



FLORENCE
NIGHTINGALE
ON SOCIETY
AND
POLITICS,
PHILOSOPHY,
SCIENCE,
EDUCATION
AND
LITERATURE

LYNN McDONALD
EDITOR

COLLECTED WORKS OF FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

**FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE ON
SOCIETY AND POLITICS,
PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, EDUCATION
AND LITERATURE**

**VOLUME 5
OF THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE**

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

LIST OF VOLUMES

Note: Short title denoted by bold

Volume 1	Florence Nightingale: An Introduction to Her Life and Family
Volume 2	Florence Nightingale's Spiritual Journey : Biblical Annotations, Sermons and Journal Notes
Volume 3	Florence Nightingale's Theology : Essays, Letters and Journal Notes
Volume 4	Florence Nightingale on Mysticism and Eastern Religions , ed. Gérard Vallée
Volume 5	Florence Nightingale on Society and Politics , Philosophy, Science, Education and Literature
Volume 6	Florence Nightingale on Public Health Care
Volume 7	Florence Nightingale's European Travels
Volume 8	Florence Nightingale's <i>Suggestions for Thought</i>
Volume 9	Florence Nightingale on Women , Medicine, Midwifery and Prostitution
Volumes 10-11	Florence Nightingale and the Foundation of Professional Nursing
Volumes 12-13	Florence Nightingale and Public Health Care in India
Volume 14	Florence Nightingale: The Crimean War and War Office Reform
Volume 15	Florence Nightingale on War and Militarism
Volume 16	Florence Nightingale and Hospital Reform

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In spite of the assistance of so many people errors undoubtedly remain, which are the responsibility of the editor. I would be grateful for notification of any errors, and for information on missing identifications. Corrections and additions will be made in the electronic text and any other later publication.

Lynn McDonald
Guelph, Ontario
January 2003

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

Frances “Fanny” (Smith) Nightingale (1788-1880), mother
William Edward Nightingale (1794-1874), father
Parthenope, “Pop,” Nightingale, Lady Verney (1819-90), sister
Mary Shore Smith (1798-1889), “Aunt Mai”
Samuel Smith (1794-1880), “Uncle Sam”
William Shore Smith (1831-94), “Shore,” cousin
Louisa Shore Smith, wife of “Shore”
Sir Harry Verney (1801-94), brother-in-law
Captain (Sir) Edmund Verney (1838-1910), son of Harry Verney
Margaret Verney (1844-1930), wife of Edmund Verney
Frederick Verney (1846-1913), youngest son of Harry Verney
Maude Verney (d. 1937), wife of Frederick Verney
Arthur Hugh Clough (1819-61) “AHC,” husband of Blanche Smith
Henry Bonham Carter (1827-1921), cousin, secretary of Nightingale
Fund
Rosalind (Shore Smith) Nash (1862-1952), cousin
Captain (Sir) Douglas Galton (1822-99), husband of cousin, Royal
Engineer, sanitary expert
(Sir) Edwin Chadwick (1800-90), sanitary expert
William Farr (1807-83), statistician
(Sir) Francis Galton (1822-1911), eugenicist, statistician
W.E. Gladstone (1809-98), Liberal prime minister
Sidney Herbert, Lord Herbert of Lea (1810-61), secretary of state for war
(Sir) John Herschel (1792-1871), astronomer, statistician
Adeline Paulina Irby (1833-1911), friend, Bosnian relief advocate
Benjamin Jowett (1817-93), Master of Balliol College
(Sir) John McNeill (1795-1883), physician, sanitary expert
J.S. Mill (1806-73), political economist, suffrage leader
Richard Monckton Milnes (1809-85), Lord Houghton, friend
L.A.J. Quetelet (1796-1874), Belgian statistician
(Dr) John Sutherland (1808-91), sanitary expert

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1. Portraits of Florence Nightingale and major correspondents in this volume.
2. Election poster for W.E. Nightingale, British general election, 1834.
3. Poster to supporters after W.E. Nightingale's 1834 defeat.
4. Title page of Benjamin Jowett's translation of *The Dialogues of Plato*, with Florence Nightingale's annotations.
5. Florence Nightingale's annotations of *The Republic* in Benjamin Jowett's translation of *The Dialogues of Plato*.
6. Florence Nightingale's answers to a parlour game, from a Nightingale notebook.
7. Richard Monckton Milnes's answers to a parlour game, from a Nightingale notebook.
8. Florence Nightingale's house, 10 South Street, London.

Illustration on page 823: Florence Nightingale's dog collar.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE: A PRÉCIS OF THE COLLECTED WORKS

Florence Nightingale was born in Florence 12 May 1820, of wealthy English parents whose European wedding trip lasted nearly three years and included extended stays in Naples (where her older sister was born and given the Greek name of that city, Parthenope) and Florence. The two daughters were raised in England at country homes, Lea Hurst, in Derbyshire, and Embley, in Hampshire. At age sixteen Florence Nightingale experienced a “call to service,” for which she sought to train to become a nurse, but her family considered that an unacceptable activity for a “lady” and refused. After lengthy trips to Rome and Egypt she was finally permitted to spend three months at the (Protestant) Deaconess Institution in Kaiserswerth, near Düsseldorf, Germany, in 1851 and several weeks with Roman Catholic nursing orders in Paris in 1853. Her father gave her £500 a year in 1853 to permit her to become the superintendent of a small institution for gentlewomen in London. She left from there in 1854 to lead the first team of British (women) nurses sent to war. The British Army was ill-prepared for that war and the death rate from preventible disease was appalling.

Nightingale’s work as a social reformer began effectively on her return from the Crimean War in 1856. Recognized as a national heroine, she shunned publicity to work behind the scenes for structural changes to prevent the recurrence of high rates of mortality. She lobbied to get a royal commission established to investigate the causes of the disaster and recommend changes. She herself briefed witnesses, analyzed data and strongly influenced the thrust of the report. Even before the report was finished Nightingale fell ill, probably to the chronic form of brucellosis, the disease from which it is now thought she nearly died in the war. She spent the rest of her life largely as an invalid, confined to her room or her bed, seeing people on a one-to-one basis, getting most of her work done by writing.

Nightingale was baptized in the Church of England and remained in it for the rest of her life, although often despairing of its paltry role for women, the minimal demands it put on its adherents generally and its social conservatism. Her faith was nourished by broad reading, from the medieval mystics, liberal theologians, the German historical school to contemporary sermons and popular devotional books. The family (Unitarian in earlier generations) supported dissenting chapels in Derbyshire and a strong Wesleyan influence is evident in Nightingale's faith.

For Nightingale God was the all-good Creator who made and ran the world by *laws*, which human beings can ascertain by rigorous, preferably statistical, study. With the knowledge thus gained we may then intervene in society for good, thus becoming God's "co-workers." Ongoing research is required, for human interventions, however well intentioned, may have negative, unintended consequences. This approach appears in all the work Nightingale did whether for the Army and War Office or for social reform more broadly, the subject of this volume.

Society and Politics is the fifth volume in the *Collected Works*, following *Life and Family*, which gives an overview of Nightingale's life, family correspondence and domestic arrangements, and three volumes on her religious writing (*Spiritual Journey*, with her biblical annotations, sermons and private journal notes; *Theology*, with essays, correspondence and notes; *Mysticism and Eastern Religions*, on the medieval mystics, the lengthy *Letters from Egypt*, notes and letters on Eastern religions and some devotional reading). Nightingale's faith underlay all the work she did as a social reformer, so that there is substantial religious content in this volume and the related next volume, *Public Health Care*, and indeed in the volumes on *European Travels*, *Women*, nursing, war, India and hospital reform to come.

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 5

Society and Politics is the main volume reporting Nightingale's work as a social reformer and its intellectual foundations. *Public Health Care*, which follows, is a companion volume, reporting social reform work in her main field of activity, the establishment of a public health care system. There are also two volumes each on nursing proper, war and India, and one volume on hospital reform, each dealing with her reform work in those particular areas (see the list of volumes for the entire *Collected Works*). *Women* reports Nightingale's reform work on the regulation of prostitution, midwifery and women in medicine.

Nightingale is widely known as the major founder of the modern profession of nursing and the heroine of the Crimean War (1854-56), and this volume and *Public Health Care* support that reputation. The material here serves to show the broader context in which all that work took place and the philosophy which guided it. Nightingale's "call to service" in 1837 was not exclusively to nursing, although she always thought of nursing as a vocation. She even described a call she experienced in 1852 as one to be a "saviour," or healer, certainly meaning one who saves lives. To know where and how one can best save lives requires ongoing statistical information, for even well-intended interventions can do harm. It is no coincidence that *Society and Politics* follows three volumes on Nightingale's religion, for her faith underlay all her social reform work and a rich spiritual life nourished it.

Sickness, in Nightingale's understanding, was influenced by broader socio-economic conditions, especially poor housing (hence material on improved housing below). The poor are more prone to illness than the rich (relief of poverty and income security are major issues in this volume). While *Public Health Care* reports Nightingale's largely successful (if slow and only partial) endeavours at health promotion,

disease prevention and care for the sick poor, *Society and Politics* reports her largely unsuccessful endeavours at broader social reform. Measures she advocated in the mid- to late nineteenth century in some cases saw implementation only after World War II. She had a vision of what would come to be called the welfare state in the mid-twentieth century, including a public health care system and specific measures and institutions geared to causes of destitution other than ill health, notably old age, chronic illness and mental disabilities.

