & Uncle Sam wd go to Malvern, for all his ailments are come back - or if she could get rid of Shore &

Uncle Sam at Embley, she wd stay here & at Cromford Br. a little longer - but she is afraid to trust Shore at home without her - as no one else can prevent him sleeping in town. But unfortunately your plans don't take you to Embley immediately, & as University Hall opens in the middle of October, she does not like to make Shore so very long after this. Will you say what your plans & wishes are & write us word? Mrs. Strutt wd not be surprised at not seeing me, as I told her I cd make no engagement, I was at the Nicholson's disposal
Dearest mother, Aunt Mai has heard from Uncle Sam this morning, that he & Shore will not be here till Saturday 19th or Thursday 17th. She therefore decides to go to Cromford Br. on Monday, which she is very anxious to do, till Thursday or Saturday & has written to Uncle Sam & Shore to take her up there – I therefore decide that it is best for me to go with her on all accounts, instead of putting it off till after the visits, as you so kindly propose. Aunt Mai dreads being with Aunt Evans alone, & I can't say that I don't too, because it brings me up a recollection of all the old grievances, the hundred times told tale. And it is vain to shout anything into her ear – her moral ear won't hear – You know – but she never does this to two together. I think it is therefore
very comfortably settled
that she & I shd go to
Cromford Br. on Monday -
& I have written to
Aunt Evans to that effect.
I see you say in your
note that you go to
Gracedieu on Monday
21st in that case, I
shd still go to Gracedieu
with you, if you liked it.
Uncle Sam is much
cut up, says he shall
give up Whitehall, as
he will have no heart
to return there.
As at present advised,

As at present advised,

Aunt Mai & I think
it best for you to take
us away from hence on
Monday - we adjourning to the Rail as there will
then be less occasion to
tell lies to Gdmama, who
must at all events
not know that we are
going to Cromford Br -
Papa's visit I am sure
did good, but she
was afterwards agitated
& did not get up to
dinner. There is a
good deal of discharge
from the breast.
No more, as I shall
see you so soon; Dearest

for all you have done for me

Mother - many thanks
My dearest mother, I am quite relieved that the Nicholsons have asked us - but I think from what I hear that the longer it is put off the better - to enable them to recover strength first -- Laura writes to Aunt Julia that it was (more dreadful at first (the meeting) than she could have thought possible - & she thinks her mother a little overrated her strength & power of seeing people. She says that Aunt Anne finds relief in talking about him, but that Uncle Nicholson has hardly spoken of it since - I should not wonder if it were to shorten his life. Jack was the first to tell them - & seems to have done his work beautifully Uncle Nicholson took listened with perfect calmness - but has not spoken of it since.

I enclose McCracken's two bills - & the bill of lading of the present box - as you desire that you may write to him, determining what is to be done with it. The bill of lading must be enclosed to him. The
FN to Mrs N [IN PENCIL] desiring to stay at Cromford [1:124]

My dearest mother I was rather disappointed not to hear from you this morn. I should be very glad if it were so settled that I should stay - both on account of companionizing Aunt Mai & Aunt Evans & also because I might then do something in Holloway - where I have had so little time & so much to do.

Uncle Sam went this morn.
Shore & I should I think at all events stay till Friday.

Boots & shoes & a comb & warm gloves I must myself buy in London.

ever yr loving child
ff103-04v LETTER TO FRANCES NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

f103 plans autumn 1850] {IN PENCIL} {IN PENCIL, IN ANOTHER HAND} End of Oct. about 25?

24
My dearest mother
Old Poison does not consider Shore's foot as material vital he calls it enlargement of the periostium, rubs in Iodine, thinks it will be some time before it is well - but does not wish to keep him here. Aunt Mai being out of fear about him has settled with Aunt Evans to stay, in order to give

f103v
Miss Hall a fortnight's holiday, which is accordingly quite decided - Indeed I don't see how she could do otherwise. I remain at your disposal - & shall wait my answer from you - & from Laura - only making the usual proviso which always should be made If we don't meet, don't let any body think there is an accident - I have Shore to take care of me - don't let Papa think me dependent upon him. I am going to the Hurst to day with Uncle Sam. I am getting my petticoat made.

ever dear Mum your loving child.
The singing bird must be put up to Mrs. Allgood,
Margaret Wigram’s housekeeper with a special message that it is very precious & to be kept dry & safe - Margaret being now at Brighton with her poor father in law - I am very sorry to trouble you with these details - but it ought to be left now we are passing thro' London

My dearest people
   You are very good indeed to let me stay.
   I am indeed glad to do so, as Aunt Evans, tho' quite good about it, wishes it so very much. I am sorry to be so long away from home - but feel that I cannot decide otherwise, as you leave me so kindly the choice. I think Shore will leave us to morrow.
   I enclose Laura's letter- as that may make some difference in your movements. It rather
shook me about staying -
but Aunt Mai did
not think it ought -
especially as you may
perhaps alter the time
of your own going.
Please send me back
Laura's letter - Aunt
Evans said It would
be a very great pleasure
to me - I am 88 - &
perhaps I may never
see you again - as Aunt
Mai says one can't but
feel this is true & one
would be sorry afterwards
if when one's father &
mother had given one
the power of staying,
one had rejected her wish.
   dearest people in haste
ever yours.

the power of staying,
one had rejected her wish.

ff107-11 LETTER TO W.E.N. HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN FN at Cromford Bridge to
W.E.N. {IN PENCIL} 2 the need of education for doing good. Death of H.
Nicholson. Wesleyan sermon

Oct. 26 [1850]
zealous to do good, & would  
[1:232-34]
say, "Don't, I advise you not -
the higher your notion of
what teaching is, the more
you will be disgusted
by what you do, unless
you take pains to qualify
yourself beforehand".

When, on the one hand, I
see the numbers of my kind
who have gone mad for the
want of something to do,
people who might have
been so happy, Miss Edmunds,
Aunt Evans, Aunt Patty, -
&, on the other hand, I
see the tribes of unmarried
women whose whole life
is set upon doing good,
(with which the neighbour=
hood of Tapton particularly
abounds) - & who are actually doing harm, -
I remain in mute astonishment before so practical a nation, who has made a Science of every thing but the Science of doing good - who has provided a training for every other profession but that of education. And my heart, to use David's language, longeth, nay thirsteth, my flesh crieth out for the day when we shall all have the means given us for fulfilling that very home vocation, which people are so often wrongfully accused of wishing to neglect, when

the fact is that they have so high an opinion of it that they cannot bear to rush blindfold into the mistakes which they see committed by their neighbours.

We have twice been up to see the dear little Hurst - it was looking very beautiful, & I felt so sorry to leave it. I can fancy you now at home, glad to have left the House of Mourning - indeed I should have felt the same, not knowing what on earth to do, say or look in such a crowd - because the ordinary life of servants waiting at dinner, people processioning two & two
f108v
along the passage, is no
preparation for seeing
the truth, the whole truth
of grief - & you must either
see the whole truth, or
turn away your eyes from
it altogether - I am so glad
to be here in quiet, where
I can think of the whole
truth of the case, where
it ceases to be mournful,
in any sense that God
can put upon the word
mournful, where one sees
more as God sees, instead
of in a bustle where that
becomes impossible - I
quite agree that with
the poor Nicholsons; "grief
must have its course"
indeed I pray that all

f109

may feel it deeply, for
in feeling it deeply is the
only comfort, the only truth.
But "my mission" there
would be not to distract
their thoughts, but to help
them to dwell upon it -
which is the only way in
which you can feel all,
& not the mere loss -
which, in ten or, at most, twenty
years, will be indifferent
to all. "Time is the best
comforter" is to me one of
those most nauseous un-
truths, which I cannot
imagine how people's
common sense accepts.
To dwell upon a thing,
which you know will perish,
which you hope will perish, viz the mere grief for a loss, is the most half way measure, the most unsatisfactory thing - "Daughter of God & man, immortal Eve" let her look the whole case in the face, the facts that will not perish thro' all Eternity.

Dear good Aunt sends you her best love & thanks for letting me be here - for which indeed I too am most thankful.

Aunt Mai & I went last Sunday to Ebenezer Enlarged in Cromford - & we heard a better sermon, we both agreed, than we have heard for the last twenty years - very interesting, not at all exciting, very reasoning - indeed I don't believe I have been able to listen to a Sermon before for nearly that space of time. The Wesleyans have been progressing for the last thirty years, I imagine, if they have come to such doctrine as that - the Church, I shd think, has not. The singing was good & the prayer very good.

ever dear Papa your loving & grateful child
Cromford Br 4 Nov
portion of letter [1850] {IN PENCIL}
FN to WEN about teaching, about {IN PENCIL}
    individualism & clubbism {IN PENCIL}
or socialism {IN PENCIL}

I am sorry you are alone, dear Papa, & I not with you - not for your sake, but mine. As for us, we go on swimmingly.
I believe I go far still [5:168-70] farther than you in all you say - I think the poor=law has been the ruin of England - I would make my Hospitals, Schools, Penitentiaries all self = paying. It is because I see my "good=doing rich & potent fellow Xtians" doing for "the Cottagers," instead of helping them to do for themselves, that I would educate the benevolence. It is because

I see two of the best & cleverest people I know pauperizing a whole town with their half= crowns, that I cry, Educate them to do better. I would as soon think of giving to a Cottager as to him of Chatsworth. I don't want to do any thing for the Labourers - I only want to do exactly what God does with us, viz, teaches us to help ourselves - God has provided against our doing anything else - we cannot, if we would, do anything instead of another. But we know, in our
daily experience, that there are many individuals (in all classes) who could not raise themselves — unless somebody will help them. It is, I believe, an established fact that savages never rise out of a state of savagery without some external help — we know too, that there are individuals, who would remain for centuries in the same state, if there were no one to help them. Could Rush will to be a benevolent man, a kind & honourable husband, & are we to wait till people arrive at the

state of Rush, before we help them. It seems to be the law of God that Mankind shall work out the salvation of man, not that each man shall work out his salvation for himself — we profit by all that our predecessors have done for us — both in their mistakes & in their discoveries.

Would your argument, if pushed to a principle, go to having no schools at all? If so, that every mother should bring up her own children in her own cottage? That every hut should nurse its own sick? If so, I
But you don't, I believe, carry out this principle into our own class - on the contrary, there never was a time when there was such a cry for public schools, colleges & all the rest of it. Every body knows that they can get a better Professor for multitudes than they can for their own family. And I rather think that the principle of Clubbism, Socialism, or whatever you choose to call it, will increase with civilization, instead of diminishing - that the way education-luxuries - refinement, -knowledge, - will be secured to all the people by the principle of clubbing. Yes but, you will say, they must do it for themselves, not others for them. But you don't carry out this principle in other things. A man makes a discovery in Educ Chemistry, & offers it to the world - you don't say Oh but every body must work out his chemical knowledge for himself. A man makes a discovery in Education - why is he not to help others with it? Yes but, you will say, every body must pay for the new chemical
discovery - I would make people pay too for my Institutions. i.e eventually. I would never say, Come to my school - but, My good people, you are very wrong if you send your children to my school for any other reason than that you think it the best one.

If, as I believe, you admit of the principle of schools, (day= & Sunday=) all I want is to have good schools instead of bad. I believe our day schools, in our present state of ignorance, are but an imperceptible step better than nothing - & as for Sunday school teaching, it is voluntarily bad.

If you say that domestic life should be the only education, I answer that I want to qualify & send them back more fit for domestic life. Every body knows that there are mothers totally unfit to educate their children, except to vice, dirt & idleness - they do not know how. Is it carrying out (or destroying) the principle of domestic life to leave these to help themselves. So with Hospitals. Would not your principle of self= tuition, if carried out, lead to not teaching the infant, but leaving it to
self-tuition. The only infants are not in the cradle - many mothers & fathers are infants to the end of their lives - & have never had the opportunity to develop themselves - & are perfectly incapable either of teaching themselves or of teaching their children. And are they not to be helped? You say, Who but themselves have taught frugality to the German peasant? I say, Circumstances - & that we see many people in such circumstances that they may continue to the end of centuries unable to will to raise themselves out of it, were it not God's plan that Mankind should help mankind into all truth & wisdom - not that anybody is to be put into anybody's "keeping", but that all are to discover for all. I believe that there is no principle that prevents the rich from communicating to the poor, any more than the poor to each other, or the poor to the rich - or the poor to each other. If you wish to do away with Sunday school teaching, I have of course nothing more to say - I infinitely prefer, of course, the Sunday Sch., which is set up in Holloway by themselves, than the Sunday Schools we set up for them. But
that does not affect my principle, which is that Sunday school teaching now is voluntarily bad - that people are still in the belief that, (instead of moral education being exactly the same as physical education - & that you are to watch the results of every word you say exactly as you watch the result of a dose of physic), they actually lay it down as a principle that you are not to look for results, that you are to "hope in faith", that if you see a good result, you are not to dwell upon analyse it, (for fear it should "make you ascribe it to yourself" - "at all events, you have liberated your own conscience by speaking") - & that, if you see none, you are to rejoice, & thank God that He has not allowed you to "do your best". Good gracious, is it possible that such ignorance can exist? wd a surgeon talk of "liberating his conscience" could such exist, if people were taught to teach, as they are taught to draw? Yes, you are quite right not to look for results, because you would not see any. I am often told "Oh you may be quite sure that you do some good - that at least you teach better than other people". Should we make such a speech about any single other thing under Heaven? - Is Hilary satisfied, because she
My dearest mother  It's an ill wind that blows nobody good & [illeg]  [illeg]  [illeg] [illeg]  [illeg]  [illeg]  [illeg] [illeg] 
I shall not be able to make my appearance till Monday - (4.23 at Romsey with Miss Johnson, please) & no mistake.

Susan Horner has an housekeeper she thinks wd suit us - she was housemaid with them 20 years ago, then nurse with Mrs. Frank Marcet, then married & widowed & now wants a place - a valuable person - Mrs. Marcet would be the person to write to - Susan has written to the person (Mrs. Jones) to tell her to write to you if she is still out of place. This entails nothing upon you, if you do not like to enquire further - Susan has also a kitchen maid. Do you still want one & shall I do anything further about her?

I have got Parth's hot bottle. I hope that people are now coming to their senses about the ridiculous row the Church is making, which I believe tends to nothing else but enslaving again all our liberties as Dissenters. I hope you saw Baring
Wall's good letter. I
enclose a copy of Uncle
Nicholson's to our Archdeacon.
   I am afraid you were
very much disappointed
not to see us to day, dear
mother - but it was not
my fault. I was very
much grieved about it,
but it is very well now
it was so - & I do feel
of much use here. The
Horners are so tiresome
& it keeps them off. I do
wish all these successive
shocks (renewing the first)
of seeing people cd be spared
Marianne - Mr. Beavan
comes tomorrow.

My dearest mother
   I shall appear at home
on Monday, if you think
best & if I hear from you
that some one comes to
meet me at Farnborough
or Farnham.
   The other plan is for
me to come with Uncle
Nicholson on Friday, who
has written to Papa that
he will come on that day.
Of course they are very
anxious for me to do
this - at the same time
they are perfectly good about it - not at all exacting - & if I am wanted at home, perhaps I might return for a week later in the winter. Marianne I am afraid will not be able to leave home for Petersfield, which I am indeed very sorry for - for I do think her trial a most severe one - so much worse than death. It has done me so much good to be here - I am most thankful to you & to God to have allowed it.

I cannot tell you how it has brightened & strengthened my views of life. And when I compare my feelings with those I have had at Waverley, I am indeed surprised to see how much happiness I think now there is to be had at home. Aunt Julia is gone to the reunion at Chatham. Uncle Nicholson was quite touched & delighted with Papa's note this morning - ever dear Mum your loving child

My dearest mother
Many thanks for your note - I find that Uncle Nicholson has discovered a School Meeting here for Monday 9th & puts off his coming to us till Friday the next
Add Mss 45790

week (you know the
Nicholsons have no
organ of Combination)
I therefore think it better, if you will send for me on Thursday, & not let me depend upon them - I am very sorry for this uncertainty & needless trouble - at the same time I don't think my time is wasted here. It helps to keep the peace & to preserve the atmosphere of holy calm around this most holy sorrow which ought never to have been cast aside.
Sam is gone into Suffolk - Marianne has given up Petersfield - I am sorry to say.

They have had letters from Valencia, which I am sorry for, raking up again all the speculations about the cause of the accident, by throwing a doubt on the story of the Governor of the Province who it seems "crammed the English consul" with the hypothesis of the
at all - but got off the road  
before - & fell into the chasm where  
it joins the Sea. But it is all more  
unaccountable than ever. Maule  
must have been out of the coach,  
to become entangled with the  
horses, possibly standing at their  
heads.  
Aunt Anne will send me over  
to Farnborough - so you have only  
to fix the train, dearest mother  

& I hope to be with you Thursday  
without fail. If I had known of  
this change of Uncle Nicholson's  
I would have come to day - ever dearest  
mother your grateful child  
Monday whereas it appears  
that the Postillion & the Mules had  
taken fright, probably  
from a clap of  
thunder - & that  
the Diligence was never in the Barranco  

My dearest mother  
Many many thanks for your note. As you mention Friday & as  
Miss Johnson will come with me; yielding to persuasion, on Friday,  
Friday let it be.  
I am going tomorrow to Henry's chambers with Marianne, which  
I think is quite worth while to have staid for, as I doubt whether she would ever have had the courage to
have done it alone, which I think a great pity, converting God's comforts into terrors. But her path is a hard one, & I think must give Henry great pain.

We will choose the piano, if possible, at the same time.

Aunt Anne desires me to say that she will mention the plan of their all coming to Embley to Mrs. Horner, but

she fears it will not come to pass - & she must leave the time of their visit to us uncertain for the present. As we are not likely to be having Xmas parties, I suppose this will not signify. You are very good to spare me, dear mother, so long - but as it has so turned out, I am very glad to have accomplished this Whitehall business, which lay much at my heart - & Marianne has such an excessive dread of the Horner's visit that I am glad to be with her the first event that they may not blurt out their common places. Uncle Nicholson has asked Mr Beavan for Saturday which is another fear - as it will all be talked over at dinner Why can't we see into one another's hearts
& save one another
the exquisite pain
we are always inflicting.
I am sorry Marianne
cannot come to us.
I will write what
time we are to be
met at Romsey. I
have written to Laura,
declining her invite,
of course. Jack wants,
I believe, to come &
meet Mr Dawes &
Uncle Nicholson - at
Embley - he says you
asked him - if you
have not written again
again to name the day,
perhaps you will -
ever dearest mother
with many thanks
your loving & grateful
child

My dearest mother by some unaccountable mis-
take Miss Johnson,
after she had written
the very letter to you
fixing Friday, under-
stood or misunderstood
that it was Monday
& wrote two letters the
same evening calling it
Monday. When I went
up today to fix the
train with her, she was
in consternation & tho'
she said she would go
quite kindly, when
I said it would be a
blank to you, she allowed
it would be an inconvenience, but said that she could get ready by Saturday if I wished - you must now decide my dear mother, between Saturday & Monday. I know all that you will say against me, & I know this will be an eternal remorse to me - still it can't be helped now. Mr. Beavan is coming on Saturday & I see it is very much wished that we should see him, as it is supposed he will tell us more. If you yourselves will desire that I should have seen him, & be able to give you his story, you will say so.

We went to Whitehall yesterday - Aunt Anne choosing to go too, but on the whole we managed pretty well. I will tell you more about that when we meet.

Uncle Nicholson has written to the Dean - & will come to us
on Saturday week to stay till Wednesday - seeing the School at K.P. on Tuesday - ditto Mr. Horner.

We have chosen a Broadwood - a very pretty one, semi grand, at £20 a year on £2,2 a month. 

You must write to him immediately to say whether you will have it or not & how it is to be sent. I am sorry about the Grand - but you can but change this, if you don't like it. I think

you must take it in now - but you will write to Broadwood (Great Pulteney St) I told him he should hear.

Parthe, I am very sorry not to come home, tho' you won't believe it.

My dearest mother

Miss Johnson & I shall appear at 4.23 at Romsey on Monday.

The invitation to the whole party to come with Uncle Nicholson on the 14th being propounded by Aunt Anne, (not me,) Mrs Horner & Leonora accept & Aunt Anne declines, (there's ago) - so you will have uncle N, Mr & Mrs Horner & one girl.
f131v
Aunt Anne will I hope come later. I think if we could have her by herself we might do her some good, (with the rest, none) - & the more I see, the more I lay it down as a general rule that the surest way to prevent all good from visiting is for more than one member of a family to visit at a time.

f132
Mr Beavan comes today - I am very sorry that it should be while the Horners are here. I cannot but think that he knows, must know more than he tells & wish I could have him for half an hour alone. I don't believe his story in the least, Capt Matson's is so much more probable. But I shall be glad when all speculation is over about it.
July 16. 1851 [1:125-28]
Dearest mother It was the greatest possible relief to me to hear from you. I thought the letter long in coming - & did not write till I heard from you. I am rather glad you did not consult Killian, as he might have set your minds at sea again - & as the long journey seems really rather to agree than not - & I am very glad she has taken to drawing - & that Aschaffenburg & Würzburg are so pretty - I hope that you will have seen all the Albert Dürers at Nuremberg - & particularly my Crucifixion, which I am so fond of - the forehead has all the intellect of the God, the Jupiter, & the mouth all the tenderness of the woman. Power & Sympathy, the two requisites in a friend, are both there.
I shall be very anxious to hear how Karlsbad agrees - you have horrid weather.

With regard to me, I am no longer, I am sorry to say, in the room you saw, but I am not at the Pastor's house at all & therefore hardly ever see them - except when they make their rounds. I eat now with the Sisters in the great dining hall you saw, & sleep in a room in the Orphan Asylum - the same house where my last year's room was. I am afraid any account of what I do would be very uninteresting to you. On Sunday I took the sick boys a long walk along the Rhine - two sisters were with me to help me to keep order - they were all in ecstacies with the beauty of the scenery - it was like Africa turned green - but really I thought it very fine too in its way - the broad mass of waters flowing ever on slowly & calmly to its destination - & all that
unvarying land horizon - so like the slow calm earnest meditative German character.

I have not mentioned to anyone where I am - & should also be very sorry that the old ladies should know - I have not even told the Bracebridges. With regard however to your fear of what people will say, the people whose opinion you most care about - it has been their earnest wish for years that I should come here. The Bunsens (I know he wishes one of his own daughters would come) the Bracebridges, the Sam Smiths, Lady Inglis, the Sidney Herberts, the Plunketts - all wish it - & I know that others, Lady Byron, Caroline Bathurst, Mr. Tremenheere, Mr. Rich (whose opinions however I have not asked) would think it a very desirable thing for every body also the Bonham Carters. There remain the Nicholsons, whose opinion I don't suppose you much care for, who would not
approve - & many others no doubt. The Stanleys I know would approve
With regard to the time chosen,
I grant people will think it
odd - & I would willingly have
staid with Papa, as you know,
& gone another time. But you
preferred not. No one can judge
of any one's family circumstances
but themselves & you know
how much better Parthe is
without Papa or me - although
she will not think so. One must
declare for her. One cannot either
tell people what are the [illegible] excitements
which make it desirable for her
to be alone & without excitement irritation
But with regard to telling
people the fact (afterwards) of
my having been here, I can see
no difficulty - knowing as I do
that all my friends, whose
opinion you most value, will
rejoice in it as a most desirable
thing. The Hererts, as you know,
even commissioned me to do some
thing for them here. The fact itself
will pain none of them. Uncle
Nicholson said directly (when that foolish Marianne proclaimed some-thing about Papa & me going with you) "I think Nightingale & Florence had much better go to the Hurst - if invalids have a good courier & a good maid they are much better alone". I am so glad the travelling suits her.

The world here fills my life with better interest & strengthens me body & mind. I succeeded directly to an office & am now in another so that till yesterday I never had time even to send my things to the wash. We have ten minutes for each of our meals, of which we have four.

The people here are not Saints, as your Courier calls them, though that was a good hit, but good flesh & blood people, raised & purified by a great object constantly pursued. My particular friends are however all on foreign service, which I am very sorry for - all excepting
that one precious soul, whom I introduced you to in the Penitentiary, but as we are all too busy to visit each other in our respective houses, I have never been able to go to the Penitentiary since I took you there, dear mother. The Pastor sent for me once to give me some of his unexampled instructions, the man's wisdom & knowledge of human nature is wonderful - he has an instinctive acquaintance with every character in his place. Except, that once, I have only seen him in his rounds.

We get up at 5 - breakfast at 1/4 before 6 - the patients dine at 11 - the sisters at 12 - we drink tea, (i.e a drink made of ground rye) between 2 & 3 - & sup at 7. We have two ryes & two broths - i.e, ryes at 6 & 3 - broths at 12 & 7. Breads at the two former, vegetables at 12. Several evenings in the week we collect in the great hall for a Bible lesson or an account

Athena must not make blots & she must have sand & not drink the ink.
dearest mother I have just received your letter & am glad you are so well content - I don't think you can expect more progress at present. You will be glad to see by the enclosed that Mrs. Herbert is safe. The operation to which Mrs. Bracebridge alludes was an amputation at which I was present, but which I did not mention [illeg], knowing that she would see no more in my interest in it than the pleasures dirty boys have in playing in the puddles about a butcher's shop.

I find the deepest interest in every thing here & am so well, body & mind. Now this is life - now I know what it is to live & to love life - & really I should be sorry now to leave life. I know you will be glad to hear, dearest mother, this - God has indeed made life rich in interests & blessings - & I wish for no other earth no other world but this.

ever your loving child
dear Mum.

August 8.
Add Mss 45790

Kaiserswerth
Thanks for your letters, dearest & Mother, many. I hope you will see Prague & Dresden well & mind you buy plenty of jewellery at Prague - you will never have such another opportunity - go into the old shops & ask for old Rococo-the Jewellers are all in one street -- "Kolowrats-strasse". I think. They have real old Turkish things there, almost as good as in Cairo - coming from the old Turkish times in Hungary: but I was so stupid & so tired that I did not buy them, tho' I saw them - I should like a handsome bracelet or such like for Marianne's wedding present & anything else of the kind. You cannot buy too much. The beauties of Prague you will find out for yourselves. I am glad you have seen for yourselves what Austria is - that you may not think my account of Vienna exaggerated.
In Dresden mind you go to a hotel in the square where the Gallery is. I recommend the "Stade Rom" - you can then run into that unique gallery any moment & enjoy the Magdalen - Queen of pictures.

How I feel that picture now - dark wood behind - sharp stones in front - nothing to look back upon - nothing to look forward to - clinging to the present, as she does to the book; which beams bright light upon me. Oh what a history that picture contains in its little canvass - & how well it hangs near that "Glorious Sistine Virgin - all that woman might be, all that she will be - near what she is - for it is not a Magdalen, in the common sense of the word, or rather it is in the common sense of what woman commonly is - not what we mean by a Magdalen.

I don't suppose your ideas & the Bracebridges' of a hotel would meet - but still, mind you be in the square where the gallery is - & I recommend you to get an introduction to from At Julia to her German Master - I don't know him, but I believe he is knowledgeable. The Gisbornes (of Corfu) have Aunts at Dresden, German Russians. You will be delighted with the Elbe & Berlin is only 6 hours from Dresden. There (in the Gallery) is my Genie Adorant.

I do not write more, for fear this letter should not follow you - thanks for all. I am sorry you are not yet better - but it will come. Ever dearest mother your
Add Mss 45790

loving child.
Kaiserswerth [1:129-30]
Aug. 31 1851 (1851)
Dearest mother I rejoiced to receive your letter this morning. You have not had my last, written to Karlsbad, where, as I received no address in your last, I directed. I suppose your letters have not followed you, as you left no direction. I hope you will follow Mrs. Bracebridge's advice & consult the man at Berlin. I rejoice to find that you do not think Karlsbad Franzens as bad as you expected. We were ordered there for Mr. Bracebridge. Were not the J.B.C's at the wedding, that they are running about here. The weather is here as cold as winter. [end 1:129]
I think you must write to Papa to pay the printing bill at the Ragged St. Ann's Dormitory, please, it makes me uneasy
The Sidney Herberths are coming [1:129-30] here from Hornburg - so I have plenty of visitors.

I shd be as happy here as the day is long - & wish I could hope that I had your smile, your blessing, your sympathy upon it - without which I cannot be quite happy. My beloved people, I cannot bear to grieve you. Life & every thing in it that charms you you would sacrifice for me - but unknown to you is my thirst, unseen by you are waters which would save me. To save me, I know would be to bless yourselves, whose love for me passes the love of woman. Oh how shall I shew you love & gratitude in return, yet not so perish, that you chiefly will mourn. Give me time - give me faith. Trust me - help me - I feel within me that I could

gladden your loving hearts which now I wound. Say to me "follow the dictates of that Spirit within thee" Oh my beloved people, that spirit shall never lead me to any thing unworthy of me who is yours in love. Give me your blessing - speed me on my way to walk in the path which the sense of Right in me has been pointing to for years. Have other paths right for others been untried by me? But, my beloved people, still have I heard this same voice. This may appear to you the passing fancy of a heated imagination, from which your tender care would rescue me - but little do you know how long that voice has spoken - how deep
its tones have sunk within
me - how I have turned
this way & that, trying if there
were other path for me than
f142v
one which might look like
estrangement from the home &
parents, so loving, so loved.
It shall not be so - again
I say, give me time, give me
faith; give me the help of
your blessing - then will I prove
that I love home & parents
& sisters & friends. It shall not
be necessary for them to conceal
where I am & what I am
doing, for it shall come home
to their hearts that I am
doing nothing of which they
or you, my pure, my lovely one,
will be ashamed. We would
be together always in love.
How thankfully would I return
to my home if it would bless
me, when I come & when I go -
while in my absence what
peace, if I might hope that
you were sympathizing with
me. When I was 6 years old,
with Miss Johnson, this has been
my first thought - for the last
7 years, my first & last.
ever my beloved people, your loving
child

ff143-46v not in FN hand, pale blue paper

23 Montpellier Road
Brighton
25 November 1857

My dear Sir, I am rather bewildered at the subject of your letter because I
had no idea that any hospitals deserved the reproach there set upon them. I
have made inquiries about our own and have every reason to believe that we
are as faultless morally as any establishment of any kind can be of the
same number of people. We have between twenty to thirty nurses and none of
them of bad character. One nurse has lived with us seventeen years and
others for many years. Some are married women; some are widows; some are
married but deserted by their husbands and I have met with many such in
life, who have been irreproachable. Some men are great brutes and are no
sooner married than they begin to treat their wives like savages. Some are
single women but of good character.
I am sorry to hear so bad a character attributed to the London nurses. I
do not think it was so in my time but I may be mistaken. They were then
chiefly elderly women and rather forbidding than otherwise. The whole
morale of society was more lax then than now, particularly of hospital
students. There was no discipline among them of any kind. I always lamented
this myself and had I continued in London should have been a medical reformer. The fault lay entirely with the treasurer of the hospital who was the ruling person. He would establish what morale he thought proper, except that students must always partake of the character of the families they come from. This I say is most improved, as all society is. In my time we had no waiting rooms. Now they have libraries and museums. I think the chaplain is also bound to know the characters of nurses and pupils and to correct what is amiss. The services of the chapel and the sick is a very small part of his duties. The treasurer, chaplain and medical staff should combine for the moral purpose. I am told that Guy’s is now well regulated. I have often take [illeg] great pains are taken with the studies. So may the medical staff I know are religious men. You state low wages as a cause of having inferior nurses. This is evidently unpardonable and unnecessary. Some of the London hospitals at least are rich. A good nurse must be a superior person and should be paid accordingly. She should be intelligent, kind and religious. We know the [illeg] Ill paid labour is the worst economy. Second, I do not think women of a proper age and character unfit to nurse syphilitic cases. Age, habit and office give the mind a different turn. I believe men nurses for such cases have never been tried in England. I have somewhere read that men nurses have been tried abroad and not found to answer. In the Army all the nurses are men and they answer very well, I am told by an old Army surgeon, but that might not be so in a general hospital. I think that the opinion of some London matrons that modest women are unfit for nurses “in a large proportion” of cases must be a mistake.

....I have great doubts about the introduction of sisters of Mercy in England. It is an order suited to the customs of other countries and connected partly, not necessarily, with religion and with a particular form of religion--I would say a priestly and superstitious form, as if it contributed to justify in a particular way, or was a proof of piety. It is in vain to attempt to graft these externalities upon a system to which they do not belong. If women of the upper classes wish to visit hospitals, like Mrs Fry, they might be very useful, morally and religiously, but they must be very peculiar characters, full of good sense and judgment, as well as of religion, and it must be with the consent and approbation of the treasurer, if not of the chaplain. The work is perhaps too much for the chaplain who might be glad to have the assistance, if he could get if of a proper kind. This is, however, distinct from nursing, and I confess I do not see how “high minded” women would submit to the drudgery of nurses, nor the propriety of it. They would be out of their place.

There is a book well worth perusing connected with this subject, Quetelet (I think) on prostitution in Paris. It was reviewed in all the periodicals some years ago.

The causes of all these evils lie deeper. It is in the early training of all children, particularly of families. All children’s schools where the scholars are permanent should be in the country and labour in the open air should be practiced with a moral view. Fellenberg in Switzerland is the only man who ever understood this and his example has never been followed. See “The Institutions of de Fellenberg” published by Saunders and Otley 1842. This was drawn up by myself from .... W. King
Wednesday
April 1853? {IN PENCIL}
6th

Dearest mother
Aunt Mai wants 3
boxes of the immortal
Jackson's Cerate at 1/1/2
& Papa wants one, to be
brought up to London,
please, with you.
I am sorry Parthe does
not go to Lady Byron's -
sorry that her state makes you feel it
a relief too.
Mind you bring Athena.
I cannot quite say yet
whether I come with Papa
or not. It must depend
upon so many things out
Add Mss 45790

f147v
of my own control, That
I long to see you, dearest
people, you may depend.
    You say with truth
how wonderful what
a blank she has left.
    We will try to avoid
the meeting between Fletcher
& Fletcher. Fletcher has
set up an Evening Adult
School & seems intent
upon proving to the
Parish what a loss
they are about to have
He says we have cheated
him of £130.
    Papa has written to Bain
about the papers after Saturday.

ff148-50 LETTER TO WILLIAM EDWARD NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

PRIVATE {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY IN UPPER LEFT-HAND CORNER}

1 Upper Harley St
    Sept 26. 1853

Dear Papa
    About the Clock I
quite agree with you - but
your notelet came too late.
I wrote off to Dent the
moment I received it -
& my letter had not been
an hour in the post
(telling him that I would
not have the Clock, but
would have its value
at some future time)-
before the Clock arrived.
And now, it being here,
the time which it
would take me to change
it will probably never
come for me. I got it,
returning from taking a
patient to London Br. because I had no time to go anywhere else — & till I go to fetch that same patient back, I shall probably be obliged to keep the clock. At the same time, I should be most glad to change him.

We are filling fast with patients — & to manage their unmanageable tempers finds me with full occupation. One of my Committee called yesterday on her way through town — informed me she was perfectly acquainted with the disreputable character of my predecessor "Then why did you give her a testimonial?" was on my lips, but I refrained. All my Committee are now gone. Mr. Marjoribanks is, I believe, coming on Friday to do Ladies' Committee — & I will deliver your message. We have not nearly done with gas & work — men's troubles. I have the most curious "Mémoires pour Servir" for a future book on the Statistics of British Charity Societies, with which I mean to gratify the world.
Thank you very much for your letters & information about Mr. Marjoribanks, which gratifies me much.

About my account, I find, (on referring to Mama's bill against me, which I asked her for, (viz £49, 10) that things are charged twice over to the amount of £25, 8 - viz - she had charged me in one place the Burlington £17, 17 & you had charged it me again £20, 17. I deducted the smaller sum £17, 17, & let the other stand. Farther, my £5 to Mrs. Chisholm which you had deducted

with you for that absence, when we are together.

Bertha's nice little tribute was not the only testimony to your Xmas successes which reached us. For almost every letter from Embley spoke of "dear Pop" & her pleasant kindnesses.

I am very glad you smooth so much the downward (or upward, as I should call it) path of the poor little Kemmish, as I need not to be told you do. I think the musical box a very good Death-bed companion.

Our poor soul lingers. Farewell now, my love.
Dear Papa,

This is only to say that I have been obliged to use your cheque of £54, 13 for my Michaelmas payments. I have not therefore torn it up. I shall therefore owe you £21, 11., 6 which will have to be deducted out of my next quarter.

Really, when I see how Institutions are managed, I don't wonder at any amount of failure. And, instead of talking about the Devil, & praying for forgiveness, it does seem cariste [?] water mattress to me all so natural & explicable, the world is in its very infancy. Now that I see the "depons des cartes," I can fully understand all the causes of failure - & it is not the Devil. Witness what has befallen me in this one day - a day not of exception. Savory & Moore, the first chemists in London, send me a bottle of Ether, labelled Sw. Spirits of Nitre - which, if I had not smelt it, I should certainly have administered. & we should have had an enquiry into poisoning. And the whole flue of a new gas= stove comes down the second time of lighting using it, which, if I had not caught it in my arms, would certainly have killed a patient under=
f152

1 Upper Harley St 44
3 December 1853 [1:237-38]

Dear Papa,

You ask for my observations upon my line of statesmanship. I have been so very busy that I have scarcely made any Résumé in my own mind, but upon doing so now for your benefit, I perceive

1. when I entered into service here, I determined that, happen what would, I never would intrigue among the Com'tee. Now I perceive that I do all my business by intrigue. I propose

in private to A, B, or C the resolution I think A, B, or C most capable of carrying in Com'tee, & then leave it to them - & I always win.

I am now in the hey=day of my power. At the last Genl Com'tee, they proposed & carried (without my knowing anything about it) a Resolution that I should have £50 per month to spend for the House - & wrote to the Treasurer to advance it me.
whereupon I wrote to the Treasurer to refuse it me.
Ly Cranworth, who was my greatest enemy, is now, I understand, trumpeting my fame thro' London.
And all because I have reduced their expenditure from 1/10 per head per day to 1/
The opinions of others concerning you depend not at all or very little, upon what you are but upon what they are.
Praise & blame are alike indifferent to me, as constituting an indication of what my=

self is, tho' very precious as the indication of the other's feeling.
My popularity is too great to last. At present I find my Com'tee only too easy to manage. But if they could be so taken in by my predecessor!
Last General Committee, I executed a Series of resolutions on five subjects, & presented them as coming from the Medical Men
1. that the successor to our House Surgeon (resigned) should be a dispenser & dispense
3 Dec 1853  {IN PENCIL}  
the medicines in the house, saving our bill at the Druggist's of £150 per an.
2  a series of House Rules, of which I sent you the rough copy
3  a series of Resolutions about not keeping patients, of which I send the foul copy.
4  a complete revolution as to Diet which is shamefully abused at present
5  an advertisement for the Institution, of which I send the foul copy
All these I proposed & carried in Com'tee, without telling them that they came from me

& not from the Medical Men - & then not & not till then, I proposed shewed them to the Medical Men without telling them that they were already passed in Com'tee
It was a bold stroke, but success is said to make an insurrection into a revolution.
The Medical Men have had two meetings upon them, which approved them all, nem. con. - & thought they were their own. And I came off with flying colours, no one suspecting
knowing of my intrigue, which, of course, would ruin me, were it known. As there is as much jealousy of the Com'tee of one another, & of the Medical Men of one another, as ever Napoleon had of Wellington, or what's his name of Marlboro?

I have also carried my point of having good harmless Mr. Garnier, our Parish Clergyman, as Chaplain - & no young Curate as Chaplain to have spiritual flirtations with my young ladies.

And so much for the earth=quakes in this little mole=hill of ours.

Ly Monteagle
Ly C. Murray
& Ly C. Russell are my Standing Com'tee for this month. The S. Herbets are gone to Wilton.

ever dear Pa
your loving child

[archivist: FN to WEN, 3 Dec 1853]

I send you some more documentary evidence - the tail of my Quarterly Report. My Comtee are such children in administration that I am obliged to tell them such obvious truths as are contained in what I make the Medical Men say. This place is exactly like the administering of the Poor Law. We have cases purely lazy fits & cases
deserted by their families. And my Comtee have not the courage to discharge a single case. They say the Medical
Men must do it - the Medical Men say they won't - altho' the cases, they say, must be discharged. And I always have to do it, as the stop=gap on all occasions, & all the admin falls upon me, of course. I have just discharged four cases in this way at the entreaty of the Medical Men - since my quarterly report. But whether they will go or not remains to be seen. They are not gone. And I am always the go=between between the Ladies Comtee & the Medical Men.

Dear Papa

I am sorry to say that the information I have concerning the morals & manners of the Gray's Inn Hospital is so bad (among the bad this the worst) that I should not feel inclined to assist it - if it were I.

Of the Westminster, which I have always considered one of the best though the poorest, I had a head nurse with me last night, (a very admirable woman), & she told me that, in the course of her long life's experience at the Westminster Hospital
she had never known a nurse who was not drunken - & that there was immoral conduct practised within the very walls of the Ward, [illeg], of which she gave me some awful instances. So much for our moral England Boards.

But, that this impinges the principle of Hospitals I cannot think. Without Hospitals, where would be our Surgical Science? If you do away with Hospitals, you must, of course, do away with Lunatic Asylums, Poor Union Houses, & all the rest of the machinery of over-populated civilization.

I remember you were struck with Strauss's comment on the tendency of some "to soar into the skies", instead of "mending" what is at hand. Man, says he, will never improve as he might, till he ceases to believe in a future state.

But I believe there is, within & without human nature, a revelation of eternal existence, eternal progress for human nature. At the same time, I believe that to do that
Add Mss 45790

f158v
part of this world's work
which harmonizes, accords
with the idiosyncracy of
each of us, is the means
by which we may at once
render this world the
habitation of the Divine
Spirit in Man, & prepare
for other such work in
other of the worlds which
surround us. The king=
dom of Heaven is within
us. Those words seem
to me the most of a
revelation, of a New Testament,
of a Gospel, (of any that
are recorded to have

f159
been spoken by our Saviour)
-- Whether here, or else=
where, then, are not
the conditions of a
Heavenly kingdom the
same?