Society and Politics begins with Nightingale's philosophy or methodology of social science, acquired predominantly from the Belgian statistician, L.A.J. Quetelet. Her annotations of his *Physique sociale*, extensive comments on them and an essay "In Memoriam" on his death are given. The philosophy they shared had religious expression in an all-good, perfect, Creator running the world by *laws*, which could be discovered by careful research. Nightingale's early work on statistical collection is reported, including her pioneering questionnaires. Her advocacy of census reform is included, her own analysis of an early census, and her own participation as a householder in later censuses, is related. Her article in *Fraser's Magazine*, "A Note on Pauperism," which gives her views on reform in 1869, is published, with related correspondence. There is much material, never before published, on her various attempts at reform on income security, opportunities for home ownership for ordinary workers, housing, co-operatives, assisted emigration schemes and proposals for dealing with juvenile offenders and criminals.

Nightingale took part in numerous fundraising activities, although she declined to take part in many more. Her views on private charities (often negative) as well as her notes on Bosnian and Bulgarian refugees and famine in Greece are published here.

Nightingale never actually published any papers that would be identified as *political science* or *public administration*, much as these subjects were her everyday concerns for decades of her adult life. Certainly she wrote a great deal on both, in memoranda, correspondence and notes for herself. Two items are included here with the label "draft essay," that is, as being finished, integrated pieces of work: "Politics and Public Administration," 1871, and "Progress," 1872. Excerpts from correspondence and private notes on these subjects, from early to late in her life, follow.

Her years of work with government departments and changes in ministers are treated in several essays and notes. Her observations on

elections go back to those she witnessed as a child (her father was once a political candidate) and include the many later elections in which she was involved through relatives (especially her brother-in-law, Sir Harry Verney, a long-time Liberal MP, and his sons, also later elected). Her endorsements of several political candidates are reported.

Nightingale's social reform campaigns brought her into contact with the chief political actors of her day. Substantial sections report correspondence with and notes on and by Queen Victoria (and Prince Albert), W.E. Gladstone, General Gordon and John Stuart Mill. Nightingale's correspondence with Mill has been published before, and is here republished, now for the first time with notes on the relationship and the wider correspondence they carried on with Edwin Chadwick, Helen Taylor and Clementia Taylor. Thus the material includes philosophy, the vote and other political rights for women, women in medicine and the professions and India. Correspondence with and notes on Richard Monckton Milnes (poet, philanthropist and politician, as well as her former suitor) are also related here. There are shorter sections on politicians, Liberal and Conservative, viceroys to India, other royal personages and notable women.

The third part of the volume goes back to the intellectual roots of her methodology and reports material in other academic disciplines. Nightingale was an astute, although not a professional, reader of science, philosophy, history and literature. (She was fluent in modern German, French and Italian and could read Latin and classical Greek.) There is a substantial section on her criticisms of Benjamin Jowett's *Dialogues of Plato*, showing that he largely took her advice in revision for a second edition. There are notes on Socrates, Aristotle, Marcus Aurelius, Leibniz and Spinoza. Her views on astronomy, botany, Darwinism, archeology and anthropology appear here.

Nightingale had been an amateur teacher before she was allowed to take up nursing. She collected lesson plans, reported here, which were possibly used in her own classes for poor children at "ragged schools" and evening classes for mill girls. Her visits to Oxford University are related, and her (unsuccessful) efforts later on behalf of a historian friend to obtain the post of mistress of Girton College. Material on teaching she gained at Kaiserswerth in 1851 appears in *European Travels*.

Nightingale was a lifelong reader of serious literature, adventure stories and religious tracts and novels. Here we see her observations

and extracts from the Greek classics (Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides), through Dante and Petrarch to Shakespeare, Milton and Goethe, to contemporary poets and novelists (such as Browning, Byron, Tennyson, Swinburne, Longfellow, Whittier, Bowles Southey, Austen, Gaskell, Eliot, the Brontës, Dickens and Kingsley). There is an incomplete short work of her own, “The Biography of Ellen M.” (she did not write fiction or poetry). A “parlour game” played at Christmas-time is reported, with responses by Nightingale and Richard Monckton Milnes, useful not only for considering how well matched they might have been, but for their views on historical and literary figures.

The volume ends with brief consideration of Nightingale’s views on relations with the non-human world, her love of nature (especially birds) and animal welfare.

KEY TO EDITING

All the manuscript material in the *Collected Works* has been carefully transcribed and verified (see the electronic text for a full description of the process). Remaining illegible words and passages are so indicated, with [illeg] or [?] inserted to indicate our best reading of the word or words in question. Dates for material cited or reproduced are given wherever possible, in square brackets if they are estimates only (by an archivist, previous scholar or the editor). Any controversy about date is indicated by a footnote. The type of material, whether a note, actual letter, draft or copy is given as precisely as possible. Designations of letter/draft/copy signify that the source was Nightingale's own files, given to the British Library or to St Thomas' Hospital and then the London Metropolitan Archives, and are probably drafts or copies kept by her. The designation of "letter" is used only when there is good reason to believe that it was actually sent and received (a postmarked envelope, for example, or the archive source being other than Nightingale's own files). In some cases both the original letter is extant and Nightingale's draft or copy, and these show that the copies she kept are reliable. In two cases we have reported both the actual letter sent and a draft or copy she kept so that a comparison can be made. We do not use the convention of ALS (autograph letter signed), but our "letter" is close to it, bearing in mind that Nightingale often used initials rather than her signature. The electronic I-text (that is, the transcriptions as "input," before editing) gives full information on supporting material (envelopes, postmarks), whether in pen, pencil, dictated or typed.

The practice was naturally to use the best source possible, the original letter where available. Where a draft or copy was also available this is noted. Sometimes the original was no longer available so that a typed or a published source copy had to be used. Postscripts that do not add new information, or are on another subject, are normally

omitted, without Where only short excerpts from a letter are used (because the rest is on another subject) these are indicated as “From a letter” and the address and ellipses at the beginning and end are omitted.

All sources indicated as “ADD Mss” (Additional Manuscripts) are British Library, the largest source of Nightingale material. The Wellcome Trust History of Medicine Library is abbreviated “Wellcome.” Most of those materials are copies of correspondence at Claydon House, indicated as (Claydon copy). If not so indicated they are originals.

To avoid use of “ibid.” and “op. cit.,” and to reduce the number of footnotes generally, citations are given at the end of a sequence, if the same source is cited more than once. Subsequent citations are noted in the text with the new page or folio number given in parentheses. The term “folio” (abbreviated as f, or ff in the plural) is used for reference to manuscript pages, p and pp for printed pages, where needed, or page numbers are given after the date or volume number without p or pp.

To make the text as accessible as possible spelling, punctuation and capitalization have been modernized and standardized, and most abbreviations replaced with full words. Roman numerals are replaced with Arabic (except for royalty, popes and the citation of classical texts). We have left Nightingale’s use of masculine generics as they are, hence “man,” “men,” “he,” etc., referring to human beings generally. Some, but not all, excessive “ands,” “buts” and “the’s” have been excised. Nightingale’s “Esq.” titles for men have been omitted. Any words the editor has added to make sense (usually in the case of rough notes or faint writing) are indicated in square brackets.

British spellings have generally been maintained (honour, labour) and standardized (Nightingale was inconsistent). Exceptions are the North American “jail” and “program.” Modern spellings have been used for Muhammad, Buddha and Hindu (in place of Mahomet, Bouddha and Hindoo). We have kept her old-fashioned “farther,” “by-the-bye.”

Italics are used to indicate underlining and small capitals for double (or more) underlining. All indications of emphasis in texts are Nightingale’s (or that of her correspondent or source), *never* the editor’s. Any use of (sic) also is Nightingale’s, never the editor’s. When taking excerpts from written material Nightingale indicated ellipses with x x and we have kept these. Ellipses for editorial purposes are

indicated with . . . for skipped material within a sentence . . . if to the end of the sentence or more than a sentence has been dropped. Passages that break off abruptly (or in which folios are missing) are so indicated.

Editorial notes appear in footnotes or, if very brief, in square brackets in the text. Articles (the, a, an) and the verb to be have been supplied where appropriate to make sense. Persons who changed their names (usually from marriage or the acquisition of a title, sometimes for purposes of inheritance) are referred to by the more commonly used name, cross-referenced in the index to the other. Dates to identify people are given where that person is discussed (place of identification is indicated by italics in the index), not where there is only passing mention of the person or the name appears on a list or in a footnote. Of course for many people, notably servants and acquaintances, identifying information is not available.

A bibliography provides full information on most books and articles cited. Newspaper references are given in footnotes only. References to classical and other works available in many editions (and now often on the Internet) are given by book, chapter, canto, scene, line, etc., as appropriate, and are not repeated in the bibliography.

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**SOCIETY: ESSAYS, LETTERS AND NOTES
ON SOCIAL PHYSICS AND SOCIAL
STATISTICS**

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NIGHTINGALE'S QUETELET

The key to understanding Florence Nightingale's social science is the methodology of the Belgian statistician, L.A.J. Quetelet, her mentor in all matters statistical and, more broadly, methodological. We begin then with what she acquired from him and how she built on it. It was his methodology or philosophy of science that gave Nightingale a positive, constructive alternative to the "desperate wickedness" of the world, the means of turning "original sin" into "original good." The *desire* to do this stems from her religious faith, with a little help from the insights into the ancient Egyptian religion and gnosticism she acquired in Egypt. But it was not until Nightingale had assimilated Quetelet's *social physics* that she had any practical means for doing this. Quetelet's methodology, in other words, is the link between her faith and her social activism. Not surprisingly, he has appeared in the preceding volumes on religion. Now in *Society and Politics* there is a major section of work on how Nightingale drew her methodology of social science from him, and how the two collaborated in making social statistics more reliable and useful.