I can only add that you
misread me, if you
thought by "crazy old place"
I meant this world. I
meant simply this poor
little Institution No 1 Up. Harley St. This
world is not an old
place, but a very young

ever, dear Pa,
your loving child

FN. Turn over
f159v
We have had an awful
disappointment in a
couching for a cataract,
which has failed. The
eye is lost (through
no fault of Bowman’s)
& I am left, after a
most anxious watching,
with a poor blind woman
on my hands, whom
we have blinded - &
with a prospect of insanity. I
had rather, ten times,
have killed her. These
are the cases, not those
like the poor German ob Ap 29 '54 - {ob Ap 29 '54 IN PENCIL}
poor thing who died,
which make our lives
so anxious. [illeg]

ff160-61v LETTER TO ? NOTES ABOUT BILLS HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN
PRIVATE {WRITTEN DIAGONALLY IN UPPER LEFT-HAND CORNER}
1 Upper Harley St
from my former quarters,
was charged again - &
two bills of £1,,7 & of
£1,,1 paid last year
were down again -
which makes

| £17,,17      |
|  5,, 0      |
|  1,, 1      |
|  1,, 7      |

----------

£25 , 5

to be deducted - plus 3/
which was an error
of Addition in Mama's
(or rather Parthe's) bill
too much -
making altogether
£25,, 8 -
Upon the rest I have not the slightest check - as the bills have never been sent in to me - & £24,,2 I see charged, which I have not the smallest means of verifying. This therefore I pay, but the £25,,8 I deduct from my Furniture Bill, which you know, is still owing by me, & which amounts to £46,, 19,, 6 25,, 8

-------------------
£21,, 11,, 6 I therefore still owe you, besides other items of furniture, of which the bills are not yet come in

I have therefore torn your cheque of £54,,13 I deduct - - - - 21,,11,,6

----------
23,,1,,6

& beg you to be kind enough to send me instead a cheque of £23,,1,,6 as per account above.

I do not want any thing to be said about all this, as they behaved very kindly to see me in London. But you will see what I now say that from this time I cannot pay anything but that, of which the bill has been sent in to me - & that you must please not deduct from
my allowance anything. The bills may are to be sent to me, & I will pay them, or return the article. Without this precaution, my allowance, as you will see, instead of being £500 a year, would be £200 - as both these quarters would have been docked of £70 - if I had not insisted upon seeing some kind of account.

I was interrupted by all the medical staff & must now say in great haste that I am ever dear Pa
your loving child

f161v

ff162-63v LETTER TO WEN HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN, black-edged paper 68

Indeed I entirely agree with my dear Father in expecting no "Elysium" in worlds to come. I do not even wish for such an existence. I see that it would not consist with the Righteousness, the Goodness, the Wisdom (in which it is our hope & our peace to believe) - that such should be existence, human or divine. Such existence would impede humanity in its course upwards towards the Divine.
I cannot, however, agree that Mankind are now free to think & act as seems good & right to each, uncrucified, if no human Law is broken. There is no longer the Crucifixion in the flesh, which, after suffering limited to hours, transferred the Spirit to fresh scenes of hope & progress. It is well there is not; we may hope better to help on this world to its destination of becoming one of the kingdoms of Heaven by suffering in Life rather than in Death.

But, may we, each man, (still more I might ask, each woman,) speak the thought we feel to be the most honest, the most upright, the truest, the highest within us, & risk no "crucifixion" to our sympathies, our affections, to all that is dearest to us in life, though the life itself survives?—Again, I agree that, "in this very world", discovery is to be made.
I believe this & all other worlds, inhabited by the finite & imperfect, to be theatres for discovery and improvement - else, we could not believe in an infinite & perfect Spirit of Love & Wisdom, leading us on through discovery in these worlds to His own perfect Spirit.

This Earth has its "paradisaical" elements, & I rejoice when such come home to my dear Father - but here again I must differ. I cannot agree with him that it is a poor calling "to mend this or that habitation for Man". [end 3:185]

F164 typed copy of letter to WEN Dr Wallis, from Candia Jan 10, 1854 [date can’t be right, 1855?] in FPV writing

My dearest, My days at Balaklava have been as busy as you may suppose. I have made a urn of inspection of regl hosps in camps, illeg the twohospitals here when the nurses wre all in confusion. Te camp is very striking, more so than anyone can imagine or describe - Between150 & 200,000 men in space of 20 sugare miles all obeying one impulse, engaged in one work, it is very affecting. But to me the most affecting but o;;eg right way to see them illeg and forming for illeg will be fore 24 hourse wihtout returning & from whom 30 will never return. Yet they volunteer, press forward to go, when one considers what the work has been they venture, what the hardship! I am impress not that the army has suffered so much but if there is any army left at all! Not that illeg so many thru our hands at Scutari! But that we have not had all. Illeg working 5 nights out of 7 in the illeg... [hard to read]

f170 letter, Aunt Mai? 25 January [1856?]

ff175-75v LETTER TO FAMILY HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

[Ap. 16. 1857.] {IN PENCIL} 3 4

Dearest people
I shall be with you about 10 o'clock on Saturday night. If you like to send up to King's Cross to meet me at 9. 30 P.M, you can. Also, if you like to ask Sir Charles Trevelyan to come & see me on Sunday, good. Or I would go to see him. I don't much care about Livingston or Royal Aca. don't keep them open for me.

Au revoir
ever yours, dearest people, F.
Granten Ho.
April 16/57

When I left England for Scutari, little expecting ever to see my dear Father again, I left for him words true then & true now - that I loved him as I never loved any but him. I need not say more to express how deeply I must feel the affection & the
confidence of the letter before me.
   It would have been
dear to me to see you
where truth & honesty, such as yours, are desperately wanted, in an English House of Commons. But let us not waste regret on the impossible.

With regard to health, let me say that I do not always agree with you as to the desirableness, even for health's sake, of giving up one & another object of interest, because there might, in pursuing it, be some bodily suffering, some temporary loss of health.

I rather think health gains, on the whole, from following up true & good interests, even when it loses at times & for a time. But, unless at an age when habits of life have to be formed, it would be clearly unwise to enter upon a course of life, destructive of the health necessary to pursue it well. So we will not give a regretful look to the Ho. of Commons in this world.

Yes, in futurity there
will be a Ho. of Commons
in the real sense of the
phrase. Of this I think
I could bring moral
evidence, as well as evidence at that, in this
futurity, the experience
learnt here may be
available.

But, before this futurity
opens upon us, let us work
while it is called to day.
To my Father's active
spirit two populations
afford scope for work.
To his sincere desire
after what is true & wise,
a world full of error &
confusion, (which it is for
Mankind, progressively, to

clear up & enlighten)
affords much to be borne
in the spirit of a true
philosophy.

As I receive, amidst
cares & difficulties all
but appalling, soothing
& comfort from the
confidence & affection of
my Father, may he find,
in my true love & sympathy,
something of that peace
& hope which, with my
whole heart, I, F.N.,
desire for him.
Great Malvern [3:362-63]
Feb 6./59

Dear Papa,
I read a good deal
of Mansel & especially
that part on Anthropomorphism
which you pointed out.
Generally I should say
that I need him in order
to show me what I do
not think, but specially
I shd. say that part about
Anthropomorphism was not
common sense.
If I understand
him aright he says:

that what is wrong in man
may be right in God &
vice versa if that were
possible. When McConnochy
laid down a scheme for
the reformation of criminals
he urged that we should
always attempt to
imitate the plan of God
& the Secretary of State
answered: that we
had no business with the
plans of God, & that
the less we imitated them
the better, or something
f181

to that effect. Mansel, if he means anything, which I don't think he does, seems to me much the same as the Secretary of State. The very basis of the enquiry seems to me in utter error, & I do think that the inextricable confusion of the principle of right which is to be seen in every Theology & Theodicè extant arises from this very mistake which Mansel has made. Whether God makes

f181v

right, or whether God is right, I believe beyond the limit of human faculties to determine, but that I leave. That Right is God I think we shall agree, but all Theologies, Mansel's included, assume that Power is God, & this I think is their fatal mistake. It reigns throughout the whole Bible & this is indeed anthropomorphism because Man takes his
own passions, invests them with power & calls it God, so that God may do things which we ourselves should call abominable in a human being & we call them good.

I do think this is all that Mansel says.

Surely there can be but one right & whether God does it or whether man does it it is the same thing: it does not make wrong right to assume that God does it.

I should remove the whole question to quite a different basis, indeed Mansel has no basis at all, & therefore, I don't see what there is more to be said.

I do think that all that crawling & flattering & praising God for doing far worse as we put it than Cayenne or Ischia or Spielberg or Siberia, altho we
f183

call the men horrid tyrants
who do these things, is
[illeg], & the sooner we
reform our Theologies
& find out that God is
Right, & Right is God
the better.
If people say that God
is right whatever he does
I say he is not in their
sense.  & if I believed that
that the murderer was
on his way not to everlasting
perfection but to
everlasting damnation
I shd. say I submit because

f183v

I can't help it, not because
God is good.  

ever dear Pa
  Your loving child
  F.N

[end 3:363]
f184

Great Malvern
Feb 16th/59

Dear Papa,

Hilary sends you old George Herbert. I am distressed in looking over it to see how differently I think of it from what I used to do.

The ideas seem to me to be mere conceits & the conception of God, like Milton's, quite below one's conception of a high minded man.

f184v

I have marked on the fly leaf at the beginning the things pages which still appear to me to be good.

But, as so often happens, the man seems so much better than his teaching.

There is one exception "Man" at page 90.

I have always thought that a really great conception of Man.

f185

Compare the degraded conception in the Psalms "What is man that thou" " art mindful of him?" which is to me unutterably disgusting, & old George Herbert's "Oh mighty love! man is one world & hath "Another to attend him I think there are some
nice things in the "Church Porch" pages 11 to 13.
   But if you like this kind of poetry, I know
nothing like Petrarch’s Sonnet on Good Friday beginning.
"Padre del Ciel, dopói
    perduti giorni"
    ever dear Pa
    your loving child
    FN

ff186-93v Incomplete letter to W.E. NIGHTINGALE HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PEN

30 Old Burlington St

W   46


Dear Papa
    I shall be so pleased to send you some of my "works",
    as you are so good as to wish to read them.
    They are, I believe, all extant & all in the possession of Aunt Mai at Combe.
    I have asked her
to send you the last
which is also the
shortest. I think
the subject is, that/this;
-- Granted we see signs
of universal law all
over this world, i.e law
or plan or constant
sequences in the moral
& intellectual as
well as physical
phenomena parts of the world
-- granted this, we
must, in this universal
law, find the traces
of a Being who made it,

and what is more
of the character of
the Being who made it.
{The question IS WRITTEN TOP TO BOTTOM ON RIGHT SIDE OF PAGE}
If we stop at the
superficial signs, the
Being is something so
bad as no human
character can be found
to equal in badness.
And certainly all the
beings He has made
are better than
himself. But go
deeper & see wider,
& it appears as if
this plan of universal
law were the only one
by which a good Being
could teach his creatures
to teach themselves &
to learn one another what the road
is to universal perfection.
And this we shall
all acknowledge is the
only way for any
educator, whether
human or divine, to
act - viz. to teach men to
teach themselves & each other.
If we could not
depend upon God, i.e,
if His sequences were
not always to be
calculated upon in
moral as well as in
physical things - if

He were to have caprices,
by some called grace,
by others answers to
prayer &c, there would
be no order in creation
to depend upon. There would be
but chaos. And no
me the only way by
which man can have
free will, i.e can learn
to govern his own will, to
have what will he
thinks right, which is
having his will free,
is to have universal
Order or Law - by some miscalled
Necessity. I put this
thus brusquely because
philosophers have generally said that Necessity & Free Will are incompatible. It seems to have appeared to God that Law is the only way on the contrary to give Man his free will. And this I have attempted to prove. And farther that this is the only plan a perfectly good Omnipotent Being could pursue.

Aunt Mai shewed this thing to Sutherland And he wrote in the

margin his refutations. They are those of ordinary Evangelicals. --whose world is Chaos.

In a famous political trial at Rome, the accused was asked to call his witnesses. "I want none", he said, "the witnesses for the "prosecution are enough."

So I say. The Evangelical arguments against me are enough (to prove my case).

J Stuart Mill, (by
Nor do I see any one doing so.

Those who do believe in Law are absolutely farther off from the idea of a perfect God than the poor little Methodists who roar & pray. No one connects the Study of Law with that of the character of the Law giver. And without that, what is it worth?

Then the Religionists go on at their old trade of texts.

And then there are a few to whom Christ is half imposter, half Saint - like Mahomet.

Vie de Jésus p. 21. "Les natures ardentes ne se résignent jamais à voir un hasard dans ce qui les concerne. Tout pour elle a été réglé par Dieu, et elles voient un signe de la volonté supérieure dans les circonstances les plus insignifiantes".

What can be much worse than this? Why, here Renan is positively finding fault with Jesus for what little belief in Law he had.  

[end 11:31]
of God law=ing. God willing - as if we could not find any thing for Him to do.

In framing a theodicy, I would take infinite care not to shirk these "mysteries" -(I am much obliged to Theology for the word). While striving, as has never been striven yet, to understand the character of God - the "différens rapports qu'il a des ouvrages" -- I would not blink the fact, that we cannot understand the existence of God willing laws that we cannot understand the Perfect Being - the Infinite.

Indeed I think that Bossuet asked the question, "la perfection est elle un obstacle à l'être?"--so certain it is that we cannot understand a Perfect Being - & that Leibnitz answered that the Perfect can exist.

A modern philosopher has said it can only exist in thought & not in reality.

Now, all this appears to me, exactly what we ought to allow to be a "mystery". And we ought to set
ourselves with all our mights to learn the perfections, not to understand the Perfect -- to study His characters & His laws - not His essence or How He lives willing His laws. This is what I would call Positivist Idealism --what ought to be our work to do. E.g. It is evident that creation is a "mystery" -- but God's end & object (in creating) is not a mystery - need not be. "Il ne faut pas confondre la question de la nature de Dieu avec celle des rapports de Dieu et du monde." That is just what I think. Let us study these. But Bossuet & Milton tell us that the compatibility of God's foreknowledge & Man's free will is an "inscrutable mystery" --which is the plainest thing in all the world -- vide Mill. And every body tells us that the existence of evil is incomprehensible, whereas I believe it is much more difficult to conceive the existence of God (or even of a good man) without evil I believe it is impossible. ever dear Pa your loving child

FN
Montague Grove
Hampstead NW
Sept 21/5

Dear Papa

I hope that you will come & see us here when you go South, which I understand is to be next week. And we can give you a bed. Perhaps you could come before you go to Claydon ever dear Pa

your loving child

Please remember if you want Bratby to initiate the new man, I want only a Messenger now -- & Mary will live in widowhood for a short time.
Dear Papa

I was obliged to see Saunders (the dentist) today for myself. So I asked him about things in general. He says it is of the utmost importance, if people intend to have false teeth at all, to have them as soon as possible after the last tooth has fallen out. Otherwise the muscles of the jaw contract. And there is no end to the trouble caused. The muscles do not contract after they are accustomed to the false teeth which support them. This is according to common sense.
You compare Art & Hospitals (justly) their present low ebb -- the prospect of a future.

Dearest, no one has a right to speak of "the future" who has done nothing to prepare it. What I could, with quite moderate talents, I have done, with

regard to Hospital construction. And, as far as that is concerned, I can lie down & confidently see a future for the germ I have sown, tho' I shall not live to know it. But what have you, with far greater talents, done for Art?'

In what way have
you prepared any thing of a future? Unless I am to believe M. Jeanron a fool in a knave, I must believe that you could, that you can now, do much for that future. Have you even begun "to walk"?

This is an allusion to a speech of Dr. Waller's. I asked him whether

I should ever be able to go to India. He said, Had you not better first be able to walk?

I have never seen you even try "to walk". Had you not better begin now? There is still time.

FN
30 Old Burlington Street.  {PRINTED address}
W.
April 20/61

Dear Papa
   If I must answer
the offer you mention,
it would be thus:
   that I have to see
a great variety of
people on a great
variety of subjects --
and that no residence
could be of any use
to me which was
not near enough to the official
centre of London to
enable me during
the business season
to see these people
at a moment's
notice & without
deranging them from
their avocations --
they being all business=
people. Such Sun,
quiet & air as are
consistent with this
condition, of course
I must have.
   The worst that
f200
could come of this offer answer
would be the repetition
of the offer of Kensington
   But I should
never accept it, except for the autumn
& early winter months.
   [They have Royal residences nearer
that Kensington. But
I am sure I should
not ask for them.]
   I may as well
mention as an
accessory which would
tell with you more

f200v

perhaps
   than with me that
Sir Jas= Clark, Drs.
Williams & Sutherland
all said that
experience had proved
that I must never
spend another winter
at Hampstead or be there later
than the beginning
of December (I agree
with them)--Now
Kensington Palace is certainly
worse than Hampstead
   I think W. Cowper
thinks that I have
retired from business
or am in the Bankrupt line --ever your child F.
30. Old Burlington Street. (PRINTED address)

W.

April 22/61

Dear Papa

It requires only an explanation of my work for any one to see (without farther talk) that I may as well give it up at once as go to a place different by 8 miles nearly (to & fro) from this, qua Whitehall.

W. The proposition made, as I learn from the B. of Trade, was to find me an apartm which wd suit me in one of the R. residences.

Without the slightest communicatn with me, the Verneys pitch upon Kensington.

When once Mrs Herbert was setting forth to me her views upon Hospital Nursing,
I exclaimed, quite involuntarily, What can you know about it?

Does Parthe know more about my work than Mrs. H. about Hospitals?

Where should I have been now in any part of my life's work, had I followed any part of her life's advice?

It would not appear to me more so extraordinary, had they disposed of me in marriage, as their disposing of me in my habitation.

No more than Man is made for the Sabbath am I made for the house.

The "Sanitarians", tho' this is a secondary matter, persist in saying that Kensington Palace is very unhealthy
& that it is as little fitted for my change of air — in comparison with Hampstead — as I say it is little fitted for my business residence.

I have consulted one or two of my collaborators, under the strictest seal of secrecy — and, contrary to my expectation, which was that they would shilly = shally,

they said at once it would "shelve my work altogether" to go to Kensington.

Believe me, dear Papa, what success in life I have had is due to my not seeing double with my eyes — as so many do.

Remember that Sir H. bought me a horse at the very
time he was assured
that my ever riding
again on horse back
was just as possible
as that a man's
leg which had been
cut off should grow
again

ever dear Pa
your loving child
F.

I cannot see how
Sir H. having been
Col. Phipps' school-fellow
makes him competent
as my adviser.

f204v {ADDRESS PRINTED UPSIDE-DOWN AT THE BOTTOM OF THE PAGE}
30. Old Burlington Street.
W.

ff205-09 LETTER TO WEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PEN [3:319-21]

April 28/61

Dear Papa

In re Port Royal & your letter ---
I always venture to be surprised-
at the high estimate you have of
the value of abstract truth - and
at your low estimate of the value
of truth in practical action, so
to speak.

Take Hegel & Comte - men who
I suppose have had a grasp of
absolute truth, never before
equalled. Yet really I don't know
what good it has been of to any
one. What progress have they
caused the world to make?
I imagine that if J. Stuart Mill
had not taken up one of Comte's
doctrines, that of Universal Law, none
It is said that Voltaire re-made his age. But, had he not been a mere destroyer and a great Artist besides, I don't think he would. Because he was a mere searcher after abstract truth - he had no truth in practical action - he made nothing.

You condemn the Port Royalists 1. because they did not throw off the Pope & 2. because they reached no abstract truth or freedom of thought in religious matters.

1. then The whole of the 17th century seems in France seems to me to have been the most gallant struggle after truth & freedom in religion which the world has seen.

I admire the German struggle.

I cannot have a particle of interest in it. Luther & Calvin seem to me quite as frightful tyrants as the Pope. And Calvin's religion to have been absolutely worse - than the Pope's.

But 2. the Royal authority in France was much more to be dreaded than the Pope's.

I have made you an Extract from Bossuet, which I enclose.

Now I take it Bossuet was by far the greatest genius the Gallican Church has produced - far greater than Pascal. Yet Pascal overthrew for ever the worst tyranny the world has ever known, that of the Jesuits. These upheld the King. Port Royal resisted him Looking at that sentence of Bossuet (who was by no means
a vile flatterer) I don't see how the nation could ever throw off any despotism, except by a sea of blood & murder, like the Great Revolution - in other words, by an unrighteous, not a righteous Revolution.

Such a sentence makes one see what is in the minds of Kings, of Philip II of Spain, of the last King of Naples &c&c when they do such things as they/these did.

I take it, Arnauld was not a man of genius at all - at least nothing compared with Bossuet. Yet he headed (from his exile) a long line of conspirers after religious freedom - of which, curiously enough, most of the local hands were women - the Mère Angélique, the essentially moral character of whose life's fight is to me the most interesting part - the Supérieure de "l'Enfance" at Toulouse, who worked the secret printing press, for free tracts by the hands of her own nuns, & for doing which they all suffered martyrdom & she perpetual imprisonment -- and much later, Madame Guyon, not at all an interesting person, selon moi, because she did nothing. But she made Fénelon who opposed Bossuet.

3. The Popes' influence, as in the struggle of the Guelphs & Ghibelhines in Italy, so in that of the 17th century in France, was not at all uniformly against the side of freedom. That of the French Kings was. The Popes often interfered, tho' feebly, on the side of liberty. {THE FOLLOWING IS WRITTEN TOP-TO-BOTTOM ON THE LEFT-HAND SIDE OF THE PAGE} can be, read Montalembert. If you want to know how grand human nature can be, read Port Royal.
I cannot give up my belief that the Mère Angelique was one of the most efficient because most practical religious deliverers the world has had.

How often, in my isolated life of discouragement, sayings of hers recur to my mind.

4. As to Sir Jas Stephen's grievance against her, that of the "family", I cannot adhere at all.

I should be glad enough to admire his ideal of a family - viz. persons uniting together to further the views of God. Only I have never seen it - never heard of it - I cannot admire what I do not know to exist. On the contrary, the Mère Angélique did realize what it pleases Sir Jas Stephen to call the "family" in her convent. And others have done so too.

Now neither convent nor "family" realize this ideal, I believe.

"Socialists" have yearned after it. And it may be that in that way it will be found.

ever dear Pa
your loving child

F.

Roger Collard says, "Who does not know Port Royal, does not know" "Mankind" or "what mankind can do". I forget his expression - But I agree with either

One thing more. It is said that Jowett is the only man who has taken
old J.H. Newman's part at Oxford in influencing the young men. I feel that this fact is what gives the only value to his, Jowett's, "Essay" - which, as abstract truth, is of no value whatever

F.N.

I have just read Montalembert's "Moines de l'Occident", 2 vol. They serve as a contrast to the Port Royalists. They are like the Lord's Prayer said the wrong way, which the Devil is said to do. The biographer's intense admiration for them, which gives the minutest details, serves but to shew more glaringly the intense selfishness & futility of their lives, so unlike Port Royal If you want to know how disgusting monk=hood

"Nul prétexte, nulle raison ne peut autoriser les révoltes! Il faut révéler l'ordre du ciel et le caractère du Tout Puissant, dans les princes quels qu'ils soient; xxx. L'Eglise leur a érigé un trône dans le lieu le plus sur de tous et le plus inaccessible, dans la conscience même, où Dieu a le sien, & c'est là le fondement le plus assuré de la tranquillité publique!"

Bossuet. [end 3:321]
Dear Papa

I shall always be well enough to see you, as long as this mortal coil is on me at all.

Mr. Herbert goes to Spa the first week in July. After that, there will be less pressure on me - the pressure of disappointment in his (more/less than excusable) administrative indifference.

But July will be later than your ordinary transit.

Please tell Mama that the jug & nosegay were beautiful.

An ordinary good nurse would have saved Cavour. This makes the blow all the heavier. I should have put a sentinel...
at his door, opened
the windows, kept
his room cool & him
quiet, starved him
& put cold water on
his head. And
according to all that
is known, the man
would have been
saved. As it is,
if they had cut his
throat, they could
not more have
killed him.

But how grand
a death! "La cosa va",

(speaking of Italy)
"state sicuri che la
"cosa va" - are said
to have been his last
words. No one ever
does any good who
has not forgotten
his own salvation.

Yah! these miserable
sneaking selfish
religionists - how I
hate religious people -
both High Church &
Low Church - is there
anything higher ¥ in
thinking of one's own
salvation than in
thinking of one's own dinner.
   I have always felt that the soldier who gives his life for something which is certainly not himself on his shilling a day - whether he call it his Queen or his country or his colours -- is higher in the scale than the Saints, or the Faquirs or the Evangelicals who (some of them don't) believe that the end

of religion is to secure one's salvation.
   What shall I do to be saved? is generally the most selfish question.
   ever dear Pa
   Your loving child

   [end 3:364]
Dear Papa

I will keep all Sunday vacant for you. I should like to have you at twice, please, say 11 1/2 and 3 1/2 - or any other hours more convenient to you.

ever dear Pa
your loving child
F.

Mary always goes

to morning church - so you must please force your way up to me, if you come at 11 ¼

Is there no consolatory thing in thinking of the “days that are no more,” pity those of us who have had no days worth thinking of. Is there no compensation in the intensity of regret? But my thoughts wander I know not where and I have only failed (or I well might do) to realize the occasion of your hopes so broken and your work so damaged.

Then you bear to hear of the two waking sleeping insinuating creatures who alternate between the two sides of the window sill. Tom the now familiar one, the other [illeg] occupied with its field mice which it seems to treat as if it loved them.

Enough of this, our appetite must feed on sterner stuff. No more till we have more cause. Adieu.
Hampstead NW
Aug. 21/61

Dear Papa,

Indeed your sympathy is very dear to me - so few people know in the least what I have lost in my dear master. Indeed I know no one but myself who had it to lose. For no two people pursue together the same
object as I did with him. And when they lose their companion by death, they have in fact lost no companionship. Now he takes my life with him. My work, the object of my life, the means to do it, all in one, depart with him. "Grief fills the room up of my absent" master. I cannot say it "walks up & down", with me. For I don't walk up & down. But it "eats" & sleeps & wakes with me.

Yet I can truly say that I see it is better that God should not work a miracle to save Sidney Herbert, altho' his death involves the misfortune, moral & physical, of five hundred thousand men - & altho' it would have been but to set aside a few trifling physical laws to save him. And altho' he killed me, on whose life that of the Army hung. And nothing but his own life made this
Add Mss 45790

worth while. If you would like to read the enclosed to Liz
what it should be
to a man of that
stamp.
   Lord pity us - for
we know not what
we are about.
   "The righteous [1:249]
perisheth & no man
layeth it to heart" -
the Scripture goes on
"none considering that
he is taken away from
the evil to come -
I say "none considering

that he is taken away
from the good he
might have done.
   Now, not one
man remains (that
I can call a man)
of all those whom
I began work with,
five years ago.
   And I alone,
of all men "most
deject & wretched",
survive them all.
I am sure I meant
to have died.

Pray be careful
how you write this
heavy news. For
Bertha has not been
very well & they
keep it from her.
   The news was
only received at
Combe this morning.
   ever dear Pa
   your loving child

F
Add Mss 45790 791

Parthe has found
time & strength to
write me 8 closely
written pages of worry, worry, worry, because I said that her house was "devoted" to "talk". I cannot think who could have told her that I said so. I hope, dear Papa, that it is quite understood between us that my letters to you are for you alone. I always thought that you desired this

as much as I do. It is indeed quite necessary. This is the reason why I was so unwilling to come into any house of Parthe's, to accept any obligation from her. This is the third time this fatal year that she has chosen my time of deepest misery & distress to give me a scold 8 pages long. [end 1:249]
Hampstead NW
Sept 11/61

Dear Papa
Certainly I will see you when you "pass through London next month", if I am in the land of the living.
I have taken this house on till the end of this month - but, as I see no prospect of my being able to do anything better, I shall probably only move then into an opposite house for another month.

Mrs. Sutherland is indefatigable in her kindness - & is indeed the only one as to efficiency - in arranging these little matters for me.

The Barrack Commee (Sutherland & Galton) go to the Mediterranean to morrow - for a Barrack Inspection -
the last thing I extorted from my poor master. And, as I say, this breaks my last tie to that noble Army which I have served so faithfully seven years next month. "in weariness oft - in watchings oft - in prisons -" 4 years. I have quite decided not to return to the Burlington - the place where, one by one, my fellow workers, whom I had

so laboriously got together, have been removed from me. And I am glad to think that, in this decision, I save a very great expense to you. Mrs. Sutherland is looking out for a place in London for me - if I have to pass another winter in this weary world. Is Mrs. Tom going to increase her family? I beg for one or two.
Hampstead NW
Sept 11/61
Dear Papa

Certainly I will see you when you "pass thro' London" next Month if I am in the land of the Living.

I have taken this house in till the end of this month - but, as I see no prospect of my being able to do anything better, I shall probably only move then into the opposite house for another month.

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The Barrack Commission (Sutherland & Galton) go to the Mediterranean to morrow - for a Barrack inspection the last thing I extorted from my poor Master.

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"in weariness oft
in watching oft
in prisons "4 years
    I have quite decided
not to return to the
Burlington the place
where one by one my
fellow workers, whom I
had so laboriously got
together have been removed
from me.
    And I am glad to think
that in this decision I save
a very great expence to You
Mrs Sutherland is looking
out for a place in London
for me. if I have to pass
another winter in this
weary world.
    FN

I have closed my paper
for the Dublin "Social Science"
meeting with a little
tribute to him Oh how
much more he deserved
then all we could say
but I don't think I could
have finished my paper
except to do this (at Dublin
where he was so known
& so well loved) also at
my request the new
magnificent Woolwich
Hospital is to be called
after him
    "Exegi monumentum
aere perennius" he may say
I don't believe any man
was ever so loved.
Hampstead NW
Oct 24/61
(seven years this very day
since I began "the fight"
for the Army)
Dear Papa
I think Dicey's Cavour
& M. Milnes' Tocqueville
in the Quarterly the two
most masterly sketches
of a true statesman
I have read for some
time.
Cavour's death was
heroic - in the prime
of his glory & success -
working to the last.

But I am not sure
that there is not
something more heroic
& more pathetic in
De Tocqueville's, broken
hearted but not in
despair, faithful to
the end of the "good
fight", lost, altho'
fought so well.
People call him
narrow - i.e. people
who are so wide
that they can do nothing
themselves.
The un=heroic tone
of the teachers of the
present day is bad - as when excellent Jowett says that in these days, only "exceptional" cases can fight the good fight. Is not this the reason why these cases are exceptional? And was there ever an age in so much need of heroism?

Most just is the praise to Tocqueville of imitating God in his statesmanship in reconciling Man's Free Will & God's Law.

the only mode in which God or statesmen can govern.

But he is unfair to himself when he says he will not "play the part of Providence"! He did, as far as he could. He is untrue to himself in saying how little we can ever find out of the Laws of History. Undoubtedly we have as yet found out hardly anything [I suppose Buckle has some
of the crudest generalizations extant]. But did we know study history as much as physical science, would this be so? Is it not like the children who say, I'm too little, (when told to do a difficult sum), to attribute this to the "inability of our reason"? Surely God says just the contrary. Tocqueville tells us not to call events "mysterious". He calls

upon "governments to comprehend the mysterious influences". "mysterious" only to our ignorance. And I would drop the word - altogether. Perhaps de Tocqueville was the first statesman who united an acknowledgement of the fact that, according to the laws of God, all human history could not have been other than it has been; with the conviction

that this instead of stimulating us to do nothing, stimulates us to do every thing. Only physical strength was wanting to him. ever dear Pa
Add Mss 45790

Your loving child

F
32 South Street
32 South Street
W

Saturday Nov 9th/61

Dear Uncle, Flo bids me write for her.

"The reason why a "Hospital should always be kept at above 100 beds if possible is a vital one: for by the Medical Acts the Graduation of a Medical man depends upon it.

In this graduation no attendance at a Hospital of under a hundred beds counts. For London Hospitals

the number has even been raised recently.

You will see at once that it is fatal to a Provincial Hospital even pecuniarily if it cannot rank as a Medical School for Medical Educational purposes, & this is the reason why Winchester does quite right to struggle if possible to keep itself up above 100 beds: & IF

Winchester is going to build a new & healthy Hospital on the best type it seems to me a most extraordinary discouragement to the good side if you withdraw your Subscription from good & energetic Winchester to give it to Southampton, or Salisbury, or Reading, or Portsmouth,
Add Mss 45790

all of which are worse
one than the other: --all
of which are sunk in the
blackest depths of sanitary
ignorance & not one of which
has made the slightest effort
to better itself -- Reading
excepted which got itself
reported upon by Rawlinson
last winter but has
satisfied itself with getting
itself reported upon & has
done nothing since.

It seems to me that the
logically good act, is for
you to subscribe to the best

& not to the nearest Hospital &
to send the patients where they
will get well, though it
may be a little farther off.

I even told Sir Will
Heathcote sometime ago, when
I communicated to him Lord
Ashburton's message:--namely
that if the Hospital were removed
he would give £1000. if not
nothing, that I thought you
would give from 50£ to 100£
on the same condition.

I fancied I had understood
this from you. It was
the condition I made for
myself: viz that I would
give £50 to £100 from my
own private earnings, if they
removed, & I am sure I
understood from you that
you meant to encourage them
by money.

The Hospital movement
is becoming general throughout
the country & you
Hampshire people will be left quite in the dark ages if you don't take care.

You ought to force Salisbury Southampton Reading & Portsmouth to go & do likewise by your example at Winton I am doing the very same thing just now for the North Stafford Infirmary, to which I have furnished plans & for the Royal Hospital which I am striving to do

for the Winton Boeotians so let them draw back & stay in the last rank if they like it. But surely there will be eno' in the advanced guard to prevent that!

Dear Papa
Will you tell Mrs Watson that the three Critturs arrived in excellent order - that like their two predecessors, they said, We don't want any refreshments, we want to see the house - which accordingly they did for the space of 3
hours, without resting -- that the black one of the former 2 saluted them, (I regret deeply to say), with swearing, spitting & hissing - the same as the old one did the former 2 - that I recognise the Watson hand in the beautiful cleanly education of all 5 --
that we think the original stock immensely improved in each successive edition - which is always the case where they meet with care. (I have no doubt Tom having been taught to help himself with his hand out of the cream jug has a hand in it) that the mouse=colour -- to my mind the

prettiest -- has a bad cough & I am afraid will not do well -- otherwise the whole lot is rampant -- and the applications for them so many I could give away twice five. Old Pussy will have nothing whatever to do with them. They are much more clever & active than the lot I brought up ever your child  F
& Mama's interest. Otherwise Parthe may oppose it.

ever your loving child

F

Dec 5/61

Dear Papa

The enclosed is a sketch of Sidney Herbert, drawn up by me at the request of Mr. Gladstone for his speech at the "Herbert" Meeting. [Also an article in the Daily News of Monday Dec 2 was done from it.] It is private, of course.

I do not think Clough's mind formed "studies" as you say. I don't believe you would find that he had made any study of America, for instance, when he was there - or of Rome, altho' one of the most remarkable traits of his life was that he, an Oxford Don, should stay in Rome thro' the siege. But ever since he left Oxford, he was intent upon doing practical work,
"plain work", to use his own words to me. He said he had studied & taught too much for a man's own moral good. The "Puss who coughs" improved so rapidly that she went yesterday on selection to her new home at Mrs. Sutherland's. They are all "larky" little things. You have not sent me back my Feet of the Cats copy of "Notes on Hospitals", which I want, please. I shall be very glad if poor Blanch finds a winter & spring's rest at the place she loves, for having been last there with her husband. I will write to Parthe to bespeak
Dear Papa,

You ask me how I can reconcile my faith with my grief. I don't at all set up for myself as being perfectly consistent, but I do not think that it is fair to judge of a faith, or of a person's faith in a faith from in this way.

vide yr letter.

If it were not for my faith I believe I should be mad.

Political prisoners have gone mad from far far less isolation disappointment & suffering than mine.

In one sense of course all positions are intended [see] by God but in another sense, certainly no such isolation as mine is intended by God.

God intends all of us to work in his work.

I can have faith that he will set all things
right in time, but it does not prevent a person being starved who is without food, that he has faith that it is all right & I am in that state of moral starvation.

God certainly intends no men to live by faith alone, whatever the Bible may say. He intends us to live by faith & by work, & he no more intends me, or you, or anyone to be happy by a true faith than he intends us to live physically without food.

He intends me to be unhappy in my present state, & I resign myself to be unhappy with a kind of comfort that it is necessarily so by his will. Neither does he intend any man to be happy without sympathy. And what sympathy have I now? I would not say: "How can you reconcile yr being unhappy with yr faith"? for it is rather, that it [see]
3
of the "sufferings" of one part
of God's mankind, that
I thought it worth while
to give up my own proper
work & to sacrifice
knowingly my own life
in order to educate a
Secretary of State, God
giving me a chance which
hardly ever could happen
again. In 5 years this
Secy of State is taken
away, By his death
all my hopes are blasted,
& all my plans destroyed
& the sacrifice of my health

made of none effect.
and remember the losses
I have had are not in
the common course of
nature. one was a man
of 51 & three, AH Clough
Alexander & Prince Albert
were men of 41 (of course
I don't pretend to say that I
have felt Prince Albert's
death like the rest, but
still I hope I have
national feeling eno'
to feel it very much,
& Lord Palmerston said
"Better for England to have had a 10 year's War with America than to have lost Prince Albert."

Again I hate the Low Church doctrine, that one person is to die for the spiritual good of "me" therefore à fortiori, I don't think a person is to live for my good. I don't think God ought to have stopped & said "No I won't take Sidney Herbert, or Arthur Clough because, Florence Nightingale will miss them so", but still the fact remains. Sidney Herbert was as the object of my life, as Arthur Clough was the support of my life.

I had been educating Alexander - & never can educate another Director General, just as never another Secretary of State. My work is all gone from my hands, & I alone remain. If you say
I am in: out of every 48 hours I have 40 continuous hours without sleep & during the last 24 of those 40, I can neither read nor write or hardly bear anybody in the room. I don't think anyone can know the state which this want of sleep brings one into. It is impossible to help saying: "How God wastes one's time!" altho' one may be quite sure of the perfection of his plan as a whole, but never believe that I have gone back by one iota from what you call my revelation. I always feel there is hardly anyone but me to defend the poor Creator, ie to proclaim his character & I shd be very sorry indeed if there were chance of your thinking that I think that my fate makes any difference in the perfection of his designs
Thus far dear Uncle
Florence has dictated
from her bed, with
your letter & appeal for
her personal answer
lying by her hand.
As she does not "read
over" nor hesitate she
fears this is "rather long
for you".
It is a fortnight today
that she has been unable
to leave her bed - for her
one little trial led to no good.

but she will creep out in
a day or two.-- You
will observe that she
has alternate worse
days & this is the
beginning of a 48 hours
or she wd. not have been
able to dictate so much
even to you. [illeg] (She
has written nothing during
the time herself - I believe)

One day will you shew
me this letter again &
pardon dear Uncle my
haste in writing [end 3:366]
Jan 23/62
32 South Street

Dear Papa,

The Winchester is a great victory. I will not ask you to put my subscription down under yours, because mine is entirely contingent upon whether I approve the plans at sight. I have made this condition with every hospital I have assisted. I promised the Winton from 50£ to 100£ if they made the hospital
what I consider "conducive to the welfare of the sick"

NB.

I hope you know that I pay all my charities out of my own earnings, including the 50£ to the Herbert Memorial & 300£ for the printing of the "Stuff".

You have been so exceedingly liberal to me that I should be sorry you thought that I gave these things out of yr pocket, I have taken eno' out of it without that or more truly you have given me eno'

I have managed my donation to several County Hospitals ie to the building of new ones, in the same way as I propose to do with the Winton.

I have no doubt it will have to be made £100.

Will you tell Parthe that I will answer Sir Willm Heathcotes question about 'Site' to him direct tomorrow.

(Tomorrow, dear Uncle, is the day fixed & I think all will be well for the [to 31 Dover st. - till March 1] (IN PENCIL) morning - Dr Williams gives permission - & the Rooms are as good as we cd. hope to find & quiet.

In haste & with thanks for Parthes letter
Lord Tantenville's house, quite at the end declined us, but we do not [Lord Tantenlles?] regret now.
London February 2 1862 [14:1014]

Dear Papa

I should like my little traps, including the Crimean mementos, to be collected, a list made of them & the whole placed together, to remain in your possession during your life; my Mother & Parthe successively to have the custody of them for their respective lives and then to go to Beatrice.

My "little traps" are, as far as I remember, shells, books, mathematical, astronomical &c with my notes, an unique collection of "Régles" of Religious Orders, chiefly French, made by me at Paris - the memorials of my Roman stay and Egyptian and Greek journey - the prints I had at Harley St - the Crimean remains - the presents & testimonials on my return &c

I earnestly wish that no other biography of me should be given by my family or friends ever dear Papa

Your loving child
Florence Nightingale
London February 2 1862
I leave to Aunt Mai and Papa
the little trunk (once belonging to
Miss Coape) which contains the
copies of the "stuff", annotated
by Mr. Jowett & Mr. Mill in
pencil - with their letters &c
upon it. Also the stack of
(half-bound) copies of 'stuff'.
I should greatly have wished
that it could have been revised
& arranged according to the hints
of Jowett & Mill but without
altering the spirit according to
their principles with which I
entirely disagree.