There is also material here on how Nightingale tried to improve the census in Britain (a subject on which Quetelet was an expert but in which he was not directly involved). The last part of the statistics section relates her (unsuccessful) attempt to promote his methodology through the institution of a chair or readership in social physics at Oxford University. Roughly one quarter of this volume deals with the Nightingale-Quetelet connection either directly using his work or at least as she was influenced by him.

Quetelet is now often omitted from histories of sociological theory¹ although histories of statistics give him the credit he is due.² Yet he was enormously influential in his day, in Britain and France as well as in his native Belgium. The distinguished astronomer Sir John Herschel (astronomy was Quetelet's field also) helped circulate his ideas in Britain, notably giving Quetelet's book on probability an extensive and highly favourable review in the *Edinburgh Review*. Quetelet attended the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Cambridge, 1834. Two of his major works were translated into English: the first edition of *Physique sociale*, 1835, published as *A Treatise on Man and the Development of His Faculties*, 1842, and *Letters on the Theory of Probabilities*, in French in 1846, in English in 1849. Quetelet had taught probability theory to Prince Albert (the above letters were dedicated to the prince's brother, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and a fellow pupil). Thus, when Quetelet came to chair the second International Statistical Congress in 1860 in London (he had already chaired the first, 1853, in Brussels), he was a well-known figure. Interestingly, another social scientist of the day, Karl Marx, was a Quetelet dévoté.

Nightingale's analysis of Quetelet's work and the drawing of practical methodological principles from it considerably predates the methodological work of Max Weber, Émile Durkheim and Beatrice Webb, sociologists (especially the first two) frequently cited in histories of theory for work in the 1890s.

The marginal annotations to Quetelet's *Physique sociale* show Nightingale's thorough working through of his major work. She was already familiar with the 1835 edition and knew two other Quetelet publications: *Système social*, 1848, and *Anthropométrie*, 1870. She used his methodology in the data analysis for *Introductory Notes on Lying-in Institutions*, and sent him a copy, October 1872, with an appreciative inscription: "Hommage à Monsieur Quetelet, auteur de nous tous, sa petite 'camarade,' Florence Nightingale, reconnaissante (qui attend avec la plus grande impatience sa prochaine édition de la *Physique sociale*)." Quetelet responded with a copy of the second edition of his

1 He is included in mine: Lynn McDonald, *Early Origins of the Social Sciences* 254-57 (on Quetelet); 257-61 (Quetelet-Nightingale).

2 Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Notes on the History of Quantification"; Stephen M. Stigler, *History of Statistics: The Measurement of Uncertainty before 1900*; Theodore M. Porter, *Rise of Statistical Thinking 1820-1900*; and M.J. Cullen, *The Statistical Movement in Early Victorian Britain: The Foundations of Empirical Social Research*.

Physique sociale (now held in University College Manuscripts). He ignored her pleas for a new edition; the 1869 edition was in fact the *second* French edition; there had also been an 1842 English edition. Nightingale immersed herself in the data presentation, in places querying actual findings. For example, she queried Quetelet's statement that stillbirths were three times more frequent among illegitimate births than legitimate: "Where? There must be some mistake" (1:118). She carefully read the tables and examined the graphs. She summarized key points, especially on births, deaths, disease and crime. Nightingale was keenly interested in the effects of life cycle, or of age, on the various social indicators. References in parentheses are to the 1869 two-volume edition.

The marginal annotations are published in full in the electronic text, and made as accessible as possible with translations and annotations. As they have been previously published in a journal,³ and often reappear in the "In Memoriam" essay following, publication here is more selective. We focus on points Nightingale made in the annotations not repeated in the essay or to show the development of points.

Even in annotating her mentor, however, we can see Nightingale making the material her own. In places she added comments, normally strengthening the point. Where Quetelet referred to people "submitting to" laws she substituted *registering* as better representing the process (see p 26 below). This was his term, of course, but she was consistent in using it while Quetelet occasionally lapsed into the old language of *soumission* and *subjurer*. She disagreed with his statement about God wanting to limit attacks on his laws, even calling it "nonsense" (see p 32 below), immediately going on to Quetelet's better expression of free will and law (1:98) (see p 33 below). Where Quetelet described the common sources of error in statistical inference, "neglecting the numbers which contradict the result they wish to obtain," Nightingale added her own example: *Darwinism* (1:80) (see p 20 below).

It is noteworthy that Nightingale was still in 1891 using Quetelet's term *social physics* (Francis Galton revised it to mere social statistics). The term when first used in 1835 as a subtitle reflected Quetelet's

3 Marion Diamond and Mervyn Stone, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* (Series A) Pt 2 144 (1981):176-213. There is an excellent introduction but there are errors, some substantive, in the transcription. The introduction is in (Series A) Pt 1 144 (1981):66-79 and the "Essay in Memoriam" itself in Pt 3 (Series A) 144 (1981):332-51.

physics background. It was not taken up but other intermediate terms, like *social economy*, came into use until eventually Comte's hybrid *sociology*, first used in 1850, became standard later in the century.

The second edition of *Physique sociale*, 1869, began with a translation into English of a review article by Sir John Herschel on Quetelet's book on probability, *Lettres à S.A.R. le duc régnant de Saxe-Coburg et Gotha sur la théorie des probabilités*. The review was first published in the *Edinburgh Review*, then republished in a collection of Herschel's papers, *Essays from the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews*, 1857, which Nightingale used. The marginal annotations show that she slogged through the more technical sections on probability theory, including tedious examples of drawing balls from an urn and the sun rising every day, as well as paying attention to substantive points and principles for application. Where examples from botany were used she added her own observations, relating the square of mean daily temperatures to the date lilacs bloomed (see p 20 below), from the family home at Embley (1:60).⁴ She made note of Thomas Bayes's very different treatment of probability.

Physique sociale was the source of several key examples Nightingale used in her social theory. She not only underscored Quetelet's strong statement about foundling hospitals *increasing* child abandonment, but called the high mortality rate of such institutions *murder* (1:380) (see p 27 below). Quetelet's careful statement about the high mortality of children put out "to nurse" (suckle) got a trenchant: "It is infanticide putting children out to nurse" (1:385) (see p 28 below). Nightingale would continue to use the foundling hospital as an example to argue the risk of harmful *unintended consequences* from social policy, and the need to evaluate carefully actual changes. She also frequently used Quetelet's examples on the constancy and predictability of laws, especially that of marriage rates when marriage is supposed to be a matter of free will, and misaddressed envelopes in the mail, which presumably are "accidental" events.

The politically liberal Nightingale found in *Physique sociale* the statistical wherewithal to defend her beliefs: "Despotism stops development of race; freedom seconds industry and individual effort; the

4 For a good discussion of what Nightingale did *not* understand in probability theory see Diamond and Stone (Series A) Pt 1:76-77. For an affirmation of her mathematical prowess see Edwin W. Kopf, "Florence Nightingale as Statistician."

slave dies immensely more than the master" (1:392) (see p 28 below). Poverty increases the death rate. Quetelet was no less explicit in pointing to the remedy: "governments dispose of life" (1:392) (see p 28 below); "isolated man can do so little, governments so much" (1:429) (see p 32 below). Nightingale would use these assertions in her writing to argue the necessity for an *exact* political science to guide government action, not to go on blindly, changing laws capriciously, but to make that an art which is the most essential of all arts (see p 63 below).

Consistent with this belief, Nightingale underscored and later argued for Quetelet's statement that "the most civilized countries . . . pay proportionally the most to the government" (1:74) (see p 20 below). She was never apologetic about the need to increase taxes to support public health care! She underlined his statement, originally from a letter on the use of statistics in administration: "Government in modifying its laws, especially its financial laws, should collect with care documents necessary to prove . . . whether the results obtained have answered their expectation. Laws are made and repealed with such precipitation that it is most frequently impossible to study their influence (1:89) (see p 21 below). Similarly, "If a law is modified and the results continue the same, the modification is an illusion" and "why should we make reforms if we cannot depend on the results?" (1:424) (see p 31 below). Nightingale's views were those of what the American right in the late twentieth century would condemn as "tax and spend Democrats," although she always wanted value for taxpayers' money. Quetelet insisted on the need for routine research on government programs, a point Nightingale would make in her own writing. Similarly she underscored Quetelet's statement as to the *duty* of citizens to provide information to government (1:68) (see p 20 below).

Most remarkably, *Physique sociale* supported Nightingale's views on the role and efficacy of medical practice, more her field of expertise than Quetelet's, whose training had been in mathematics and astronomy. Nightingale underlined five times! Quetelet's passage on the poor quality of the available data and the frequent neglect to consider whether the *number* of observations was adequate (1:83) (see p 21 below). She extracted this passage from his *Letters on the Theory of Probability* before the two had met and worked on uniform medical reporting at the International Statistical Congress in 1860.

Quetelet, like Nightingale, saw healing as "nature's work," the doctor's task being "to examine what it is" (1:396) (see p 29 below).