But he who would have done this
is gone.
I think however that some errors
pointed out in these pencil notes,
(as eg. Mill says that Descartes
is misrepresented and Jowett that
the Stoics are so) might be
taken away out of the 'stuff' in a revision, without
giving any one much trouble.
M. Mohl would be a capital advisor,
if he would consent.

Florence Nightingale [end]

As to "Stuff"

F. Nightingale
W.E. Nightingale Esq
Feb 21/62

Dear Papa

The Review of Sismondi was in the 1st January Number of the Revue des Deux Mondes. But I have tried in vain to get you that number. His correspondence therein reviewed has been lately published, not very interesting, chiefly to a Mlle de St Aulaire. But what would interest you are the old Geneva remembrances - and the progress of his religious opinions, from regarding God as simple Law, (& envying Silvio Pellico who looked upon Him as a constant special interferer) - to his coming to have some faint glimpse, very faint, that Law is the wisest kind of "interference", the goodness of an good Almighty Father.
Please tell Beatrice that Galton's baby is wonderfully better today, tho' not out of danger. But it is so wonderful that it should be alive at all that I suppose it means to live. I don't know how far it is desirable that any infant should survive such an illness. But poor Galton will be overjoyed. And Marianne has sat up with it every night. ever dear Pa your loving child

9 Chesterfield St. March 7/62 W.

Dearest Mother
So far from your letters being a "bore", you are the only person who tells me any news. I have never been able to get over the morbid feeling of/at seeing my two lost two's names in the paper, so that I see no paper. I did not know of the deaths you
mention, (excepting of course Galton's baby,) & am very glad to hear of them, yes really glad. As for poor Galton's baby, it is a deep loss to him. And I cannot be glad. All his future he had built on it. And he would have made it such a good father. I don't know when I have been so sorry for the dropping of such a little life on earth.

But Laura's husband & baby's father & others do not know how much they are spared by having no bitterness mingled with their grief. Such unspeakable bitterness has been connected with each one of my losses - far, far greater than the grief. Then I have lost all. All the others have children or some high & inspiring interest to live for. While I have lost
husband & children & all. And am left to the weary hopeless struggle with Hawes at the War Office & Lord Stanley in the Indian Sanitary Commissn While it is an aggravation to everything to think that I predicted to my poor lost chief exactly what has happened, if he left the War Office without an organization & with a Hawes in it.

Sometimes I wonder

[2]

that I should be so impatient for death. Had I only to stand & wait, I think it would be nothing - tho' the pain is so great that I wonder how anybody can dread an operation. If Paget could amputate my left fore quarter, I am sure I would have sent for him in half an hour.

But it is this desperate guerilla warfare, ending in
so little, which makes me so impatient of life - I who could once do so much. And that wretched Sir G. Lewis, writing Latin jeux d'esprit.

Yes, the Canadian expedition was very well done. But Lord de Grey & I did that together. And we did it by means of the very machinery, constructed by me & Sidney Herbert, which Hawes is now wanting to destroy.

When I hear the Street band playing "Auld Lang Syne", & think that these five last years of my life are indeed now auld lang syne - it takes a deal of faith to think make God's will mine. For indeed, I don't see how, in any world there could be such a combination for good as that which existed between me & my lost ones - here.

And as it
in no way depressed
my joy in it to suffer
so much as I did
even during that time,
so it in no way
comforts me to think
that I shall soon
be past my sufferings.
For the Army will
not be better because
I am dead.
2. Beatrice is going
to see Miss Clough
before she leaves her
school at the Lakes,
which I am very
glad of.

From the very first

I felt, why "these
people are quite
of a different clay
from ours. They move
in a quite a different
order of ideas &
feelings from what
we do".

I think what I
have felt most (during
my last 3 months of
extreme weakness) is
the not having one

single person to say an
give me one
inspiring word or even
one correct fact to me.

I am glad to end
a day which never
can come back; gladder
to end a night - gladdest
to end a month.
   I have felt this
much more in setting
up (for the first time
in my life), a fashionable
old maid's house in
a fashionable quarter
(tho' grateful to Papa's
liberality for enabling
me to do so) because
it is as it were deciding

f258
upon a new & independent
course in my broken
old age. Which I never
have been called upon
to do even in my vigorous
youth. Always before
my path was so clear
to me, what I ought
to do, tho' often not
how to do it.
   But now it was
quite doubtful to me
whether, (when all was
broken up,) I had
better not have left
the Army altogether.
   The question was

f258v
decided in my mind
by my being so much
worse that I could do
nothing else - & by
Lord Stanley throwing
all this Indian Commissn
business upon us. I
have now written the
biggest part of their
Report. But I have
not begun my own
Evidence; nor the
Digest of the Reports
for our Indian Stations,
150 in number.
    But oh! if I were now able to do what I could do 5 years ago,

or even what mothers can do for their children, how little my griefs would do to me, except to urge inspire me to do more.

In the Medea, Jason says, "What remains?" And Medea answers, "I". I remember when I came home from the Crimea, 5 1/2 years ago, writing this from Lea Hurst to those who would have deterred me from stopping in the Army. All are now gone. And there remains only half "I". I did all (& more than) I intended when I had "I", & got up that Commission, having only "I" to begin with. But now... ?"what remains"? -- 3. The Queen, poor thing, is more "bowed to the earth" (her own expression) than ever.
She is never able to see but one person at a time - never to sit down to dinner with more than one person - which used to be Princess Hohenlohe or Pss Alice. Even her uncle, K of the Belgians, never dined with her when he was here. She told Lord Palmerston that she should not live long. But I hear there is no reason for fearing this. Ld P. says she is half the size she was.

She fronts the work gallantly. But there are such serious doubts whether she can even get through the daily routine of work, without Albert, that the Cabinet considered every constitutional possibility of creating an Office, to be filled by Lord Clarendon. It was found to be unconstitutional & that she must do the work herself with her Private Secretaries.
Albert arranged that Pss Alice should stay 2 years in England after her marriage. People say that time heals the deepest griefs. It is not true. Time makes us feel what are the deepest griefs every day only the more by showing of the blank (which nothing now can fill) every day more & more of the evils which there are none now to remedy, every day one more.

4. Thank you very much for the weekly box. And tell Burton that I ate a piece of her rabbit pie, which was the first real meat I have eaten for 3 months. The smallest contribution is thankfully received - even a sausage, when you kill a pig. I could not help sending the game, chicken, vegetables &
flowers to King's Coll=
Hospital.
I never see the spring
without thinking of my
Clough. He used to tell
me how the leaves were
coming out - always
remembering that,
without his eyes, I
should never see the
spring again. Thank
God! My lost two
are in brighter springs
than ours.
Poor Mrs. Herbert
told me that her chief
comfort was in a little

Chinese dog of his, which
he was not either very
fond of, (he always
said he liked Christians
better than beasts) but
which used to come
& kiss her eyelids &
lick the tears from
her cheeks. I remember
thinking this childish.
But now I don't.
My cat does just
the same to me. Dumb
beasts observe you
so much more than
talking beings, & know
so much better what
you are thinking of.
   You may send this letter to Lea Hurst, if you like it. Papa wanted to know about the Queen. But don't send it anywhere else.

   If you could send me up some snowdrops, primroses, anenomes & other wild spring flowers with roots, I have a fine balcony here looking on Chesterfield Gardens

where I mean to take out a license for rural sports & kill cats.

   ever dear Mum
   
   Your loving child

   F

Parthe told me you wanted to know whether the Dresden Raphael had come in its new frame. Yes, it did, seven or eight months ago (for I remember I had it before August 2, when my dear Master died) The frame is beautiful. It is just
what that kind of print wants to lighten it - an open work frame. I always think good prints are spoilt by framing them in solid work - and made to look heavy.

I have turned out all Mrs. Plumer Ward's performances in her bedroom which is mine. (I had as soon be in the room with bugs & fleas) & hung up your Dresden Raphael

& Murillo Virgin, Mrs. Bracebridge's annunciation (from the Papal Chapel) an unframed Guercino Ecce Homo, & Sistine Isaiah - and two Chromo. lithographs from Roberts & a Norwegian.

And Sutherland said I was "a vain thing, to have decorated my room. There are some people who always say the wrong thing. [end 1:154]

Mrs. Nightingale
Embley
Romsey

f266 letter to FN by Mary Jones, My dearest friend from K.C.H. 15 March [1862] 3 pm. I have this morning recd your note or shd have sent the papers by the bearer of your most kind print. Of Fish-Flowers & and the letter have charmed our wards today almost like sunshine, the patients are charmed with the “Daf-a-down Dillies” and the little children clapped their hands.
Many thanks dearest friend, always yours MJ

These are the poor little Patients in King's College Hospital. I should like you to know how much pleasure your spring things give - to those who never see the spring, or never will again.

F.N.

Please send this on to Papa. With the exception of yourself & him, I do think our family loses so much pleasure, by never thinking of giving pleasure -- poor Hilary excepted, who wasted her life in doing nothing else. Without one penny of expense, with only half an hour's trouble, oh the pleasure that
would be given by
the able-bodied
of our family, with
nothing worthy to
occupy their time,
who would just
pick a nosegay
of "Daf-a-down-dillies"
on Sunday; & send
it to one who has
been nearly confined
to 4 walls for
4½ years, like
myself - (and I
have taken thought
for them all that
time) or to the poor
little inmates of a
London Hospital.

Please thank
Mrs. Watson & Mrs.
Burton for the
trouble they have
taken. And tell
them that every
minute of the
existence of the
gifts they make
gives pleasure to
every minute of the
existence of some
poor human being

FN.

"never has there been an age in which
wrong & oppression were so hated, or
in which the reformation rather than
the torture of the criminal was the
object sought, & knowing this I
endure to hear the age we live in
sneered at as utilitarian? or the efforts
of its nerves decried, their lives misunderstood & misrepresented?

Of all false narrow cruel views, that which denies to our god-serving, man-loving age the praise it deserves & sneers at it because greet in works of mercy & Christian beneficence, it is also great in mechanical inventions seems to me the falsest & most cruel,
My trust in human nature, in other words in the nature which God has given us is very deep. When I see all the wretched superstitions it has struggled thro', yet running into no wild revolutionary excesses having learnt wise self restraint, having put away childish things, & grown into a manhood that, knowing God as a Father & mankind as his children will no longer worship him, with the slavish worship of worn out creeds but with the cheerful love & trust of a benign & intelligent religion.

I do not like to hear people say; that our life here is of no value, that we ought not to think of happiness here, but to look forward to hereafter; If it should be our destiny to pass thro' successive stages of being hereafter may it not be the punishment of some always to neglect the stage they are in for the one that is coming.

The best preparation for another life must be to rightly value this.

When we are children how do we best prepare for becoming men & women.

Not by perpetually looking forward to the coming Time & questioning if we are prepared for its approach.
Sunday. March 23/62

"Father to me thou art, & brother dear,"
"And mother too, kind husband of my heart"

The poet then goes on to draw the parallel between our relation this & our relation to God, & ends with.
"Thou art as much His care, as if than thee",
"Nor men nor angel lived upon this earth"

Dear Papa. I wanted to have sent you the whole of these lines [but I can't find the book because I think they are an accurately true description of God's "tendresse " à mon égard" - but then I would not say "au lieu de" but "together with" his bienfaisance universelle" The eternal laws are as much constructed in the view of & for the good of

* Andromaches parting address to Hector in the 6th book of the Iliad

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I send you the great man's "Hey diddle diddle" because I was too weary to get up & look for the trash last time please return it to me. It is a great thing to have trash sent us by a Secretary of State
------------------------------------------
I think you would like an article on "La Suisse Chrétienne" including Rousseau by your old friend Tallandier in the " Revue des deux Mondes" of 15. Mars.
Please send me back my letter to you upon this house, for I mean to send it to Mr. Bracebridge, who knows Mrs. Plumer Ward & is so sharp that she'll find some way of letting her see it, also if I live to write another Edition of my "Notes on Nursing" I mean to put in in there I was very glad to hear from Mr. [?] Breech [?] that my description of a nuisance at the Burlington in my first "Notes on Nursing" had been recognized & had very much injured the Burlington.

9 C St
Mar 27 [1862]

Dear Papa
I like the idea of your Letitia Locke very much. At least, I should not like at all that any one who had been in Clough's family & whom they had liked should go out of our family.

But I want Beatrice to consider the following important questions, while Letitia is still with you.
1. You say truly: "of course all will depend on my Mrs. Walker". Now nothing must depend on her. She is the most active person I ever knew. She does quite as much (& quite as well) as Hilary, Mary Bratby & Richard did all together - & finds time besides to go out from 11 till 1 every day. If she were to leave me, I must quit the country, rather than run the gauntlet of Hilary's incapables.

2. I could not do with a "makeshift" housemaid, tho' very likely I may be able to get no other. But I must try for one who will clean, not dirty, my
house. And a housemaid
I could recommend
would be sure of a
score of places after
me, whatever happened
to me. So that I do
not consider mine a
"makeshift" place
3. I do not want a
finished housemaid
but only one who can
be trusted to keep
the house clean
without looking after.
She would have no
china or gimcracks
in her charge. For it is all put away [Ann
Clarke "does" my own
rooms]. But she must

[2]
know how to keep the
rest of the house with
the most scrupulous
cleanliness in common
work. There is no fine
work to do.
4. You see I have 3
maids who know how
to do literally nothing.
1. Mrs. P. Ward's housemaid,
whom I have dis=
charged 2. her cook,
whom I can't discharge;
& 3. my Ann Clarke -
A.C. who was, during
her 15 months under
me at Harley St., the
brightest, cleanest girl
I ever had, is come back to me a dirty half-witted slattern. So much for the mistresses of the present-day. A.C. will still do things excellently under my eye. E.g. she dusted & arranged all my books & things under my directing here. But set her to dirty the room, when I am too ill to attend to her, & she does that excellently too.

You see I could not have two of this sort. But I should be very sorry not to have Letitia. ever your loving child.

Dearest Mother

I was rather in hopes I should have heard from you today about the housemaid. I am in treaty with two, one of them rather promising. So that I should be glad to be able to give a final answer as soon as possible ever dearest Mother your loving child

F.
Dearest Mother

I think your Sarah Fletcher takes my fancy most. But as I have another very good candidate for my place, I should like to know:

1. Sarah Fletcher's age
2. How long she was with Miss Boultbee
3. Why she parted with her

& generally what kind of a family Miss Boultbee's was.

[It is better for me to have a housemaid accustomed to a single handed place & to a place without menservants].

You see Miss Boultbee's note does not mention (2) & (3). Very important particulars for me.

I should make no difficulty about wages. I would give £14, 1/6 a week beer.
money, 1/6 a week
washing money - tea
& sugar & everything else
found.
    I don't like giving
beer & washing money.
I prefer finding
everything. But I
began with Mrs.
Plumer Ward's horrid
London servants &
cannot get out of
their ways.
    If you could
send me the particulars
I want as soon as

possible, I would
delay my final
answer to my other
string.
    ever dear Mum
    your loving child
    F

{ENVELOPE}
Mrs. Nightingale
Embley
Romsey
Private
9 C St
May 23/62
I must tell you the
first joy I have
had since poor S.
Herbert's death.
Lord Palmerston
has forced upon Sir
G. Lewis the re-organiza-
ion of the W.O.,
which follows from
the non-filling up
of Hawes place, as Deputy Secretary, &
the appointment
of Galton in his other
place (modified)
called Asst Under Sec.

Sir G.L. & has this
day written it to
the Queen.
Galton resigning
the Army of course
F.N
I have seen Galton
since he knew it.
He behaved very
quietly - more pleased
I believe because
he could now carry
out S. Herbert's
plans than for
anything else.
Tell Kingsley that the [1:251-52] Protestant doctrine, viz that to be disappointed in love or in search of a love is the qualification for a good Nurse or "Sister", (advocated by him & triumphantly vindicated in practice by Mrs. Teresa Longworth,) has been for the first time, as far as I know, in R. Catholic literature, stated in a R. Catholic novel - A.D. 1861. But it is by an English pervert. 

Kingsley's doctrine

that the highest life is a two in one & one in God I should think is denied by no Protestant but Miss Sellon. 

But it is incalculable the mischief his this other doctrine does - as I can practically testify. 

You would not expect a man to accept or value a woman's love very highly on the rejected plan. Yet it is thought such a good reason for God to accept it. Yet He does not. These women make infamous nurses. F.N. [end 1:252]
9 C St. W

Poor Queen's birth day

[24 May 1862] {IN PENCIL}

Lord Palmerston has forced Sir G. Lewis to carry out Sidney Herbert's & my plan for the reorganization of the W.O. in some measure. i.e by "taking in" Sir G.L.'s ignorance & idleness. Hawes' place is not to be filled up. Galton is to do his work as "Assist Under Sec." This brings with it some other reforms. Lord de Grey says that he can reorganize the W.O. with Capt. Galton, because Sir G.L. will know nothing about it & never enquires. Sir G.L. wrote it (innocently) to the Queen yesterday. And Capt. Galton was appointed to day, resigning the Army, of course.

No, Sir C. Trevelyan would not have done at all. It would have been perpetuating the principle (which I have been fighting against in all my Office life i.e for 8 years) of having a dictator an autocrat, irresponsible to Parlt, quite unassailable from any quarter, irremoveable, in the middle of a (so called) constitutional Govt & under a Secretary of State, who is responsible to Govt Parlt. And inasmuch as Trevelyan is a better & abler man than Hawes, it would have been worse (for any reform of principle)

I don't mean to say that I am the first person who have laid down this. But I do believe I am the first person who have felt it so bitterly, keenly, constantly that I would as to give up life, health, joy, congenial occupation for a thankless work like this.
Nunc dimittis servam tuam, Domine.

No "reform" was to be expected from Trevelyon. On the contrary, he would have confirmed the Dictatorship.

And, with an idle master like Lewis, he would have been an absolute (tho' wise) Despot.

It has come too late to give happiness to Galton, as it has come too late for me. He seems more depressed than pleased. And, I do believe, if he feels any pleasure, it is that now, he can carry out Sidney Herbert's plans in some measure.

"Poor Florence, our work unfinished" was his last prayer, his last ε χνη

How often I have said to God, Oh Remember his prayer, his last prayer,

Oh God." In this sense (as ε χνη,) prayer is no doubt true. I do not mean that God alters his mind.

But I HAD done all I could to bring about the ε χνη

And it may seem to you some compensation for the enormous expence I cause you that, if I had not been here, it would not have been done.

Would that Sidney Herbert could have lived to do it himself

Would that poor Clough could have lived to see it. He wished for it so much - for my sake.

Had Hawes, that worthless profligate, died but one twelvemonth sooner, I do believe it would have saved Sidney Herbert's life - as it would certainly have saved the most fatal error S.H. ever committed.
Poor Mrs Herbert spent the afternoon here yesterday. She had only come home the day before. The poor little great nobleman is at Eton, 11 years old, £60,000 a year. The old scamp left £100,000 to that woman at Paris. There is not a farthing of ready money any where - but a great debt - which Mrs. Herbert has to pay. Her 6 younger children are almost without a provision. It is not quite certain yet whether Wilton falls into Chancery. I trust they will, if it does, give her a large allowance & that she will have courage to save for the younger children. I cannot help repeating that there is a great "fond" of justice & magnanimity in her. I am always first with her, because I was first with him. My claim to be consulted, to be informed, is always recognised. It is this which I think our family so singularly deficient in. They recognise NO claim. Had I not never known poor Clough, I could not have been treated more as a stranger in his death. Hampden is come. Not Savonarola yet. My admiration of Savonarola is mainly this - that he was the ONLY religious teacher I know of who distinctly recognised the duty, as a religious duty & claim, of every citizen to aid in forming a free Govt. It is most extraordinary that England, the
most political nation in the world, has never recognised this in any form as a part of religion. God is an old woman, who does not understand much about politics & has nothing to do with the House of Commons.

If Hookham gets the right edition (& I have told him to write to Florence for it - he says he can't get it in London) I will shew you in Savonarola's "Trattato circa il governo di Firenze" (which is in the Edition of Andin di Rians,) a passage which I think beats all statesmanship & moral philosophy of the present day. It is to the effect that God has expressly left imperfection for men to work out perfection for themselves (by His laws)

Please tell Mama that I don't think she ever gave more real happiness than by her cordial invitation, so kindly expressed, to Miss Jones to Lea Hurst. She has quite broken down again, & is going next week to Lea Hurst for a fortnight "to be quite alone", which she longs for. I hope we shall be able to persuade her to stay longer ever dear Pa

your loving child

Please send this to Mrs. Bracebridge at Atherstone, by next post. I have no power to write (what it is her right to know) & my joy to tell her.
Miss Mayos House  
Hampstead NW  
Aug 9/62  
Dearest mother Thank you for boxes, the account of poor G. Sterndale's death; & a little set of Etruscan china, if meant for me. It came in the last box without any letter. I think that it is hardly any use for me to have any more boxes from Embley, thank you, when you are not there. All is grist which comes to my mill, because I have

so many poor Patients in London, to whom flowers & vegetables are the only heaven they know. But what the Embley Gardiner sends, when you are not there, costs in carriage more than what I could get it for in London markets. I was glad that poor G. Sterndale died "at home" - he was well taken care of-- glad that he did not try Mr. Smedley
whose first bath would certainly have killed him, as it does in all kidney disease - & then one would have felt that he had been murdered by a quack. Had there been an Inquest, it would certainly have been correct to bring it in "manslaughter". And that the poor fellow did die in a week would not have told at an Inquest in favour of Mr. Smedley. I have been worse since I have been here. And this is the first day I have been able to write.