“Perhaps a sick man is best left to nature,” and different treatments have but a “small influence” on the death rate (1:417) (see p 30 below). He was most precise in asserting that medical treatment had only a “small influence on hospital mortality” (1:396), a point Nightingale not only frequently made, but which guided her own allocation of precious time and resources. Quetelet had also discussed the point in his *Letters on the Theory of Probability*. Nightingale underscored such conclusions as “different kinds of treatment have less influence on mortality than is generally supposed,” and that mortality varies only within narrow limits and “depends more on the general maintenance and supervision of the hospitals than on the therapeutic means employed.” Even more strongly put was Quetelet’s contention: “Good administration saves more patients in hospitals than the science of the most skillful doctors” (1:88) (see p 21 below).

All these statements would have been music to Nightingale’s ears, but she did not, however, share Quetelet’s uncritical endorsement of Jenner and vaccination (1:413) (see p 30 below). She noted from *Physique sociale* that there were no clear gains from vaccination and that population did not increase with its use (1:393-94) (see p 28 below). Nightingale was sceptical of vaccination and fearful that recourse to it would lessen efforts in what she considered more important sanitary reforms. Vaccination let people off the hook and, by neglecting *general* sanitary measures, could result in increasing other diseases. She ignored Quetelet’s positive statements (drawn from a study by Villermé) on vaccination, that while it did not increase population in Europe, it did improve the lives of those treated, reduced blindness, preserved their looks and prolonged their lives (1:394).

Quetelet was perhaps at his best in criminology, a subject also of interest to Nightingale. She underscored his point that poverty was not so much a *direct* cause of crime in order to advance an explanation that would later be called *relative deprivation*, that is, that people who have become accustomed to a better standard of living and then lose it feel the poverty more than those continually in it (2:315-16) (see p 34 below). Nightingale also made use of Quetelet’s suggestion that literacy might be a factor influencing the probability of a criminal’s being *caught* for, as opposed to actually *committing*, a crime: “Perhaps knowing how to read and write less prevents the crime than the punishment” (2:411) (see p 35 below). Quetelet held that a minimal level of crime was to be expected given human “organization,” so that higher levels were the “product of social organization” (1:425) (see

p 31 below). Nightingale agreed and went on, in later writing, to urge social reorganization precisely to reduce crime.

Nightingale, like Quetelet, saw the similarities between different kinds of what sociologists now call *total institutions*: prisons, hospitals, the Army and institutions for the destitute (in England *workhouses*, in Belgium *mendicity depots*). She made annotations on the high rate of mortality in prisons and institutions for the destitute. She noted that, depending on its administration: "A prison may have a death rate not higher than in social life, or may be more destructive than pestilence, may have a death rate without example among all our evils." She commented that John Howard, Britain's esteemed eighteenth-century prison reformer, was *not a statistician* (see p 29 below); presumably if he had been he would have stressed sanitary reform or advocated prison abolition rather than prison reform (1:406). The death rate from prisons could be, depending on the quality of administration, lower than that of the most privileged classes, or it could be as high as three out of four prisoners annually, "a higher death rate than in war or pestilence" (1:419) (see p 31 below). Nightingale's later writing on crime and prisons would always stress *restitution* rather than incarceration.

While Quetelet certainly influenced Nightingale, it should be noted that there was also influence the other way. Nightingale indeed deferred to Quetelet as her "mentor," but he praised her and sent her copies of his books with charming dedications.⁵ His high esteem for her work is clear in his remarks in the *Proceedings of the International Statistical Congress*, 1860. The two met in the course of the congress and it is reasonable to assume that they discussed statistics and their practical application. Hence it is quite likely, although there is no documentation, that Quetelet's treatment of themes dear to Nightingale's heart, like medical science versus administration, the failure of medicine to cure and the high rate of mortality in institutions like prisons and the Army, was itself prompted by Nightingale.

Quetelet's dedication to Nightingale in *Physique sociale* (below) is dated 1873 (the work was published in 1869). Dates in the annotations show that Nightingale was reading the book in 1873-74. There is no explicit reference to the book in Nightingale's *Fraser's Magazine* articles in May and July of 1873, and perhaps this is one reason why the articles are not successful. Yet it seems that Nightingale was planning to use Quetelet extensively in the projected third essay for

5 Letter of L.A.J. Quetelet 10 January 1873, Add Mss 45803 f33.

Fraser's, which was never published. She generously acknowledged Quetelet in her unpublished essay, "The New Moral World," even asserting an "enormous" obligation to him in this generation for "teaching us, by the introduction of exact evidence in the shape of social statistics, to estimate exactly the results of our actions" (*Theology* 3:160). The "In Memoriam" essay, 1874, which follows the *Marginalia*, gives a polished expression of Quetelet's key views. Nightingale's last effort, in 1891, to promulgate Quetelet's methodology, in the attempt to have a chair or readership established in *social physics*, again developed a point duly noted in the marginal annotations here, where Quetelet, albeit only in passing, regretted that no institutions of higher education taught social physics. Nightingale's annotation makes the same point *positively*: that social physics "should become part of university education" (1:267) (see p 26 below).

Marginal Annotations to *Physique sociale*

All annotated passages are identified with their volume and page number. Where Nightingale simply translated Quetelet, often a paraphrase or *précis*, this is indicated as "FN:". Where she made or added her own remarks this is inserted in bold into the text with / / when short enough. Nightingale's underlining is indicated by italics. Duplications have been eliminated, so that if Nightingale both underlined the passage and translated it only the translation is given. (Both are given in the Diamond and Stone version.) The translations are mine except in the first section, for which the original English version was available. Passages or headings on the same subject matter have been grouped together for speedier reading. The result altogether should be a clear presentation of Quetelet's ideas, as emphasized by Nightingale, and with her commentary. Obviously the quality of the material varies; some comments are of *précises* only, others clearly show Nightingale taking Quetelet's point further, or even in places disagreeing with it, and thus form an important stage in the development of her own position.

Editorial comments have been added both to explain the context and also to show how Nightingale herself used the material in other writing. French reversals of word order have been changed to English style, so that if Nightingale translated "l'homme physique" into "the man physical" this became "the physical man" but not "the physical human."

Source: Nightingale's Marginal Annotations to *Physique sociale, ou essai sur le développement des facultés de l'homme*. University College, London

Flysheet: Florence Nightingale 1873

Next page: [Quetelet's dedication] à Mademoiselle Florence Nightingale. Hommage de respect et d'affection de l'auteur, Quetelet

FN: Social physics. Organic periods = positive creed; critical periods = no convictions but that the old ones are false; Christianity = organic period, Reformation = critical period; will last until a new organic period has been inaugurated by the triumph of a yet more advanced creed. (The new moral world resulting from law? Mill.) Autobiography.

Title page

FN: The sense of infinite power, the assurances of solid certainty and the endless vista of improvement from the principles of *Physique sociale*, if only found possible to apply on occasions or when it is so much wanted. *Essai sur le développement des facultés de l'homme*. By Adolphe Quetelet. November 1873.

1:1 Introduction

Edinburgh Review 185 (July 1850)

1:27-29 FN: First and most important application, Sir John Herschel [of probability]: mean and limits. Throwing stones at random. Shooting at a mark. Telescope = shooting.

1:29-45 Principle of least squares. Postulates. Probability of compound event $AB = \text{probability of } A \times \text{probability of } B \text{ (its constituents)}$. Law of relation between amount and probability of error. Regular law of progression. Equal probability of equal errors. Rules of calculation applied as to mean and limits of condition of mankind physical and moral. Type of individual. Measurements of Scotch soldiers.

FN: Study of causes. *Prima facie* probability of recurrence of an event. Probability of determining *cause* increases with each recurrence in a far higher ratio than the probability of the recurrence itself. Probability that the sun will rise tomorrow 1,000,000:1 from having risen 1,000,000 times. But probability of its having risen by *cause* and not by *chance* as two to the millionth power. Opposing causes. . . .

That events *do* happen according to their calculated chances applies to the discovery of causes. Tendencies. Tendency of weaker to go to the wall. Tendency of success to be a proof of ability, that is, of ability to issue in success. Not causes but *tendencies working through opportunities*. Circular polarization, etc., 8000:1, that a law of nature *was* there, though cause still hidden. . . .

1:60-62 Sum of the *squares* of similar daily *mean* temperatures counted from cessation of frosts determines flowering of plants. Vegetation accelerated in a higher ratio than simple increase of temperature. Explanation of accelerated rapidity of vegetation in spring. Flowering of plants. Lilacs flower when sum of squares of mean daily temperatures counting from end of frost = 4264° centigrade. Each plant has a constant./**Forty years ago the lilac flowered at Embley, Hampshire, by 19 April. Now (1872) rarely or never.**/

FN: Error in political economy. Acquiescence versus high pressures of modern civilization and diminished friction. Fallacies: Supply always proportional to demand a fallacy. See Orissa, for example.⁶

1:68 [trans.] A well-organized system of *civil registration* is . . . one of the first wants of *an enlightened people*. No man in such a people *is above or beneath the obligation of authenticating his existence*, his claims on the protection of his country and his fulfillment of the duties of a citizen, *or of contributing his individual quota of information*, in what personally concerns himself and his family, in reply to any system of queries which the government in its wisdom may see fit to institute respecting them.

1:74 [trans.] “It has been justly remarked,” [Quetelet] says, “*that those are the most civilized countries which pay proportionally the most to the government.*”

1:76-80 “*What a mass of errors have we not accumulated in treating pauperism. . . . Real poverty* is nearly always very different from the poverty officially returned.”