Mrs. Bracebridge comes to me today (till Monday) a great blessing to me - this weary week. 6 years this week since I came home from the Crimea - a year since Sidney Herbert died. 

ever dearest mother
your loving child

It is better always to send an "invoice" with your box.
Palgrave & Tennyson are going to the Peak & Matlock for a tour. You know both are great friends of Clough. I don't know whether you know Palgrave well enough to ask them to Lea Hurst

Mme Mohl is at Cold Overton.

"The Prison Chaplain: A Memoir of John Clay" is a book well worth getting for Papa. I have read it. It contains a masterly sketch of the progress of Prison discipline - memoirs of the Preston Gaol Chaplain (John Clay) of Maconochie &c. It is a little unfair upon Jebb. But Papa will find there memoirs of the crank & tread wheel, about which he too is a little unfair upon Jebb. And it completely agrees with "me" [end 1:157]
Aug 19/62

Dear Papa

1. I cannot call these, "unfinished disputes" which I have had with P. Ward & Co: I call it a system of extortion & bad faith begun from the time before I entered the house; & which will never end, because they reckon upon my having no business-like protector.

In speaking of this to anybody, I should not like you to say my "disputes" with

them - but to say the truth that they have broken their word in everything & have never given anything but their word.

I don't know what you think. But I think, having tossed about the world a good deal, that it is one's duty to the world to expose these such people (not in such a way as to get oneself prosecuted for libel) & not to use vague terms, as if there were fault on both sides.
I have been kind to her servants. I have spent £40 on her house. And she pays me back with lies, extortion & fraud. It has been a regular system for 8 months, since Jan 1, from which time she told her agents to let her house & then kept me out of it till March 1, exacting the same price. If people who have suffered these extortions told the truth about them, there would be fewer committed.

Mrs. Bracebridge asks me to leave the "final settlement" to you & Mr. Bracebridge (in her letter of to day) which I thankfully do - only praying that you all will call "things by their right names", in speaking of this. afterwards Do you think if Johnstone & Jeanes believed that all my friends would hear that they are extortioners, that they would be so? It would be against their interest.
2. I have had some choice Indian seeds given me - a largish parcel. I don't want to vilify Mr. Hill, who don't hurt me. But it seems to me that he is as much of a gardener as I a horse breaker. Will you ask Mama whether he is capable of bringing up these Indian seeds? or what I had better do with them. I presume they must be reared in stove or hot house.

3. Will you tell Mama that Pussies don't have more than two litters a year - at least I never heard of such a thing - that there would have been therefore no danger to her in bringing Thomas - & that it is so exceedingly rare for a Puss to be faithful to a Thomas (all her children are quite the contrary) that it is most important to keep up the conjugal relation in her mind.

[This in answer to a sentence in Mrs. Bracebridge's letter]
4. The Trevelyan are at Buxton - did you know it?
   ever dear Pa
   your loving child

{ENVELOPE} LONDON - N.W  X
AU 19
62
{BIG INK SMUDGE} Nightingale
Lea Hurst
Matlock
Oct 27, 1862  {IN PENCIL}

Dear Papa

I understand that
Sir Harry came up on
Friday & asked Mama
to send for "Folk" to
put up a rain water
cistern - & that Mama
& "Folk" settled it
was to be not lead
but oxidised iron.
This is all I know -
I do not enquire or
interfere, because you
know there is no one
capable of giving correct
information or carrying
an order. And even
this may not be correct.

The limewashing I
will do when I come
in & the bell hanging,
for I am so afraid
of their spoiling the
drawing room walls by
hanging my bell, when I am
NOT there to see.

I forgot to say, [16:610]

about the Winchester
Dispensary, that the
very best thing
that can be done is
to leave it, with the
6 Doctors (& their
ridiculous requirement
of "6 rooms"), inside
Winchester. Dispensaries
never did any good
- do do great harm.
And let the 2 evils
stop together [end]

Oct 27/62

Dearest Mother

I am not a little
alarmed at the "30
gallon cistern".
You see I have
twice been drowned
in my bed - once
I have had the
dropping through of
such a cistern into
my bed room for 6
weeks - and in two
houses & especially

even in this my
present one, so nice
in every other respect,
I have been kept
awake at night
for months either
by the perpetual
running of water
or by the dripping,
drip, drip, for hours
after rain has ceased.
Would you therefore
say to Mr. Fulkes
these three things:
1. the 30 gallon cistern
**f298**

must be so placed that
damp from it cannot
get into the house
2. there should be a
sufficient overflow
to prevent a deluge
of water coming into
the house in a heavy
thunder storm
3. the *inflowing pipe*
should go *down to*
the *bottom of the*
cistern *to prevent*
noise

----------------------

Mrs. Walker says that
the roof is not enough

**f298v**

to supply the cistern
with water, if the
cistern is *not* to be
*on the roof*—that
the water on the leads
is so much more, it
ought to be collected
into the cistern, & the
cistern be in the basement.
Of this I know nothing.
I congratulate on Shore's daughter.

Dearest Mother [1:159]
Don't forget my greeneries. You cannot send me too many - the sooner the better, to dress the Hospitals &c by Christmas Day. It gives such pleasure to people who never see anything but four walls.

Many thanks for the boxes & for your own letters still more. Ever your Dec 20 1862 F

f300 letter to Uncle Night from JHBC, from Blandford Sq re seeing her Xmas day, visits of Miss Clough, nothing settled re houses, re bust of AHC
Dear Papa

As I find that neither Parthe nor Mama forward to you the letters I write, with the express purpose of their being forwarded to you, I am obliged to write it all over again to you.

Keep the enclosed letter & show it about wherever you can. How I should like a copy of it to fall into Mrs. P. Ward's hands. The only punishment for these people is publicity.

Have people no eyes & noses? I do think my case is a hard one.

Dearest Mother

I am glad you liked my little tribute to my dear chief, so great in life as in death, as I think, comparing to me, comparing him with other men, he seems more & more every day. I sadly survive him.

Please tell Sir Harry that his servants may certainly come
up on the 23rd. I am quite sure to be gone by then. If you have a few sheets to spare for an unfortunate beggar, I send the list of what I want But as it will come out of your pocket both either way, don't pinch for me. Also tell Mrs. Webb I much want my night gowns [end 1:160] Ever dearest mother your loving child F Jan 12/63

f303 (ENVELOPE) IN FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE'S HAND

THE FOLLOWING 4 LINES ARE PRINTED ON A STAMP

LONDON

X

JA 12

63

Mrs. Nightingale
Embley
Romsey

f303v (BACK OF AN ENVELOPE) IN FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE'S HAND

Today poor Clough has been dead a year

Nov 12/62
4 Cleveland Row

Dearest Mother  S.W. Feb 3/63

My strength protests against my writing - which
I don't wonder at - for I am of the same opinion myself.
But I always dearly love to receive letters (not begging ones).

But now I write to beg. Miss Jones is in the most miserable state of health.
I think God will take her before me. And I want you to invite her while you are alone & will nurse her as you only can.
She could leave town next week, but must go into Devonshire first. And I want her to go to Embley afterwards for a few weeks while you are alone, if you will have her. To be let alone,

to feel perfectly at her ease, to have entire rest of body & mind is what she wants. A drive in an open carriage occasionally is all she is fit for & to be sent to bed at 9 o'clock She is often unable to go up & down stairs. And I used to invite her when at South St. "to spend Saturday & Sunday with me in bed". And she did it. Hers is such a valuable life. I know Webb would wait upon her kindly & take her her meals cut up.

Please tell Papa I am looking forward to seeing him on Thursday

ever dearest Mother
Add Mss 45790

your loving child  F
Dearest Mother  
  Miss Jones was so 
very much obliged to you 
for your very kind letters. 
And so was I. Her address 
is St John's House 
Norfolk St 
Strand 
But do not you trouble 
yourself to write again. 
I will, as I am in 
almost daily communication 
with her. I am sorry 
to say she has been 
detained in town by 
a most disagreeable 
business with one of 
her subordinates, & has 

been obliged to give up 
hers Devonshire visit 
She will come to you 
however, if she can 
stand on 4 legs. And 
you must keep her 
more than a week 
or she will die. She 
cannot yet fix when 
she will can go. But I 
trust it will be in 
a few days. [She was 
spending the Sunday 
at Mr. Bowman's at 
Hampstead. That is not 
h her address. I wish 
it were.]

Many thanks for 
sheets & little birds &
Dearest Mother,

You are very good to me & to my dear Miss Jones too.

She will come to you on Wednesday (I trust) by the 3 o'clock train from here - & will bring a Nurse, as you so kindly recommend. Will you meet them in the carriage?

She intends to stay a fortnight, (she has been obliged to give up all her other visit)

But I hope you will make her stay longer.

She has incessant flooding - never entirely without it. And of course such a state gives great fear of her valuable life being terminated by jaundice or rheumatic fever or dropsy. But there is no immediate danger, to make you anxious while with you. All she wants is fresh air & little fatigue - rest of body & mind.

The South room &
Music room would, as you so kindly propose, suit her exactly. But I thought you used the Music room yourself. She will be no gêne upon you; for the best thing for her is to let her be alone & at rest & at ease. She ought to be made to go to bed at 9 o'clock. She ought to take a drive, in an open carriage, if the weather is fine. But then that would perhaps not suit you.

She feels your kindness most deeply. And so do I.

2. I must ask for a sod & some grass (in a handful) by every box W for the cats. Perhaps the Watson's can recommend what grass. Is it the clovery grass they like?

3. I like my night gown very much. Please thank Webb for it. I should like them better 2 inches longer & a little more sloped round the throat in front, i.e cut down in the neck. But if they are all cut out, both these emendations are immaterial

Ever dearest Mother

your loving child  F
Dearest Mother

Pray present my thanks to Mrs. Webb for beautiful night gowns & to yourself for many beautiful boxes. And pray tell Mrs Watson that the cats struck work last night from sheer disappointment that there were no sods or grass for them - & that they say, if in future there is not something for them in every box, they will eat mine, which they did accordingly.

Do pray keep Miss Jones as long as you can. She is not fit to come back. She will be fitter every week you keep her. I have written to her.
f309
I am sure she gets nowhere such great peace & freedom from all care as with you.
Does she drive out?
To do as she likes & not to do as she does not like (which is more) is the main cure for her.
I have been so worn with exertion, seeing both Lord

f309v
Stanley & Lord de Grey this week (poor Capt. Galton has bilious fever & is confined to bed) that I cannot write more but to tell my dearest Mother that I am ever her loving child
F
What lovely Rhodendrons & white Azaleas you have sent - the true Danish colours - they are wedding favours
Dear Papa

A thousand & more thanks for your willingness to buy me a permanent house to myself.

But it was only a raid of Parthe's - such as she ran two years ago to make me accept the Queen's offer of apartments - such as she runs about every two years.

However, she has yielded to my reasons with good humour - and I am grateful to my friends, in my humbled state, even for ceasing to trouble with good humour.

I have often said, the Christ of the present day is not efficiency in good - it is good= humour.

I believe I am beginning to be thankful for it myself - & to be
glad when I get no worse.
   I wish I could say, All's well that ends well. But these raids take a terrible deal out of me. And everybody seems to think me a convenient subject to make a raid on.
   Do not (a burnt child fears the fire - & I have been so burnt that I have ceased to trust my nearest friend) do not let Parthe suppose that I speak of her well meant efforts thus
   ever dear Pa
       your loving child

To me it seems simple madness to talk about buying a house in town for me, unless it were something which was such a catch it would be worth having anyhow.
Hampstead NW
Sept 26/63
Dear Papa
  I am sure that, if any one finds nourishment in Renan or in any book, I should be very sorry to "depreciate" it. There is not so much solid food in books nowadays, especially in religious books, that we can afford to do so - I always think of Mme Mohl's, "I don't want any book=writer to chew my food for me". Now nearly all books are chewed food - especially religious books.

I think you weaken your digestion by reading "chewed food". I therefore only write about Renan because you did me. [And I am sure I have made a list of good passages at the end of Renan enough to satisfy you.]

What I dislike in Renan is (not that it is fine writing but) that it is all fine writing. His Christ is the hero of a novel - he himself a successful novel writer. I am revolted by such expressions as "charmant", "délicieux", {CURLY BRACKET THAT INCLUDES THE LINE BELOW) "religion du pur sentiment", in such a subject. This age has always appeared to me,
to effleurer
the effleurant of serious
& deep subjects, to which
Rowland Hill, leading
Articles & Magazines have
effectually contributed.
Now Renan is the very
production of such an age.

As for the "religion of
sentiment", I really don't
know what he means. He
It is an expression of Balzac's.

If he means the "religion
of love", I agree & do not
agree. We must love
something loveable. And
a religion of love must
certainly include the
explaining of God's character

On the other hand, I
go along with Christ, not
with Renan's Christ,
far more than most
Christians do.

I do think that
"Christ on the Cross" is
the highest expression hitherto
of God -- not in the vulgar
meaning of the Atonement
-- but God does hang on
the Cross every day in
every one of us.
The whole meaning of God's "providence", i.e. His laws, is the Cross. When Christ preaches the cross, when all mystical theology preaches the Cross, I go along with them entirely. It is the same thing as what I mean when I say, that God educates the world by His laws, i.e. by sin -- that man must create mankind - that all this evil, i.e. the Cross, is the proof of God's goodness, is the only way by which God could work out man's salvation, without a contradiction.

You say, but there is too much evil. I say, there is just enough, (not a millionth part of a grain more, than is necessary) to teach man by his own mistakes, by his sins, if you will -- to shew man the way to perfection in eternity -- to perfection
which is the only happiness.
   The doctrine of the Cross is exactly the same thing.
   And in this sense, I do believe Christ is "the way". And, if Renan means by this by Christ "being the founder of pure sentiment," -- in that Christ was the first who voluntarily, eagerly, in his own person, embraced the Cross, & taught us all to embrace it. I agree entirely. For the feeling of the Cross, the "sentiment", the practice of the Cross is better than the doctrine of the Cross.
   But I believe a practical life of "embracing the Cross" oneself is necessary to make one apprehend this. When you say that it requires "imagination" to take in such expressions as St. Paul's, "I die daily - yet not I live"-"yet not I, but Christ liveth in me" I think, it requires not "imagination" but practice. I feel, not only that I can understand them, but that every day, every night of my life for six years, they are the true expression of my daily, nightly feelings & practice. I entirely agree with Renan that Christ was
"the one who caused mankind to make the greatest step towards the 'divine'."

[By the way, I cannot say with him that 'the sermon on the mount will never be surpassed.' For there are cruel mistakes in the sermon on the Mount, tho' it is quite possible Matthew put them there.]

When Renan says that mankind are now "eternal children", I echo his expression. Every one I have to do with now, all, are "eternal children".

And Renan says that Christ was able "to affirm", "to create". Here I quite agree. The bane of religious books now is that they do nothing but cut off errors, destroy superstitions. No one constructs - no one "affirms" a perfect God, working out by law through sin, through evil, the eternal perfection & happiness of every one of us. [But Christ himself did not "affirm" this]. How can man be perfected without sin?
without the Cross?

   Ever dear Pa
   Your loving child
   F.

If you like to send me
back this letter, I think
I could make or
something out of this
parallel between the
"Cross" & God's working
out man's salvation
by evil - between God's
"providence" & God's laws.
It is all that I mean
by my stuff.     [end 3:370]

Dear Papa
   It would seem as if you made
it a law to keep the "silence éternel"
towards me.
   I write you a letter with
much pain & difficulty.
   You don't even acknowledge
it, without either pain or difficulty.
   Nevertheless I try again.
   I have read somewhere this fine line:
"Seul le silence est grand, tout le reste est
faiblessé!"
   I think I have practised it a good
deal myself. But the question is now
of God's silence:--
   there is an old myth, said to be
worthy of Aeschylus himself, (but a
Christian myth) in which the Fates, when Christ is born, ascend to heaven & ask for their new orders, for the new law. This new law is again under this new name. "Grace." And the Fates come down

This is strictly true: in all the Christian religion doctrine, "grace" is nothing but a new fatality, a blind decree (an arbitrary gift) of God. And man has no more self-government than before.

In the myth, man asks this question. And God is silent for all answer.

But God's "seule parole" is going on in that "silence". And if man would but hear it, he would see that "grace" is entirely subject to God's laws; & which he (man) can command it, if he chooses, by observing what those laws are.

The second myth, which is really very fine, is: --

What was Christ thinking of during his Agony in the Garden -- he is supposed to be asking his Father, as the price of his coming, to answer to man all those questions of good & evil, of providence & free will.

The Father is "silent".

And Judas is heard in the dead of the night & in the deep silence lying in wait with his torch.

[This is the deepest tragedy. And how much truer than the ordinary view of Christ -- & how much more sublime.]

(The end is a great falling off. So I shall not tell it).

But God was saying his "seule parole" in the midst of his
"silence".

All these problems He is answering to us every day. Christ did not answer them tho' he is called the Word. But he was one Word. But we know, or might know, much now that Christ could not know.

It has been well said that, in the great masters of tragedy, nothing has such an effect as "silence"; as Eurydice's "silence" in Sophocles' Antigone, when she hears of her son's death -- as Dido's silence in Virgil's Elysian Fields, when she will not answer Aeneas who has deserted her.

But, with all this silence, you must do to the end, as on a forlorn hope - casting the "bottle [end 3:372]"

27 Norfolk St.
Park Lane W.
5/11/64

Dear Papa

Do pray send me back John Stuart Mill's letters: by post, without delay.

The letter=weight, parcel book=weigher, & British & Foreign postal guide, not yet arrived.

Could you tell Watson to send me
by next box, a
small silver cup,
with my initials, F.N.

[Forty years ago, Uncle
Ben gave us each one,
F.N. and F.P.N.]
I want mine, please,
for a sacrament cup.
   ever dear Pa
      your loving child
        F
Sidney Herbert,
Pastor Fliedner,
Lydia Shore - these
are deaths on which
I cannot rejoice -
irreplaceable they
are - they made this
already the "better
world".
"Do God A'moighty know
what He's doing
a'taaken of these?"
A'moight a'taaken
Joanes, as a'aaut a
a'porthe of sense."

To day November 5
is ten years since the

battle of Inkermann -
yesterday, ten years
since we landed at  
Scutari. Ten eventful
years to me, tho' seven
have been passed in
bed. The last three, 
since Sidney Herbert
& Clough left me,
have been as if I had
gone into a different
existence in a different
world. Three lives I
seem to have lived
in ten years. Three times
gained all & lost all.
Dear Papa

You cannot be serious - it is impossible
that you can be serious in any one of the
three propositions in your letter.

I take the most important first.
"I dare not resist the logic of J.S.M."
Why, there is not one word of logic in
his letters from beginning to end.
Are you gone back, as he is, to the
time of Zoroaster, who teaches of a God
and a Devil of equal power, which
is much what our absurd Church
teaches, with its "everlasting damnation"?

I would rather have burnt off
my right hand, like Horatius Cocles,
than given you those letters, if I could
have thought you would be so taken in
by them. But then I am tormented
by the thought - that you only do it
[1]

I take everything au sérieux - too
much for my peace in a world
which taken nothing au sérieux.

Tomorrow you will say just the
contrary. And I shall have had
all my labour in vain.

Did you, because Ld Bacon is a
great inductive philosopher, (much
greater then Mill,) take all that
nonsense for gospel which Bacon
calls his religious Aphorisms, &
which you found in the "Athenaeum"?

Certainly not.

And really yet you can swallow all
those letters that nonsense of Mill's, & bid me
"comfort you, if I can".

There can be no "comfort" for any
man, woman or child, who will blindly
follow any leader, without exerting
his or her own faculties any more than there
can be any digestion for a person who does not chew his own food.
Add Mss 45790

I see you so disturbed by passages
Add Mss 45790 884

f323

in the Bible, which I don't care a bit about — because, how do they spoil for me what I find of good in the Bible?

And yet you will swallow J.S.M. whole?

And what is it he says? I have no patience to look over his letters, which have made such an impression as this upon you — but their jist is this:

that if evil is to be the means of perfecting the human being, then there is not enough evil (!)

then comes his extraordinary Zoroaster proposition & then that the proofs of Law do not prove a Law=giver.

It so happens that, as I think I mentioned to you, I was receiving letters from M. Mohl, a greater philosopher than Mill, (on my "stuff") those very same mornings. And without knowing it, he exactly controverted all three propositions of Mill's.

As for the first, I have heard you
yourself say, that you could believe if there were only a little less evil—Mill says he could believe if there were only a little more evil. [I think God knows best]

As for the second, M. Mohl said, quoting something I had once said to him—men now—a—days are always asking what Plato said, what the Fathers said &c—-they never ask what God says.

And here is Mill actually gone back to what Zoroaster says.