FN: “Nothing can be more false than theories, except facts!” Those who use them in this manner [to establish extreme positions or support a particular view] will be found invariably to sin against truth and common sense in one or other of the following ways, namely:

1. By having preconceived ideas of the final result.
2. By neglecting the numbers which contradict the result they wish to obtain./**Darwinism**/
3. By incompletely enumerating causes and only attributing to one cause what belongs to a concourse of many.
4. By comparing elements which are not comparable.

1:83 “All reasonable men,” [Quetelet] says, “will, I think agree on this point that we must inform ourselves by observation, collect well-

6 There was a great famine in Orissa 1866.

recorded facts, render them *rigorously comparable* before seeking to discuss them with a view of declaring their relations, and methodically proceeding to the appreciation of causes. Instead of this what do we see? *Observations incomplete, incomparable, suspect, heaped up pell-mell, presented without discernment*, OR ARRANGED SO AS TO LEAD TO THE BELIEF OF THE FACT WHICH IT IS WISHED TO ESTABLISH, and nearly always it is neglected to inquire whether the number of observations is sufficient to inspire confidence."

1:85 FN: Sanitary measures. Mitigation or prevention of disease.

1:87-89 "To judge," says M Quetelet, "of the advantages which therapeutics may present, we must commence by inquiring *what would become of a man afflicted with such a malady if abandoned to the force of nature only*. Perhaps we might be led to conclude that in doubtful and difficult cases it is better to give up the patient *to the efforts of nature than to the remedies of art*, confining ourselves to the use of a careful diet. DIFFERENT KINDS OF TREATMENT have less influence on mortality than is generally supposed. . . . Mortality varies between very narrow limits *and depends more on the GENERAL MAINTENANCE AND SUPERVISION OF THE HOSPITALS* than on the therapeutic means employed. Did I not fear being taxed with exaggeration, I should say THAT A GOOD ADMINISTRATION SAVES MORE PATIENTS in hospitals than the science of the most skillful doctors."

[quoting Quetelet's letter "On the use of statistics to the administration,"] *Statists should be eager to register, from this time forward, all the facts which may assist in the study of this vast transformation in the social body, which is in process of accomplishment. A government in modifying its laws, especially its financial laws, should collect with care documents necessary to prove, at a future state, whether the results obtained have answered their expectation. Laws are made and repealed with such precipitation that it is most frequently impossible to study their influence.*"/ **To judge of therapeutics, one must find out what would become of the disease left to nature.**/

1:91-92 *Physique sociale: ou Essai sur l'homme et le développement de ses facultés*

FN: Man is born, grows up and dies according to certain laws of which the whole or the *mutual reactions* have never been studied. The *science of man* gives us only researches on some of these laws, results of single observations or *theories based on views*. Social and intellectual man has not been studied in his development/**ideal type?**/ nor how he is influ-

enced by the physical man which actuates him, i.e., not by science of observation: of numbers and facts./**Or does the “moral and intellectual man” impress his “action” on the physical man?**/ Repugnance to look upon social phenomena as subject to law. One man cannot undertake these observations.

1:93-98 FN: Are the actions of moral and intellectual man subject to laws? Appeal to *experience*. Individuality seems accidental, a fraction of the race. **But a “fraction” is not “accidental,” the “fractions” make up the sum.** Actions subject to moral laws./**A little free will (not tenable)?**/

Not incoherent facts: order in the march of nature. Social faculties show general laws. In crime, the numbers are reproduced with amazing regularity. *Murders* are the result of motiveless “rows,” yet are uniform and regular year by year, even as to instruments employed. The budget of prison is paid with more regularity than that of the Treasury./**Note vol. 2:142** [where the same analogy is made]./ We can number beforehand how many poisonings, how many forgeries, just as we number beforehand births and deaths. *Society prepares, the criminal only executes the crime*. In every social state certain crimes result from its organization. This [is] no discouragement but the reverse; men can be improved by improving their institutions and all that influences their being. Same causes: same effects./**Alter the causes. Mankind can govern by social laws as he does by physical. But mankind can discover the laws and govern by their means.** That is to say that it is not in the intention of God that mankind, ignorant mankind, *can* have an eternal or infinite action at his own caprice (how unjust if it were so). God alone sets the limits, that is, the laws. We act within His laws, under His laws, and also *by* His laws. God governs by His laws, but so do we, when we have discovered them./

1:100 FN: Political science—inquiry into precise laws./**This only means that the *general* will produces the causes of which the *individual* wills are the effects, but the *general* will can be modified.** 30 June 1873, 23 April 1874./

1:128-31 FN: From tables of mortality one cannot determine when A will die/**Hence no fatalism in these calculations.**/ This study regards the social body and is for philosophy and legislation, not for art or literature. These laws change with the causes which give them birth. For example, civilization changes the law of mortality, so also the law of morality. Causes influencing the social system are to be recognized

and modified: not to act empirically. From the past one may predict the future. For example, human heights so far from being accidental register laws the most exact. So with weight, strength and swiftness. So with intellectual and moral qualities. This is one of the most admirable laws of creation/**All is under God. *Anthropométrie* p 259.**⁷

1:149-54 Man is the centre of the oscillation of social elements. /**20 November 1873**/ This work is only the sketch of a vast picture which must be worked out. Judge the idea and not the execution; materials are still wanting. There is the accusation of putting things incapable of measurement on an arithmetical basis. There is the accusation of materialism made every time philosophy enters on a new road. It is not necessary to answer nowadays when it does not bring torture with it.

Is it an insult to God to exert the noblest faculty He has given us to discover His sublimest laws, His admirable economy, His infinite wisdom? To know the laws of the system of the world instead of a blind superstition about this earth. Man occupies but a grain of sand, but his intelligence penetrates the secrets of the heavens. Shall we not, after having discovered the laws of the worlds, discover those of men? When all is done by law, is the human race alone left to itself, without any principle of preservation? Such a hypothesis it is, which is an insult to God and not research and inquiry.

1:156-58 FN: To discover the mechanism of the heavens it was first necessary to collect precise observations, to create methods for working them out. So must it be with social physics. Average of man's height and weight. A "mean," as there is in temperature, although thermometer may have always been above or below this point. "Mean" man may alter in time. Progress of practical statistics in thirty years.

Editor: This "thirty years" was Quetelet's "third of a century" following the first edition in 1835. Nightingale made frequent reference to *thirty years* in her essays, suggesting what *might be* done in social science if the same pace of progress held as for discoveries in natural science.

1:160 FN: The effect on *births* of times, places, sex, seasons, hours of the day and other causes outside man, of political and religious and social institutions, that is, of human causes.

7 Where a table of heights of U.S. Army recruits is reproduced from the *Internationaler statistischer Congress in Berlin*, 1865. The American delegate to the congress, E.B. Eliot, was using Quetelet's method of the "common type."

1:161-63 FN: Births to population, to marriages. Illegitimate births (legitimate births to marriages). In political economy the increase of population [is] more important than whether this is by marriage or not. [In Bavaria] it is necessary to prove a certain level of income to marry. Number of illegitimate births in Bavaria: cause.

1:165-78 FN: More boys born than girls; more boys die than girls; 106 boys born to 100 girls in France. Independent of climate. 106 boys born to 100 girls for all Europe.

In Belgium, in the country more boys [are] born than in towns, that is, the preponderance of sons born over daughters [is] a little less in towns than in the country. More boys are born in legitimate marriage than illegitimate. Births of boys over girls: *Births* to agriculturalists: persons whose employments tend to add to their physical strength—more *boys* born. Those weakened by their employments, trade and factories, more *girls* [are born]. Boys = girls [are] born to persons of mixed employments./**In France alone? In actual numbers. More girls born than boys when the mother is older or the same age as the father.**/ If this be true, proportional births of boys versus girls can be regulated at our pleasure.

1:221-28 FN: Stillborn children: the number is double in towns. Fourteen stillborn boys to ten stillborn girls. Probable cause: to give birth to a boy requires more strength in the mother. Stillborn children [are] three times as many among illegitimate births.

1:228 In examining the mortality of newborn infants it is useful also to consider the situation of the mothers. According to Willan, mortality in the large maternity hospital in *London/Where? There must be some mistake*/ where 5000 women are received annually [the table then gives mortality rates for the mothers, ranging from 1/15 to 1/77 over different periods of time].

1:230 /**Mortality in lying-in hospitals**/ In the *Hôtel Dieu* in Paris, at the end of the last century *one out of fifteen* mothers, while in London a reduction to *one out of 288* was reached, or nineteen times lower.

1:233 FN: In forty years [the population of] England nearly doubled, America nearly quadrupled.

Editor: Quetelet here supplied tables with census population figures for twenty-four countries.

1:236-44 FN: In France the least, one to thirty-nine, in Russia the greatest, one to twenty. Proportion of births to inhabitants one to

thirty the average. *Average* difference in sex, 1055 *boys* for 1000 *girls* for all climates, all years, in thirteen countries. Stillborn children: differences of sex are much greater: 1335 boys to 1000 girls.

The difference in births of boys who live over girls who live [is] less among illegitimate than legitimate births, only 1038 boys (instead of 1057) to 1000 girls. The birth of a boy [is] attended with more danger than [that] of a girl. The less care to lying-in women, the more danger to male children, except in Russia.

For Europe, [there is] one illegitimate birth to ten or twelve legitimate, for Bavaria one to three or four (a certain fortune is required before marriage), for the Netherlands one to twenty-two or twenty-three, for England one to fourteen.

1:245-48 FN: Illegitimate births are much more numerous in towns than in the country. In Belgium: births one to thirty inhabitants, down to one to thirty-six inhabitants; decrease; deaths: one to thirty-six inhabitants, down to one to forty-seven inhabitants; decrease; marriages: one to 180 inhabitants, up to one to 131 inhabitants—the year of fewest marriages [was] the year of highest price of corn. In Belgium the year of most deaths, fewest births and fewest marriages was when the price of wheat and corn generally was highest. Grave political changes. If a nation's character [is] not altered, no traces [are] left of accidental misfortunes.

1:248-55 FN: The difference between male and female births [is] not accidental [but] regular and uniform. One birth to thirty-three inhabitants. Differences between different countries diminish as the tendency to a general similitude increases. The difference between male and female births, according as these are or are not legitimate, annually, [is] the same in Belgium, France, England, etc. For England, legitimate male to legitimate female births [are] as 1055 to 1000, illegitimate as 1028 to 1000. The same [holds] from year to year, from country to country. But in countries where legitimacy of marriage tells least, the difference [is] least.

Influence of annual revolution, daily rotation of earth: maximum of births in February, maximum of conceptions in May (spring). Next maximum of births [is] in September. No information from the Antipodes [a matter of interest because of climate differences and reversal of seasons]. Russia an exception: greater relations between Russia and other countries have not yet diminished differences.

1:257 FN: Accuracy of observations taken increases as the square root of the number of years of observation. Principle of calculation of probabilities [is] too often neglected.

1:259-61 FN: Marriages to population: In France [there is] one marriage to 125-26 population, in Belgium one marriage to 132. The *mean* of quinquennial periods remains about the same. In France the periods of observation [are] five times, the population eight times those of Belgium. Accuracy as 1: square root 5×8 or one to six. Variation in number of marriages very small, as small [as] in the ages of marrying people. That one of man's acts depending most on his own will is the most regular; it depends on religious and social habits. For example, Lent makes the number of marriages vary. Marriage is at once a religious, civil and natural act. But religious and social habits flow indirectly out of, at least act and react on, natural laws.

1:263-66 FN: Marriages: Lent only displaces the time of the marriage. Religious and social habits determine the *monthly* number. Marriages: the maximum of marriages is in May, maximum of conceptions in May. Number of marriages *in the course* of the *year* present apparent anomalies, being one of the elements in which man's will has most influence. But age is another of these elements, yet this is regular. The series of *general facts* by which society exists and is preserved registers invariable law; individualities disappear. Great social, political and scientific changes have an influence. These causes proceed from man but are not influenced by individual wills. In marriage man's free will acts most./**One can only say that the inclinations/will of men and women will be the same, the same causes acting./**

1:267 FN: **Probabilities should become part of university education.**

1:278 It is curious to see that man, who titles himself *King of Nature* and who believes that he rules all through his free will, ~~submits~~ /**registers**/ without his knowledge more rigorously than any other creature the laws to which he is ~~subject~~ . *These laws are so wisely co-ordinated that they escape his attention./***That is, his actions are reducible to these laws, registrable under these laws./**

1:321 FN: Epidemics. Influence of years.

1:321-26 FN: Superficial persons object to statistics from idleness. An increased death rate arises some months or even twelve months after famine or dearth, and continues even after the price of bread is as usual or even lower than usual. Influence of dearth on deaths: the year *after* the maximum of price of corn the result appears in the death and birth rate. Absurd results from neglecting to consider other causes.

Before 1834 mendicity depots—seven months' stay, individuals come in dying; prisons—average stay five years, prisoners come in well. War: influence of war on death rate from the damage to industry and activity.

FN: The *people* are always poorer in rich than in poor countries. Riches and pauperism go together. Variation of earnings in manufacturing districts unfavourable. Mortality/French Army [the table is of mortality by season in the French Army]. Mortality/influence of professions on consumption [tuberculosis]. Circumstances which induce consumption. [The table here is on harmful influences, of which the first entry is "mineral vegetable emanations."]/**The most important is omitted, namely, rebreathing breathed air.**/ Less to indicate results than to show the way to find them. To show a law, one must give the number of observations.

1:371-75 Doctors are the most unhealthy, clergy the most healthy [occupation]. Mortality: clergy attain a greater age than even agriculturalists. [One table here gave comparative data by occupation, another specifically compared clergy and doctors.] Important to ascertain influence of study on youth, now that youth is forced like a hothouse plant. Precocious study, especially in exact science, may predispose to madness. Mortality/Stone [text indicates twenty-one men with this illness for every woman].

1:376-77 FN: Mortality: moral influences—the mortality in brutal and lazy nations is three times as great as in an industrious and prudent people. Mortality is less in the higher classes not only because of better living but [because] of cleanliness and temperance, absence of passion and of violent changes. The violence of passions between twenty and thirty is [a] great cause of mortality in man.

1:378-82 FN: Murder and suicide. Murder: crime or virtue? In different nations, phases in humanity, history of. Murder on a great scale, in a consecrated form = war. Moral statistics: ideas on war. . . .

Influence of morality on mortality: [there is] greater mortality of illegitimate up to seven years; only one in ten of illegitimate children grows up. Mortality in foundling hospitals—want a mother's care./**Murders**/ of foundling hospitals greater than of war or epidemics. Foundling hospitals multiply rapidly the number of foundlings in proportion to that of births. The proportion increased rapidly in the last years of Louis XV, diminishes by two thirds under the Convention, increases under the Empire, remains stationary since the Revolution of 1830.

Mortality of foundlings: in these cities one fourth of children are exposed [abandoned]. [A list gives Lisbon, Madrid, Rome, Paris, Brussels, Vienna, St Petersburg and Moscow.] Demoralization.

1:383-84 FN: London and Paris. Excess in Paris of children exposed. [The text gave a difference of 151 abandoned children in five years in London, 4668 for the same period in Paris, with two thirds its population.] Mortality in foundlings. Establishment of a “tour” [foundling institution] in Mayence produces foundlings (children exposed). Suppress it: children [are] no longer exposed. If you close foundling hospitals suddenly, public clamour will cause them to be reopened.

(1) Foundlings always more numerous where there are foundling hospitals [the text specifically mentions Catholic countries].

(2) The mortality of foundling hospitals is quite out of all proportion to that of the poorest homes.

(3) Not only is infanticide hardly prevented by foundling hospitals, but foundling hospitals destroy a much greater number of children than infanticide. Mortality of children put out to nurse./**It is infanticide putting children out to nurse.**/ [This point is repeated on a back sheet.] Infanticide: putting children out to nurse, foundling hospitals.

1:386-89 FN: Influence of *political* and *religious* institutions on *mortality*. Civilization lengthens life, by sanitary measures, by extending commerce and improving agriculture, by liberalizing institutions. A better registration would probably show a greater difference even in mortality. Amsterdam [was] once the most active city in Europe, lost its commerce; population now does not increase.

1:390-91 FN: Mortality: if the average length of life is low, [this is a] mark of want of prosperity. Morals: religious institutions, political institutions, influence on life statistics. Stillborn children: increased number of, *demoralization*, increased mortality of live children. Religious institutions: Lent and fasting diminish vitality. Influence of religious celibacy.

1:392 FN: Mortality—political institutions: war; the militia [is] the most precious part of the population. Successive generations [are] enfeebled. Governments dispose of life. Despotism stops the development of the race. Freedom seconds industry and individual effort. The slave dies immensely more than the master.

1:394 FN: Vaccination: abolition of smallpox by vaccination not a clear gain. Vaccination does not increase population.

1:395-96 FN: Foundling hospitals increase mortality of foundlings. [The text refers to the failure to establish such an institution in Edinburgh.] Mortality: influence of political institutions and benevolent establishments on mortality.

1:397 Hospitals: length of stay in hospitals. Nature's work: to examine what it is the doctor's province. Medical treatment [has] a small influence on hospital mortality. [Quetelet here cited Hawkins, *Elements of Medical Statistics*.]

1:402-07 FN: Mortality of prisons: imprisonment = barbarity.

Prisons: ignorance and negligence in administration may increase the death rate more than any [of] the greatest excesses in man left to himself. War and pestilence have never produced such mortality as prisons. But the mortality of mendicity depots [is] sometimes higher than that of prisons. In England it seems that it [mortality] is quite low. Mortality in prisons: by administration, good or bad, a prison may have a death rate not higher than in social life, or may be more destructive than pestilence, may have a death rate without example among all our evils. / ?? **[John] Howard not a statistician.** / Want of public opinion and public knowledge as to prisons [is] the great source of their mortality. Extreme variation of death rate in prisons, hospitals, foundling hospitals, mendicity depots from year to year.

1:408-12 FN: Medical statistics. In epidemics some doctors follow their predecessors; some try new ways, for their own or the public interest. All do statistics, some on paper, some by memory. Those who fail take care to give no statistics. Among those who succeed or think they have succeeded are some of small or accidental experience. One attributes the disease, and he may be right, to one cause; another, and he may be right, to another. But both are wrong in seeing but *one* cause. They generalize from particular cases. Contradictions come from incomplete ideas. A success makes failures forgotten. Suppose medical treatment to do neither good nor harm; most will lose an average number of sick. Some will lose more and be silent; some will save more and cry out, leaving statistics for conjectures. Without connection between the effect and pretended cause they give their specific remedy to all, without regard to the constitution, sex or age of cases. In medicine, infinite number of causes, not comparable. Doctors take identity among many cases for granted. If all cases were identical, one case observed and cured would do for a pattern. But no such identity exists. Constitutions, previous diseases, differ.