As for the third, M. Mohl said, (to me,) I really think you take too much trouble to prove a Law-giver. Of course, logically, if there is Law, there must be a Law-giver.

I really cannot think Mill's letters worth contradiction. Yet that does not in the least touch my admiration of his "Logic"—any more than the fog of to day touches my admiration of the sunshine of yesterday.
The second proposition (second in order of importance) in your letter, about which you cannot be serious, it is impossible that you can be serious, at least not in making such a proposition to me, is:--

about the new Winchester Infirmary

"Your model at Winton" you say "helps us not."

If you were thoroughly convinced that you were sending a person to a place where he would have 9 chances to 1 of being killed, instead of to a place where he would only have 3 chances against him to 7 for him, or to a place where he would only have 9 chances of life for him, against 1 of death, which would you choose?

But then you have no convictions. I have: And so strong - that I have just paid my second hundred.

out of my hard=earned store (which

I shall never be strong enough to earn again,) to Sir W. Heathcote for the new Winton Infirmary.

I think you would have been perfectly right, if you had stoutly refused to subscribe to the old Winton Infirmary, & said, I won’t send people there to be killed.

I think you would have been perfectly right, if Southampton or Salisbury were going to build a new & healthy Infirmary, to refuse to contribute to the new Winton Infirmary, however healthy, on this ground: that your people prefer going to Salisbury or Southampton.

But, as for your being "constrained to give a ticket to Salisbury", - when the new Winton Infirmary is built, I'd be hanged if I would send
these poor ignorant people to their deaths, when you know better. It is just as if what Cavour's physician (who bled him) said, "he was constrained", & he killed him.

But then, as I say, you have no convictions about these things. You have repeatedly referred to them to me in these terms: --repeating the third-class apothecary's (of last century's) arguments, used by Dr. Crawford & Jack's constituents, who ought to be ashamed of them, explaining away the awful loss of life from Erysipelas at the old Winton Infirmary.

Asking me again & again "how" our Inspectors "could tell that the ground was saturated"--"did they dig holes?" - why these are mere school-boy's lessons to us - [and let me say that the saturation of the ground was only one of the awful evils of the old Winton Infirmary.]

You say," North Hants ought to have been ashamed to solicit us" -- only "ashamed", if you South Hants people had been going to build an Infirmary for yourselves. [I should be ashamed if any "constraint" made me send a Patient to ANY but the new Winton Infirmary, from the county of Hants or Wilts, until South Hants & Wilts have built Infirmaries for themselves.

Then you say to me: "so & so has got well at such & such an Infirmary". We don't deny it. But do you think we don't know (at the General Register Office here) exactly the proportion that has got well & that has died, which ought not to have died, (which is very like saying, that has been killed)?

I began my book "on Hospitals"
with saying, "The first requisite of a
Hospital is to do the Patient no harm", And this has been quoted in every
review since, as if it had never
struck any body before.
Poor Dundas Thompson, who is
dead, said (quietly) in his evidence
before our R. Commission, "I conclude
therefore that the Vauxhall Water
Company killed 1600 persons in
that year".
I tell you, that we know exactly
the proportion that your Winton,
your Southton, your Salisbury
Infirmary has, each of them, killed,
over & above the proportion which
ought to have died from such
& such diseases.
That people, who have not
made these things a study, don't
know them, does not surprise
me, any more than it surprises
me that they don't know Persian.
But for people, especially those
Dr. Bullars of Southampton, to
write to me these worn-out &
exploded arguments, (which are
exactly like the arguments for
a belief in witch-craft,) does surprise
me, just as much as if I were
to write to M. Mohl! a theory
of mine!! upon Persian!!

Yes= I feel so strongly upon a
subject (on which I am said to
be the first authority in Europe)
that I have just promised a
contribution to Swansea, much
larger than I can afford, who is
just building a new Hospital, on
the ground condition that I shall revise the plans, which I have just done - & that I shall withdraw my contribution £327, if they job the plans.

I have done the same, & shall do the same, for every healthily constructed Hospital, wherever it is - & shall steadfastly refuse any subscription to any unhealthy one.

[You know I gave £30 to poor Sidney Herbert's memorial Convalescent Cottages - of which I made the plans myself.

I did the same with Aylesbury - i.e. I revised the plans & gave £25.]

I do not expect you, tho' you are my father, to Quixotize about the country in this way. But neither must you expect me to reply anything farther to your arguments for your triad of wretched County Hospitals but "you cannot be serious, it is impossible that you can be serious". [end 16:620]

F.N.

23/11/64
26/11/64

Dear Papa

Tho' this letter of Mr. Jowett's is not new, I think you will like to see it. Please return it to me.

---------------------------------

I am sure you would like to read an article on Tübingen Theology in the October MacMillan's Magazine for November
an article on Tertullian in Revue des Deux Mondes 1er November
(I wish we ever treated subjects of theology in that kind of way, in England - la détestable méthode historique qui ne voit rien dans

la réformation en Allemagne que le désappointement d'un petit moine - Dans la réformation en Angleterre que les beaux yeux d'Anne Boleyn)

"Abraham's Sacrifice" a sermon by Bishop Colenso - price twopence
By the way, could you send me my translation from Ewald of Isaiah's 53rd Chap? I would send it you back. F.N. [end]
To Dr. Varrentrapp of Frankfort, a man of some note (& who represented his country at our London International Statistical Congress,) I sent a copy of my "Notes on Hospitals." He answered it in a long letter, perfectly reasoned from perfectly false premises. I did not reply, having no strength to waste. And my reply would have been merely to write again the whole of my book. But more shortly I might have said, If experience were exactly the contrary of what it is, your theory would be perfectly correct.

So I say to you, I must write again the whole of my "stuff"—which you have (printed) by you to answer Mill. And, if experience were exactly the contrary of what it is, then J.S.M's letters would be worth attending to.

The odd part of the thing is that you should think that such theories could make a moment's impression upon me. I mean, it is as if some one

(2)
27. Norfolk Street. {PRINTED address}
   Park Lane. W.
were to write to me, "I cannot think there is any truth in any sanitary reform of the British Army" & believe that a word of this kind would turn away a person who has devoted a life to it.

   But, I do so hate negativing.

   I remember a most just criticism upon a book, written against R. Catholicism, which aspired to be a religious book (it might have been by Kingsley) viz. that it advocated no particular virtues except an opposition to Romanism & that its chief argument against Romanism was appeared to be that that religion had prevented the marriage of two Captains of Engineers.

   Now I don't want to waste my strength in negativing Mill. Let us go on to the positive.

   [But I do assure you, that nothing in Newman's Apologia has pained or surprised me so much as your letter in its bowing down before authority.]

   (3) F.N.
Dear Papa If you like to read the enclosed letter to Mme Mohl before forwarding it, pray do.

It is in answer to one of hers - which she desires me not to shew - therefore don't notice to her that I have shewn you mine. She won't notice the post mark.

The worst of it is that I always feel after having written a letter with great physical, not mental, difficulty & fatigue, & so earnestly, in answer to questions asked so indifferently & flippantly & without a day's consideration - that people care so little about their own questions that they will not consider the answers
even enough to remember them. But next their own questions. And next time I see them, they will just say the same things all over again {AN ARROW INDICATES TO CONTINUE READING HERE}
They don't think enough even to know whether they agree or disagree with you. 

ever dear Pa your loving child

PART OF A LETTER TO W.E. NIGHTINGALE? HANDWRITTEN BY FN PEN

last friend I had - the last of my fellow workers in spirit & in truth.
If you mean me by his "adoring survivor preparing his grave stone" -- I don't need to have "this concealed from" me - because Sir Joshua's reputation rests upon a little firmer basis than what can be upset by a Ducane. If you mean his "widow", I have helped her to
"prepare his grave stone".

I expect to hear you, after I am dead, when somebody in the Horse Guards says, Ah the fallacy of all that Sanitary Stuff is found out now - say, "Good" Flo. And she was taken in.

Or when Sutherland says - what I know he says of me to you all - & there is not one of you to answer.

Ever dear Pa your loving (but a little indignant) at having to waste my strength F.N. on these things

Please tell Parthe that Sir Harry has sent me Ly Herbert's first letter to burn.

I had no time to answer the doctrine about infection you repeated to me. Infection is just as much a poison from without as a poisoning by Arsenic in sugar plums. The 17 children at Bradford who were poisoned by poison in buns. You might just as well say that these "caught" "it" from
Add Mss 45790

f333v

one another; or say
that one "conveyed"
the "infection" to
another, "while it
had not yet" "appeared"
in itself, as say what,
as I understood, your
informant told you
about "fever". It is a
remnant of Middle
age superstition &
what all my teaching
on Nursing has been
directed against.
Don't give poison, don't
give allow foul air {F.N. WRITTEN OVER TEXT} & dirt,
& leave "infection" from
man to man to take care
of itself. F.N. [end 12:157]

ff334-35 LETTER TO WEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PEN [1:258-59]

Dear Papa

I have sent for Müller
according to Parthe's desire
And it shall come to
you by the next "empty".
Horace Mansfield's
original remark about
the myth of Prometheus
reminds me of "Mr. Puff".
`Perdition catch my soul,
but I do love thee."
"I think I have heard
that line before"
I shall not keep Müller.
For I think we have
got a good deal farther
f334v

(indeed I think Aeschylus
had - perhaps you
may remember that
I had read Æschylus'
Prometheus with you)
than Müller or Mr. Horace
Mansfield either.
Indeed I did not know
that the "myth of Prometheus"
had ever been taken for
anything else. The
Christian myth of Christ
obtaining "gifts for men"
against God's will is
not finer than that of
Prometheus. But the
finest of all would be that of
Christ of man obtaining "gifts

f335

for men" with, not
against, God's will. which
is not a myth, but the real fact.
There is a most
interesting chapter (far
better than Müller)
in Grote's History --
on Grecian Mythology.
That & his inestimable
Chap. on Socrates, Vol VIII,
constitute the main
merit, I think, of his
History of Greece
Hampstead N.W.
Sept 15/65

Dear Papa
I have not written, because I could not.
I thank you very much for your letter, which touched me deeply.
The "golden bowl is broken" - those words keep running in my ears, with reference to her because it was the purest gold, the most unworked gold I have ever known.
But she is gone to a higher & more perfect service.
If God had asked me (which I assure you He did not) I should have said: - Rather take her now than leave her here 30 years more.
That is, for her specially, you understand.
[There are those whom I would have given my salvation for, if they could have been kept but one year more here.]
But better for her to go. -- that is, if it had not been for this dreadful, this agonizing illness, which even now, one can scarcely think of with resignation.

No: I don't think she is looking down upon us now - [this in answer to Mama's dear letter.] And I am sure I don't wish it. It would rack those who are gone, & do us no good. It would break Sidney Herbert's heart to see what is doing here now - if he could look & see.

I think they go to an ever higher & more perfect service. I no more believe in heaven than I do in hell. i.e. in the sense of a permanent un=progressive state. This is hell - but not a permanent one. And probably there is no state, called heaven, to which there is not a higher heaven. "Which way I fly is hell - myself am hell" is a truer line than Milton
ever wrote elsewhere.
And "the kingdom of heaven is within" -
but we must make it without, too, as He did,- is one of the divinest of Christ's sayings.

You ask me what is to be done with 35 South St., for which (house) I am deeply grateful to you.

The Sutherlands have no house yet - (they have seen 69 houses) - I think they may still fall back on 35 S. St. And as it can't let at Michaelmas, it makes no difference to leave it open for them. I don't think they will settle nearer London than Dulwich. But, even there, is nothing yet to be taken at once.

No: I could make no use of 35 (this in answer to Parthe) till I go into it. I have never been dressed (here) more than I am, to sit up in bed.
Even to go into a dressing-room, if I have to go out upon a stair case, is often impossible to me. To go out into the street from one house to the next would be absolutely & always impossible to me. I never go out of my front door from the moment I enter my house to the moment I leave it. Here I have not once left my bedroom floor. -- often not my bedroom. The house must be kept, therefore, quite irrespectively of me, from the moment it becomes yours. You will put some one in to keep it. [end 1:260]

I may, in parting with my present housemaid, give her the option of remaining in 35 to keep the house; but you will understand that I have not as yet given her warning. So, for a month at least, she will not be available for 35, even if she accepts -- which I don't expect. It is impossible for me to make any arrangements
for 35 - [And, of this housemaid, I will give you due notice, if it comes to pass.]

I stay on here from day to day, from sheer inability to get out of bed. But I am most anxious to get back to London. (this in answer to Mama's kind wish that I should stay here.)

I had made an appointment with an Indian in London for next Monday, 18th. And longer than

Monday week, 25th, I am quite determined not to stay here. Besides which, I cannot bear the expense of three houses going on at once.

So much for the present. Please God I will write again.

Let this letter be for you & yours only. I assure you I treasure yours as the greatest of my treasures.
Please tell Mama that I have had partridges & grapes from Embley, for which many thanks—
that I have had "no "grouse from Scotland" nor any "grouse" at all this year.
I merely mention this, because she desires me. And, for the same reason, I mention that the "4 Lancets" have never been found.

ever dear Pa
your loving child
F
Have you read Grote's

three Vols: of "Plato and the companions of Sokrates"? I should much like to have them to look over again— if you have them.

F.N.
Let me just say— I who am much given, too much given, to be, instead of the "Lamb of God", God's wild beast— how nobly Elinor has gone thru' the 'agonizing' attendance of the last 4 months— & been a sister to her in death.
1865? {IN PENCIL}

Dear Papa

I send you Jowett, as you care about him.
But he says it is to be `private' - remember that. I should like to see my darling Jowett in the naughty women's lock-up for 48 hours - not more than that, I think. It would make an impression on the Church. But I only wd regret their persecution, because it is for so little. Unlike Socrates, I would die guilty, while I was about it.

After all, what have Colenso or Jowett done towards the knowledge of a perfect God? Savonarola is out. Yes, I think Savonarola did a good deal more than these, towards the love of a perfect God caeteris paribus. He was always, like his mother city, a great hero of mine. I don't think we only want light but food too [end 3:377]
Dear Papa

You know perhaps that "we" have entirely differed from the first with the Cattle Plague Commission And few things have I regretted so much than my inability (from over-work) to take an active part in it

Read what the Registrar Genl says of it in his Report in this day's Times. p. 7 "The Public Health in 1865."

Farther, he writes to me: -- "we have been saying a word or two about the cattle=panic & fruitless slaughter. xxx

"The panic would not have sprung up - if we had known more about the matter - & the cattle had been insured - on a plan I sent G. -- which he gave to Childers of the Treasury - where it was kept until the evil was done.

"He proposed to take the 'premium' " -- 5/ per head of cattle - & to pay nothing in return - unless the beast "was slaughtered by order of Inspection."

Few things surprise me so much - this is F.N. -- as the way in which men AND women of my education & station - think it worth their while to tell you anecdotes - as, e.g. "this is a most unhealthy season" - "every body was in mourning at church last Sunday" -- or "so & so has lost 71 out of 72 cows". [Therefore (I suppose) only 1 cow is left in Great Britain/] ever dear Pa

Your loving child

F
Dear Papa

I referred Messrs. Berthon & Lorhan's paper enclosed to the General Register Office. And you will see what Dr. Farr says (enclosed).

To which I will add: -- we should not admit the Burial Board returns as evidence of Death rate. You may depend upon the Registrar = Genl's figures.

Why? -- Because every thing is taken into account.

And with a labour & trouble little known outside that office.

E.g. R. Catholics often & Dissenters sometimes take their dead to be buried at a distance.

Such a vague statement as that of Mr. Berthon's, page 2., would never be received.

I have known every Death scrutinized at a radius of 10 miles round to ascertain the true Death=rate of a sub=district.

Again:-- the "sub-district"
of the Registrar=Genl may not be the same as that of a corporate town. This will make a difference both in population & number of Deaths. I do not say that any of these things is the case with Romsey. I only give them as instances of the excessive care with which the Registrar Genl's returns are made. Again: inhabitants die in Hospitals & in Workhouses. All this is allowed for in Registrar= Genl's returns. Otherwise, all the deaths of Romsey people in Winchester Hospl would be put down to Winchester. This, too, I would only give as an instance. You see what care has been taken about Romsey Workhouse in the Return.

Please return me Dr. Farr's letter - & the Romsey Return (Registrar Genl's) of which Mr. Taylor has already a copy.

ever dear Papa
your loving child
F.N.

I should be glad to hear anything about the "Henderson" foundation
Letter to William Edward Nightingale

Handwritten by FN Pencil

Add Mss 45790 909

ff348-49

LETTER TO WILLIAM EDWARD NIGHTINGALE

HANDWRITTEN BY FN PENCIL

Good Friday/67 [19 April]

Dear Papa,

I enclose the Extracts (which are of course private) that you wished to have of our friend, our big Plato. He is gone to Darmstadt. In the same little M.S. book of his thoughts, I saw these words - writing of the "future of the University", & the "sort of mission" which the "ordinary life" of a Professor ought to be there - he gives as his aim "Of those that thou gavest me I have not lost one".

This day reminds me that I think religion immensely fallen since the days of the (so called) Mystics.

Of all the sermons that will be preached to - day in all sects & churches, of all countries, called Christian - not one will get beyond the wounds, the "Passion" of Christ. Now I find St. Teresa saying, in her strong picturesque language: -- "Notre Seigneur me dit: que ce n'était pas ces blessures qui me devaient affliger mais celles qu'on lui faisait préméément." So I think.

If instead of dwelling upon those few hours of Passion, interesting as they are, as
if they were the only point of interest in God's scheme of Government - why not look at the Passion which God is undergoing, rather undertaking, every hour, every day, in every part of the world? -- ever dear Pa your loving child F

[ff350-51v LETTER TO WEN, HANDWRITTEN BY FN, PENCIL [3:378-80]]

May 7/67
35 South Street, {PRINTED address}
Park Lane,
London. W.

Dear Papa
I sent you the Edinburgh (last box but one)
The article on Ritualism is by Dr. Stanley - (Dean of Westminster, I should call him -) very good, much better than his deeper writings.
I sent you (by last box) Grove's Correlation & Continuity. I marked one or two passages at the end. Tho' I think he very properly repudiates the question of "beginning", I
don't see that he makes it much better by substituting for it the word "Continuity".
What do we - what can we - know of either? -
You wrong me entirely however by saying that I think it no use studying such books !
on the contrary.
It is just such books that I think we ought to study.
[I have no time for them - but that is nothing to the purpose] What I do

say is: - that, whereas the whole question of the government of God, the character of God, the nature & laws of progress of man, is under our hands, our eyes, our understandings, day & night, year after year, placed there expressly by God for our study, we literally know no more about the moral government of God, or his character, (which is the same thing,) than we did in Socrates' time -- (& say we can't know anything about it) while
we employ ourselves about such ridiculous questions as the nature of God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost -- of the beginning & the ending &c &c &c vide all Bampton Lectures &c &c &c

I sent you Macmillan's Magazine (by last box.) The article on "Social Disintegration" is the first of a Series - which was submitted to me in its whole - very remarkable -- I will tell you afterwards by whom it is. Please return it to me - I keep the series.

ever dear Pa your loving child [end 3:380]

Dear Papa

I have been so pressed by business that I have never been able to answer your question by Dr. Anstey whether I "approved of his scheme" to rule the new Workhouse Infirmaries by an Executive Committee of 3, taking these "from under the control of the Guardians". Before Dr. Anstey was or Mr. Ernest Hart was at all, we advocated the removal of all Workhouse sick from under the control of the Guardians & placing them in suburban Hospitals to be supported by a Metropolitan rate.

I do not think 3 Governors would answer at all. What I proposed was one Executive Officer who should be Chairman.
Add Mss 45790 913

of a Committee, not to govern
but, (as our money is raised by rates, & therefore there must be a Financial Board), to represent partly the rate - payers & partly the Poor Law Board.

As the whole of the vast Hospitals at Paris are managed (without a Board) by one M. Husson (whom I tried to introduce to you - what could we want with three? -- One Executive Chairman (& at most a Deputy Chairman) is all that is wanted -- the Board to be simply for financial matters - not an Executive at all. This scheme I believe we should have carried (& may one day carry) under Mr. Villiers.
The present Metropolitan Poor Bill Act is, in many respects, actually worse than the old system. But Mr. Ernest Hart, because he had been promoted by Govt vouchsafed himself content with it.

Did I think you were sufficiently interested in it, I would point out in what points respects it is worse than the old state of things. But it must bad to better.

Hardy is one of those charlatans whom all leading articles consent to praise.

I always think of a friend of mine who, hearing a condemnation of centralization,
Gentlemen, that is vestralization. Vestralization is, when things have become very bad, whenever you have money to spare, to put them
right. Our idea is to prevent them from becoming bad at all.

You are quite right about Dr. Sutherland & the Govt and Malta. It was said, I discovered Royal Commissions. Because, in the two Royal Commissions which I worked, I never considered them concluded, till a thoroughly comprehensive organized system of proceeding had carried out all their recommendations. Things have been very different since Sidney Herbert died. Still, you will see we shall do something. In fact, it is that doing something which has prevented my coming to Lea Hurst or out of London.