A doctor will perhaps in all his practice not find two identical cases. *Sex*: requires two observations. *Age*: suppose only childhood, youth, old age—six observations. But the ages are infinitely different. *Individualities*: a doctor's whole life is not enough to find two identical cases.

Medical statistics: One disease [is] susceptible of an infinite number of modifications. Recognize the causes which produce distinct individual action and distinguish among its effects. Genius = aptitude for patience. Write, instead of remembering, your statistical observations. To write is science. It is coarsely to fail in science to trust to memory.

Vaccination. When Jenner⁸ gave humanity his important discovery [vaccination for smallpox], it was quickly understood that to recognize the value of vaccination it was necessary to record the results and compare them scrupulously, having regard for all the possible causes which work against its effect. This purely statistical method removed all doubt as to the benefit of vaccination. This method again has shown that this precious preservative has, in some circumstances, but a temporary action. **/But vaccination is the very case against him./**

1:413-14 FN: Doctors feel pulses every day. But blunders about this have been the very case to prove the necessity of written observations. Consecrated blunders in medicine prove the need of statistics. Statistics must be made otherwise than to prove a preconceived idea. *Ceteris paribus* must be observed with care.

1:415-17 FN: Number of observations necessary. All sciences of observation depend upon statistical methods; without these [they] are blind empiricism. Make your facts comparable before deducing causes. Incomplete, pell-mell observations arranged so as to support some theory; insufficient number of observations—this is what one sees. But, as you do not look in mortality tables for the age at which your patient is to die, so you must not look in your statistical medicine how to cure your patient. Some facts proved by statistics as, for example, the greater number of deaths among male infants [is] not explained by medicine. Surgery versus medicine: medicine must put a patient to the question; surgery sees the disease. Diagnosis should come first, before therapeutics. Probability of disease becoming chronic if left alone? What would become of the patient? Medical statistics: perhaps a sick man [is] best left to nature. Different treatments [have but] small influence on the death rate.

8 Edward Jenner (1749-1823).

1:418-19 FN: *Hospitals*: [their] death rate depends on the way they are kept more than on the treatment employed. *Administrative* more influence than *medical* science. *Administration* saves more hospital patients than the best medical science. Prison administration may make a lower (prison) death rate than in the most privileged classes, or may kill three prisoners out of four annually, a higher death rate than in war or pestilence.

1:419-22 FN: Statistics useful both to science and administration. Only by consulting the past can the statesman judge for the future, recognize the elements necessary to realize plans, appreciate what needs reform. The rail and the telegraph produce as-yet-unsolved political problems and unknown social transactions. Government administration—we may some day wonder at the consequences. Human life is longer, towns are nearer, customs [are] abolished, characteristics effaced. [The text describes how “picturesque” characteristics of countries have been eliminated with the extension of trains and the telegraph.] 1836.

Half [of] France diminishes, half [of] France increases in population. Agricultural populations move towards the towns. In industrial districts and towns population increases: enormous public works. Statistics should make haste to register this vast transformation. Railroads: relation of fares and passengers. Statistics necessary to determine maximum.

Government administration: increase of vitality in a country. English Post Office: postage diminished—letters increase. 1844. *Moral* [social] results of railroads far greater than even pecuniary ones, bringing habits of order and work, inspiring foreign confidence.

1:424-25 /**Criminal statistics should reform legislation**/ If a law is modified and the results continue the same, the modification [is] an illusion. It is just the fixity of same causes, same effects, which gives the certainty that by change of law we can change the nation's future. Why should we make reforms if we cannot depend on the results? The lowest figure of crime depends on the organization of the human being *and the excess is the product of social organization*. Statistics are necessary to appreciate the effects of law. No punishment would stop forgery; the reform in bank notes did. This would have saved many crimes. Statistical *errors* even have had their use.

1:429 *Isolated man sees his action limited to a too narrow circle*; to be able to dream of bringing together the materials needed to construct the

building he must have recurrence to the generous intervention *of governments.*/ **Isolated man can do so little, governments so much**/.

2:53-59 FN: People are frightened at finding man, the noblest creature, become a link of determined size in the chain of being. On the contrary, he has gained immensely in the chain of creation by discovering these laws./ *Anthropométrie* p 289⁹/ Mean man (Potomac Army) measures round chest about 35 inches, numbers narrower and broader diminishing regularly down to 28 inches and up to 42 inches

FN: When [it is] impossible to apply statistical measures to intellectual forces. How [to] measure the previous work necessary to produce a fine statue, work of art or of literature. A woman's number of children gives no idea of their *value*.

2:143 [trans. from French] “*There is a budget that is paid with terrifying regularity, that is, of prisons, galleys and scaffolds, and that above all we must engage ourselves to reduce it.*”¹⁰/ **Budget of the prisons**/

[trans. from French] “*The man whom I have considered in society analogous to the centre of gravity of a body is a fictional being for whom all kinds of things occur, in conformity with the average results obtained for society.*”/ **Man = centre of gravity**/

Editor: This *average man* conceptualization of Quetelet's was taken up by Karl Marx in *Capital* in his development of the labour theory of value.

2:146-47 FN: In registration the probability of omission is the same. Even letters unaddressed, addressed illegibly or open are a constant quantity. Also suicides, also mutilations to escape military service, also sums staked in gambling houses; all take place as if by laws purely physical. . . . / **We can't do eternal harm; if we would, how unjust, were it otherwise! It is quite true that we now judge of people by their faults instead of by their (different) perfections (or ideals). A little bit of free will?? Nonsense.**/

Compare 1:98 *The supreme Being wisely imposed limits to our social faculties as for our physical faculties; He did not want man to cast a slur on His eternal*

9 Where a table is reproduced of chest measurements of soldiers in the Potomac Army, again from the International Statistical Congress, Berlin, 1863.

10 This passage was reproduced from Quetelet's second memoir, “Recherches sur le penchant au crime aux différents âges,” and used also above 1:96.

laws./Is not this nonsense? Is it not rather (what he says in the next sentence) that the man, or what he chooses to call his “free will,” is the effect of the causes (*Système social*)? Modify the causes and you modify the man, “free will” and all./

2:183-84: FN: Our intellectual faculties are born, grow and decline; each attains its maximum energy at a certain epoch of life. What the intellectual faculties which develop earliest [are], and which the latest, in the ages of individuals.

2:184 FN: Change in drama and theatre. Molière was poor; now actresses are better paid than prime ministers or prelates, more flattered than sovereigns or heroes.

2:184-89 FN: Mental diseases seem to accompany mental development. Madness attacks the wisest and is multiplied by civilization—not idiocy but madness. Idiocy is the product of material influences, madness the product of social influences, idiocy the result of deficient, madness of overexcited intellect. There are more idiots in Scotland than Ireland, more idiots in mountains than plains./**Dark unaired sides of deep valleys breed idiots.**/

2:189 [A footnote refers to Pierquin’s *Arithmétique politique de la folie* which found that crime was proportional to mental illness, refuting Esquirol’s assertion that madness is a disease of civilization]/**Relation of crime to madness?**/

2:203 FN: Effect of annual periods and daily, depending on earth’s revolutions round the sun, and on its axis.

Editor: Quetelet, an astronomer, called for special attention to “periodic facts” related to the earth’s revolution around the sun, the inclination of the axis and the seasonal changes ensuing therefrom.

2:221-23 Social physics, moving forward with care and confidence in its research, has arrived at the point of establishing some of the great laws which regulate man, and to specify precisely the curious results at which one can arrive by observation. . . . *We see how our species goes ahead as one, we see that all these qualities are as much determined in advance as those of the individuals which comprise it, which seem, on the contrary, to be incoherent and disorganized.*/**The individual and the race.**/

2:249 In publishing the first edition of my *Physique sociale*, 1834 and 1835, I gave a special place to criminal statistics. I found it, in a strik-

ing way, the most marked evidence confirming my ideas on the grandeur and the fixed nature of the laws relating to man, *continuing to live under the same legislation*. . . . One can compare the present conclusions with those I formulated earlier and I do not think that, in the face of such convincing evidence, it is possible for human intelligence to refuse to believe *the admirable laws* which regulate creation and which direct man in his most obvious actions as well as those which escape his knowledge.

2:312-14 FN: Crime. England: children are trained as instruments of crime. *Age* [is] the greatest influence on crime. (2) Maximum [crime occurs] at twenty-five, the age of greatest physical strength—intellectual and moral strength develops later. (3) Different crimes reach [their] maximum at different ages. (4) Difference of sex: one woman to four men. (5) Maximum [crime occurs] in woman at thirty. (6) Woman's crimes [are] more secret and in a nearer sphere. (7) Seasons: summer—most crimes against persons, winter—against property. (8) Madness: same relation of age and season as in crimes against the person. (9) Climate. (10) Greatest activity of industry and commerce produces most crime. (11) Professions. (12) Instruction (in reading and writing) may become a new instrument of crime [repeated on the end flysheet]. Instruction in reading and writing = instrument of crime.

2:315 Man is not pushed into crime because he has little, but generally because he has passed *brusquely* from a state of easy to misery, *and has insufficient to satisfy all the needs he has created for himself*.

2:315-17 FN: (13) Poverty may be accompanied by morality. (14) The proportion of female to male criminals is highest in the lowest classes. (15) Intemperance [is] a source of crime. (16) Difference of proportion of convicted to accused. (17) Difference of proportion of crimes against property to crimes against persons in different countries. Constancy of results from same causes/**It would be wonderful were it otherwise.**/ Causes to be discovered, effects to be determined. Causes in physical and in social system act with equal regularity/**The more reason to hope for man's improvement by modifying the causes of evil.**/ Budget paid into prisons to be reduced.