The only way I believe to teach paupers to support themselves would be what early Monasticism did - the Benedictines, & S. Bernard of Clairvaux. They set themselves down where every body robbed his neighbour. And they invited anybody to join them, who would undertake not only to obey - but to work & get others to work. [Clairvaux had all the elements of a Colony -- not only agriculture but carpentering, smith work &c &c &c besides learning.] The Monastic orders did this for every body. And
Add Mss 45790

every body learnt except
a remainder. The remainder are the paupers. Now, why does no one teach them to work? - No one even thinks of that. It is only quite lately that we have even thought of teaching pauper children to gain their livelihoods. As for the pulpit, it is [4:497] no use looking to them to preach. They have not even agreed on the first principles: - what is love to God & love to mankind? - Some preach a strange doctrine about saving the soul by the Church - others by the Atonement.

"il faut sauver l'âme par l'âme elle même"
says Plutarch.
M. Mohl says that we are far behind Bouddha, Confucius &c in real Christianity.
And Mr. Jowett says that we are behind M. Antoninus, Plato, Xenophon & Socrates.
When I read that Plutarch denounces those who threatened eternal punishments beyond the grave - those who, when they were unfortunate, laid it not at their own door but at God's - [exactly what we do now] - who said
that it was God who, to
avenge Himself, brought
these afflictions upon men

[exactly what we say
now] - those who
"flattered" & "calumniated"

God by turns - when,
instead of doing our
business for us, He
maintains His general
laws - [exactly the way we
"flatter" & "blaspheme" now]

when I read these things, I do
indeed think that Plutarch,
1800 years ago, was wiser
than we - & a better Christian. [end 4:497]

letter to W.E. Nightingale, Dear N [?] from 16 Wimpole St October 8
[1867 arch] I beg to thank you very much for your kindness in speaking to
Miss Nightingale about the view I hinted in the hurried conversation as to
Poor Law matters which we had at the green. I am delighted to find so high
an authority as Miss Nightingale so far agreeing with my own ideas as to
approve the plan of a small but very highly skilled & paid executive.
Whether there be only one, or two, individuals intrusted with te whole
business is of course a mere matter of detail. The grand principle that the
unskilled representatives of ratepayers should only deal with financial
matters is what is so important. We will need all the influence of all the
wisest and most trusted advisers of government to get ordinary statesmen to
see the necessity of this innovation.

I enclose a few lines which I have ventured to address to Miss
Nightingale on the subject. I should however be very sorry to trouble her,
and if you think she would regard it as a worry pray put my note in the
fire.

Believe me, dear Sir,
yours faithfully
Francis E. Anstie

on back in WEN hand:
I have just seen Mrs Anstie (née Wass) pleased by your readiness to answer
her husband’s note. This induces me to send you the enclosed one to me
[contd at front] of the same date as his letter to you.

Oct 12/67
It was not at all a "worry"
to me to have Dr. Anstie's
note - you were quite right there. And I shall answer it, as soon as I have a moment's time.

Otherwise I believe it to be a rule without any exception, if you are in direct communication with the Government, (as I was about the Poor Law,) not to intrigue or agitate 'au dehors'. And therefore I kept myself quite free from (& declined all invitations to join them of) the Association of which Dr. Anstie & Ernest Hart formed part. [But E. Hart is a bad one].
To return to Poor Law matters. I hold that, without cant, we should consider that 1. the same tie really connects us to every one of our fellows as the tie which connects us with God. 2. that, to neglect or ill-use the imbecile old woman, the dirty child, is the same crime of lèse-majesté against the Almighty that blasphemy of God is. I think that love to mankind ought to be our one principle in the Poor Law - not philanthropy - philanthropy is the biggest humbug I know - philanthropy is to love of mankind what Popery is to Christianity - all parade.

To follow out the principle, I think (& I believe we have led Mr. Villiers to think too) that all paupers who can move arm or leg can more or less support themselves -- that the first thing to do is to remove all the sick, the incapable, out of the Workhouses, & to provide for their cure or nursing in Hospitals [a very great part of that sickness being the result of our own sanitary neglects in towns] next, not to punish the hungry for being hungry - but to teach the hungry to feed themselves. This is the grand difficulty: -- statesmen fancy that it
Add Mss 45790 922
can be done by education, by teaching the three r's and the laws of nature. Now, we know that some of the greatest rascals are those who knew the laws of nature best. We see America where rascal dom has become the form of government - where every body knows reading, 'riting & 'rithmetic -- & the fourth r - rascal-dom - the result of the three first. The greatest sovereign, the world ever saw, Charlemagne, could not write his own name - could not read a letter.

Dearest Mum

I hope that you are not much the worse for your journey.

A thousand thanks for the beautiful flowers - made more beautiful by the fact that you picked them yourself.

They carry me back to the lovely Hurst. And I can hardly believe that you were walking on that exquisite terrace the same morning, where I have
Add Mss 45790

not been for 11 years. Time makes it seem as far off as Scutari.
Mr. Jowett, whom I have not seen for nearly 4 months, is coming tomorrow (Sunday) to give me the Sacrament. I trust that my dearest Mum will feel able to join us.
He will sleep to-night at 32, "partly in the hope",

he says, of finding you there. [I had asked him before.] He will not come till half past ten tonight & will leave tomorrow afternoon.
I am afraid he comes up mainly for us - as he is too busy to stay over Sunday night

ever dearest Mum
Your loving child
F

ff362-63 letter by WEN from Embley

The universal philanthropist C.H. Bracebridge bid me last week write to Lord Belper to beg him to vote for a protegé as House Surgeon at the Derby Infirmary & the Peer (as you will be on the side) goes out of his way a little to shew that he disapproves of the "new building". I suppose he means the Nightingale Wing. (I enclose documents) at all events he puts us on our guard as to Frank Wright’s proceedings - whether if Lord Belper or Wright is the safer man, I for one cannot say, but the former has the character of a very practical man. Adieu WEN

f363 copy
“A majority of the governors having adopted some schemes for the enlargement of the building which I think rather ill considered, I have stated my opinion on the subject & I leave it to those who propose & support them to undertake the responsibility & trouble of carrying them into effect.”
[Nov. 1, 1867]
It was exactly because Wright
did not hold the views
expressed in Ld Belper P.L. -
that the Hospital has succeeded
And there is no doubt
that all the people who
have been defeated consider
the plans very bad
And,
It is just because Wright has
acted "without judgement" i.e. without Ld B's
that he has carried the day
for the best Hospital
improvements that could
be effected under the
circumstances.
How savage Ld Belper is Galton
admits that Wright has acted without judg
List of F.N.'s little works
offered to her dearest mother
London 2 Nov 1867

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<th>Title</th>
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<td>2 Blue Books</td>
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<td>Army Mortality Diagrams</td>
<td>lilac folio</td>
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<td>Contribution to Sanitary History</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Confidential Report</td>
<td>2 lilac Vols</td>
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<td>[These are really confidential]</td>
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<td>Native Colonial Schools &amp; Hospitals</td>
<td>1 pamphlet</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Lord Herbert's Army Sanitary administration</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>How people may live &amp; not die in India</td>
<td>1 thin pamphlet</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>International Statistical Congress paper</td>
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<td>4 vo pamphlet</td>
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<td>How people may live &amp; not die in India</td>
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Add Mss 45790

f364v

x11  Notes on Hospitals  1863
     1 small 4 to

x12  Notes on Nursing  1860
     1 vol 8 vo

x13. Observations (on Sanitary state) India  1863
     1 red Vol 8 vo

x14. Suggestions on Workhouse Nursing  1867
     (written by desire of Poor Law Board)
     1 folio pamphlet

x15. Method of improving Hospital Nursing  1867
     an abridgement of above
     1 folio paper

Una & the Lion
"Good Words" for June  1868
Dearest Mum

I meant to write to you a long letter. But, as usual, I have not half got thru' each day's work, before time & strength comes to an end.

Revd Mother of Bermondsey, has been very ill - & tho,' thank God, she is better - yet she does not at all recover her strength or appetite. She liked some Orange Jelly which was sent me from Embley two or three weeks ago better than anything else. And, since then, I have been supplying her with Orange Jelly & other things from Gunter's.

If, by Tuesday's box, Mrs. Watson could send some more
Orange Jelly for her - & also
are there not
nourishing things like
Arrowroot Blancmange or
Rice Blancmange ?--
we should be very much obliged.
She was delighted with
some flowers I sent her from
Embley.
I should be glad to tell you
more about Bunsen's Life -
but, tho' it was sent me 3
weeks ago, I have not had
time to look thro' even, much
less to read more than half a Vol.="
It is interesting to me as an
Almanac would be to a person
who had been present at
all the events & dates.
But I see no reason to alter,

but on the contrary great reason
to be confirmed in, the
opinion that all these
things being published
only tend to lower the
public's general opinion
of the person treated of -
& that the publishing of
private letters not only
is a treachery & a theft
but a treachery & a theft
which recoils upon the
head of the very memory,
so sacred, which they
are meant to exalt.
I have always steadily
refused to give up to
dear Mme Bunsen, to Lady
Richardson, to Mrs. Herbert
&c &c - the letters I have
from their husbands.
And, if I thought that
letters in my possession were
to be given up after my death, I would destroy every letter I have at once. And I would never write another.
In these days, every letter is private; because public news is given in the newspapers. It was quite different in Madame de Sévigné's days.

ever, dearest Mum
Your loving child
F.
I am afraid poor dear Bismarck has not been heard of.

Dear Papa
I sent you a Cheque (to order) for £10 for the Embley Meat by last letter.
`Did it not `come to hand?'
I own myself to be so completely [3:385-87] at a loss when people use such expressions as "the wheel of fortune", and "man's fate "being turned indiscriminately(?) "round & round" - that I never know what to say.
Because, either one believes in God or one does not.
Are we savages & Pagans - or are we not?
Because Even Homer's times did not believe in the "Wheel of Fortune".
If, we are to go back to the times before Homer, or out into the African tribes of Sir S. Baker, then let us begin at the beginning & reason out the whole thing from the first.

But don't let us say -- "I 'believe in God' & then talk about " indiscriminate fate". Of course, if I believed in "indiscriminate fate", I should go at once & hang myself. Because I have actually nothing to support myself by except by the belief in God.

The only woman is taken who could (apparently) carry out the Workhouse Infirmary reform.

the only man has been taken who could (apparently) carry out the War Office reform -

the only Minister has been taken (Cavour) who could (apparently) carry out Italy's reform.

if I believed these things were done by "indiscriminate "fate", of course I should have nothing to do but to do like Judas - since I may say that I betrayed two of these to their "fate'. [As for Agnes Jones, I sent her like Iphigeneia to her sacrifice.]

I always feel that I don't believe what I say I believe, because if I really believed
what I say, viz. that God is bringing every one of mankind to perfection, & that every one of His laws is adapted in its minutest particular to this end, i.e. perfect happiness - of course I should be perfectly happy. But I can still less suppose that men believe what they say when they talk about "indiscriminate fate" and "Fortune's wheel" - because I really don't see what there is then to prevent them from going & committing suicide at once - even if they are much less sufferers than I am.

In your previous letter, about "Trust" & "Faith", which I enclose. I don't object to the word "Faith" - [I do object to the word "Hope", which it seems to me is a stupid virtue.] I only take the word "Trust", because it has been less abused than "Faith", & because I think it means something very definite, (not at all what you ascribe to it.) If, as the writer to the Hebrews tells us, "Faith is the evidence of things not seen, the substance of things hoped for" - then I entirely agree - I think that definition perfect. And I will use the word "Faith".
But I have been accustomed to apply the word "Trust" to that state of mind - i.e. that "Trust" (or "Faith") finds sufficient "evidence" (as to the character of God) to shew her - not that the thing she "hopes" for will come to pass - but that the thing which does come to pass - brought to pass by God's laws, not by "indiscriminate fate" -- is the very best that could have happened to her & to the world, to bring them to perfection.

Surely this is a matter susceptible (not of proof but) of ever-increasing "evidence" - a thing which is to be "mastered" by our "faculties"

I don't want to "hope". To "hope" for a thing, of which I can't possibly know whether it will ever come to pass, is a stupid thing to do.

To hope that the best thing will come to pass, because of the ("evidence" we have already as to the) character of God, is not "hope" at all - but "trust" I "trust" (or believe), not that what I wish for will be done, but that what will be done is best.

But, if you like to call this - "faith" - (only that the word has been so prostituted by Christians), I also like the word.

"I give thee joy! O faith-ful word"! says Clough in the most striking lines he ever wrote.
"I give thee joy! O faithful word".
And then, in 3 lines, he goes on to describe the "martyr" breathing out "his last sigh" "in ignominious" death", believing his work to have "failed" — and he says: — "I give thee joy! O not in vain" &c &c

[I would give you the lines, but Parthe has got both my Vols: of Clough, & does not return them.]
So do I say — "Shall give thee joy"
that is a "faith"-ful word
Tho' the Workhouse work seems to have failed, that "word" "shall give thee joy".
Tho' the War Office work seems to have failed, that
word "shall give thee joy".
Tho' the Italian Kingdom
seems to have failed, that
word "shall give thee joy".

"Shall give thee joy! O not in vain!
Why? -- Because we
believe in God. That is "Faith"
indeed. [end 3:387]

ever dear Pa
your loving child
F.

Beatrice gave me hopes that
you were coming this
Saturday. I wish it could
have been so - as this next
Sunday is a tolerably open
day with me.

FN

Mrs N. is (IN PENCIL)
June 22/68
35 South Street {PRINTED address}
Park Lane,
W.

Dearest Mum
You have kindly asked
me several times "when I
"meant to go away for rest
"& change of air". "And
"where"?
I think it possible that
I may be able to go away
this day fortnight, July 6 -
partly because I am so ill.
And of course I should go,
wherever my dearest Mum is.
If you intend to go to
Lea Hurst, I would go there
-- which would set this
house at liberty for you,
as No 32 will not be empty till the end of July. But I hope for my sake you would not make a long stay in London then, as I cannot be sure of many weeks at Lea Hurst. If on the other hand you think you shall remain at Embley altogether, then I would come straight to Embley as soon as I leave this. Of course I never can be certain of the exact time

I shall be able to leave London. And of course I depend upon no one knowing when & where I go - as this is the only way of getting any rest for me.

About going to Lea Hurst or Embley, pray do not say: - `do as you like'. What I like is to go wherever you are or like best to be.

dearest Mum
ever your loving child

F

I shall be obliged to ask for Watson for the journey, whenever it is. please.

Mrs. Nightingale
Embley
Romsey
Freshwater I of Wight
Rectory, Devonshire Square
Bishopsgate, N.E.

Dear Mrs Nightingale

I saw Miss Nightingale yesterday—She appeared to me to be very much broken down & depressed.

I am not an alarmist about her; nor do I think that there is any immediate danger. But I am convinced that she cannot go on much longer unless she can be pressured to take two or three months rest in the year & that she might break down finally at any time.

I begged her to go to Lea Hurst & she seemed to fancy this—But I found that she held fast to one objection which was that she feared you would not be there. Otherwise I think that she might be persuaded to go down with Mr Nightingale next week. For she says
that she is doing no good in London.
   Could you hope to meet her there? Please not to let her know at all that I have written to you. I dare say you know that with all her strength of mind she is very helpless in matters which nearly concern herself.
   Since I have known her I have a great interest about her & a great wish that her valuable life should be prolonged.

This makes me humbly write these few lines. She can do everything for others & nothing for herself & therefore we who are her friends ought to take care of her:
   With most high regards to Mr Nightingale
Believe me Dear Mrs Nightingale
Ever yours truly
   B. Jowett
Dear Papa

Surely this Election is the most glorious event of our Parliamentary history the grandest story of our times. [And this, tho' many of the men I cared most for have lost their Elections]

There is a backbone of common sense in our people, which carries us thro' all our difficulties. Here are above a million, who come forth untried by experience, tried by every kind of sophistry & cry, & say "we will not have Radicals - we will not have extreme men of any kind - we will have the real men - we are `constitutionalists', not of D'Israeli's sort. I think we have reason to be proud of our good old country. God bless her! And I am glad to have lived to see this day.

D'Israeli might however very plausibly say `when the opposition proposed reform,

half ran into the cave, half voted against their leaders. We had confidence in the people. Here is the result. Why do you turn us out?
35 South Street, Jan 10/69
Park Lane {PRINTED address}  
W.

Dear Papa

I remember your saying (at Lea-Hurst) "I can't bear the words: 'the truth'."

I had a letter (in 1864) from Mr. Jowett on this subject which I have only just been able to find - & knowing you like quotations better than my words, I give his. He says: --

"I sometimes think that the state of religion in England gets worse & worse. The very idea of 'the truth' is becoming ridiculous -- & more & more, religious teaching is losing its moral character. The two great parties which really could say "Rise up & walk' in the last generation hardly have any moral purpose at all. The effervescence of their spirituality has passed away - & cunning & activity & political tactics have filled up the vacuum. Build Churches, fill them with low Church Ministers, or set up the authority of the Church - that is the great end. One healing word of the evils
"of mankind - one voice in behalf of truth among the so-called orthodox clergy I cannot hear. I am much afraid that the Established Church which has many advantages rather increases the evil - you have not the chances of Dissent.

x x x x

"The doubtful points of fact & doctrine in Christianity should drop off of themselves. Unitarianism & German theology have both of them in different ways a zeal for criticism & for truth which is very commendable. But

neither of them have ever found a substitute for that which they were displacing. They have never got hold of the heart of the world. The attempt to shew the true character of the Pentateuch & the Gospel History is very important negatively. But it does nothing towards reconstructing the religious life within us".

I agree with every word of this. [end 3:389]

ever dear Pa
your loving child
F.
35 South Street, Jan 24/69
Park Lane, {PRINTED address}

W. Thanks for the "wuts" - & particularly for the roots of "snow-drop- that's for "remembrance". They have been planted in a pot - & look as fresh & sweet in this muddy East wind fog as tho' on their native hills. Yes: please, I should like "wuts" every Thursday while you stay.

Thanks, too, for your encouragement about my "reflections" on the Religion of Philosophy or the Philosophy of Religion. I shall lay it to heart & perhaps do more.

In great press of business - so no more at present from your F
performing this week at the India Office (which is moving into its new House):— a thing to be performed once in a century only. But a much better thing for them than for me, since they confess themselves it was necessary to compel them to bring some order into their papers. I wish I had a Milton. [I so much miss having no standard books]. Since you quote Lycidas to me, I will quote Samson Agonistes (?) to you.

"Eyeless in Gaza, in the mill with slaves."
Since I have lived looking on the Park, & seen those people making their "trivial round", or rather their tread= mill round, blind slaves to it, I have scarce ever had that line out of my head. It will be a material alleviation to me, if I have to spend September in London, that the "mill" is gone. Also, tho' my whole life is laid out to secure it against interruptions, no one could believe how much it is interrupted. And September
diminishes this. The beggars are out of town.
I send you another quotation: -
"I ask no heaven till earth be thine
"Nor glory=crown while work of mine
"Remaineth here; when earth shall shine
  "Among the stars,
"Her sins wiped out, her captives free,
"Her voice a music unto thee
"For crown, new work give thou to me
  "Lord, here am I."
I found this in an intensely Evangelical Baptist American's work - a Lecture which he had delivered upon me,
(publishing, as Americans always do, a letter I had written to him).

Now those lines appear to me exactly true - and an extraordinary advance in the way of truth on English Evangelicalism - who banish work, like sin, from "heaven" - & who have no idea that heaven is to be made out of earth by us.

Ask Aunt Mai!

Nay, it strikes me that all truth lies between

ever dear Pa

Your loving child

F.N.

Dear Papa I send you a letter just received from Jowett, which please return to me.
And my answer to Jowett, which please forward, as soon as read.

I am so weary of hearing people say (Not that Jowett does) that God's character is beyond our power to study.

2260 years ago, Socrates said this of Astronomy - that it was a mystery, not intended by the Gods for our study.

We have conquered astronomy.
And now I hear people repeating it, argue ad nauseam, about God's character - never thinking that they are aping Socrates, speaking about a thing which they have introduced into children's school books.
I think they must mean that we cannot study God's nature, in which I should entirely agree. Yet they write Libraries upon His nature, which is certainly insoluble. And check you if you say a word about His character. Kant & Milton did much mischief in this way. And I think Kant & Milton so superficial.

F.N.

I have sent my parcel direct to Sheffield. Please give your one, removing the cover, to Miss Hall. Miss Hall is one of the cleverest women & most enlightened nurses I know. She had no grain of principle, no atom of truth. Else she might have been of great use as one of my Officers. If you give her my parcel, you must give it in my name.

F385 blue paper printed London and South Western Railway 19 Novbr 1872 the Station Master begs to inform Mr Nightingale that the rhododendrons will leave to be forwarded illegs

F387 and f388 printed forms Hudnred Weighing Eng 20th Novbr 1872

f389 telegram from Mr WE Nightingale Goods Departmetn Nov 20 1872 to the London and South Western Railway company. Plants....

F390 blue envelope WEN hand
Miss Nightingale