2:319-20 FN: From a table of mortality one cannot discover when A will die. So with A's other actions. *Marriages* [are] more regular than *deaths*. [It] seems [that they] are more subject to external causes than deaths—though marriage seems a voluntary act and not death.

2:327-34 FN: Individuals *may* be inclined to crime without ever having committed one, *may* have committed crime without being inclined to it. Crimes (1) committed, (2) brought to justice, (3) prosecuted. Where [there is] most punishment of crime, [there] need not be most crime. Take care in comparing different countries. Different probabilities of crime for different ages.

2:391-97 FN: Effects [are] attributed to supernatural caprice, to immutable laws. Humanity [is] not stationary. Genius must represent and sympathize with its age. Genius must have the possibility, the opportunity, of action. Genius must take the resources of its age to become what it is and combine the necessary conditions to use these resources./17 April 1874/ Genius represents the progress of its age; genius [is] not accidental. Some centuries after a truth arrives the man [is born] who is to develop it. Good as well as evil may be the result of a social organization.

2:399-404 FN: Relations between the most opposite opinions. Compromise always false. Governments should initiate reforms. Revolutions: their manner [is] the true test of the degree of civilization. Toleration = cowardice.

France/England. The press prevents the accumulation of abuses and reaction. War is the consequence of the absence of law among nations. . . .

2:411 FN: **3 July 1873. Perhaps knowing how to read and write less prevents the crime than the punishment.**

2:427 trans: [To legislators] *belongs determination of the budget of crimes, like that of revenues and expenditures of the Treasury.*/3 July 1873. **Chancellor of the Exchequer of crimes, Mr Lowe.**¹¹/

2:428 FN: Punishment or at least preventive punishment [is] still necessary.

Editor: Mill argued this point in correspondence on *Suggestions for Thought* (see p 381 below).

¹¹ Robert Lowe (1811-92), home secretary.

Essay “In Memoriam”

Editor: The “In Memoriam” essay is both Nightingale’s fervent tribute to “our master Quetelet,” also known as “our great discoverer,” and a fine statement of her own position on social science. It draws extensively on Quetelet’s *Physique sociale*, in some places word for word from the marginal annotations above. Yet there are also her own examples, her own words—often stronger than Quetelet’s—and not omitting the inclusion of her own views on *theodike*, the justification of God’s ways to humankind, and our duty to respond actively in the social world. The essay has also the merit of being lively, yet without invective or sarcasm; it is earnest without being wearisome. Nightingale evidently began the work in 1851-52, or before the Crimean War and her fame, and went back to it some time after the publication of the second edition of *Physique sociale* in 1869. She only finished it on Quetelet’s death in 1874 or, possibly, she returned to the work only on his death.

The underlined passages translated summaries and brief comments on *Physique sociale* are here now fleshed out and well worked over. The technical material on probability is ignored, although Quetelet’s *mean man* conceptualization still receives comment. What were mere hints at different treatment from Quetelet’s have now become clear expressions of Nightingale’s position on the point in question. Where Quetelet observed that official statistics on pauperism were misleading, Nightingale gave details, using British data. Where Quetelet gave the example of foundling hospitals resulting in increased numbers of abandoned children, Nightingale added observations based on Irish and French sources.

Quetelet’s statements on the unintended consequences of foundling hospitals were certainly precise: far from preventing infanticide they added to infant mortality. Mortality rates were higher in such institutions than at home in the poorest families; indeed they could be higher even than in epidemics and war. By the marginal comments (above) Nightingale was prepared to call this mortality “murder.” In the essay she brought together these various points into a succinct assertion: “The foundling hospital is the parent of immorality” (see p 41 below). In the marginal annotations she called putting children out to nurse *infanticide*. She repeated the charge in the essay, adding the macabre observation of a doctor that a woman who wanted to get rid of her child could simply put it out to a wet nurse, “more safely and agreeably to herself” than infanticide (see p 43 below).

To the discussion of the unintended consequences of founding hospitals Nightingale added a similar point on the unintended consequences of relief (either by Poor Law or by private almsgiving), hence making *two* laws on social policy. In both cases she stressed that a finding that current practices were harmful did not mean that *nothing* should be done (the *laissez-faire* response), instead arguing for effective ways of giving assistance. These points are made also in her essay "The New Moral World," written March 1872 and published in *Theology* (3:158-62).

Quetelet argued at length that the determination of laws implied no fatalism but indeed gave people the means to act. This was strongly put in *Physique sociale* but Nightingale's treatment of the same point is stronger yet. She used Quetelet's language, but went further with the statement that "mankind must create mankind." Nightingale was also more precise than her mentor in stipulating an *exact* understanding of the condition of society as necessary for successful intervention.

Nightingale went much further than Quetelet, too, on the usefulness of social physics. Where he merely observed its omission from higher education she, in the marginal annotations, urged its inclusion. In the essay here she urged its incorporation into both schools and universities and indeed broad application: "Oh that this all-important science might become part of university education! Let us make it a subject of study in our schools and universities, and then apply the laws it discovers." Later, in 1891, she would attempt to get social physics into the curriculum at Oxford University.

Where Nightingale went further than Quetelet she was not always right. One could query her confidence in the applicability of knowledge gained, notably in the example of the sex determination of children. The observations showed only weak tendencies for one sex to be born rather than the other, by age of parents, urban/rural residence and legitimate or illegitimate union of the parents. Yet Nightingale boldly declared that "the births of one over the other sex can be regulated almost at our pleasure" (see p 55 below).

Apart from drawing on Quetelet's writing, Nightingale incorporated observations from her own repertoire of classical, monastic, Enlightenment and contemporary writers, including fiction. Quetelet was an eminent scientist who had studied sculpture before mathematics and astronomy, a cultivated man but without the breadth of sources of Nightingale. Thus she used her material on medieval

monasticism: Augustine Baker's citation of Guevara's¹² *Sancta Sophia*, the Greek classics, Plato and the Peloponnesian wars, the German poets Goethe (noting his Mephistopheles) and Schiller, George Sand and J.S. Mill. She added material on the economic rehabilitation of Italy (Nightingale continued to take an interest in her country of birth) and water quality in India.

Nightingale appreciated Quetelet's public health language and examples. She highlighted his discussion of the "legislator's noble mission" and his question: "Am I a fatalist because I recognize that the air which you make me breathe does me harm, oppresses me, kills me?" He/she called for *purer* air: "Modify the circumstances amid which I am forced to live and you will give me new life" (see p 58 below). In discussing population she added material reported in the *Times* on the French census to show the effects of the Franco-Prussian war.

There are Nightingale jokes, for example that we do not know the laws of social nature—should we advertise for them? (see p 41 below). The rewards offered for finding a criminal might be better used to promote the discovery of how someone becomes a criminal. These suggestions were followed by a serious rationale, on turning *original evil* into *original goodness* (see p 41 below). Discussing the regularity of statistics, Nightingale joked that marriage statistics showed greater regularity than Italians in paying their taxes (1:277) (see p 62 below).

Physique sociale is a long and unwieldy two-volume work, with copious statistical detail and some repetition. Nightingale in her essay honed in on a few key points. She mined the material for gems, cleaned and polished them and set them to best advantage. From Quetelet's massive coverage of social data she selected marriage and murder, setting them in interesting juxtaposition to make a point about regularities in law and predictability. Comte liked Martineau's translation/condensation of his massive *Cours de philosophie positive* so much that he had it retranslated and published in French. Might Quetelet not have appreciated Nightingale's abridgement of his *Physique sociale*?

Some points in the essay are pure Nightingale, with no known tie to Quetelet. It seems that she could not write a paper without discussing oppression in the family. There are now few exact quotations but points noted in the marginal annotations have now been reworked.

12 Antonio de Guevara (1400-1545), bishop.

The essay was left unfinished, ending with notes presumably indicating further sections to be written up. It is preceded by a brief note on Quetelet's death that suggests that Nightingale might have hoped that William Farr, her colleague at the Registrar-General's office, then Britain's most eminent statistician, would do further work on Quetelet and publish it.

With the final draft in the British Library manuscript there are several short, evidently earlier drafts. The material which made it into the final draft is simply omitted here, but about ten folios of draft notes left out of the final version are reported after it. Some of this material simply goes a little further in elucidating Nightingale's views, notably on the family and "holy families," and the type towards which we are moving (see p 67 below). A few points likely reflect ideas she was thinking about but rejected, or was less sure of, notably on the criminal as a "pioneer" (see p 65 below).

Source: Note to William Farr, ADD Mss 43400 ff276-77

23 February 1874

Quetelet: I cannot say how the death of our old friend touches me, the founder of the most important science in the whole world, for upon it depends the practical application of every other and of every art, the one science essential to all political and social administration, all education and organization based on experience, for it only gives exact results of our experience. He did not live to see it perceptibly influence, in any practical manner, statesmanship—of which there is none without it—or government, though it must be otherwise all guesswork, or as the Germans would say, *intuition*. Nor at all to influence education in which it holds no place. He did not live to prepare that second edition (for Oxford) I so pressed him for. And I have not answered his last letters, nor thanked him for his last pamphlet [illeg].

Some months ago I prepared the first sketch of an essay I meant to publish and dedicate to him on the application of his discoveries to explaining the plan of God, in teaching us by these results the laws by which our moral progress is to be attained, or rather explaining the road we must take if we are to discover the laws of God's government of His moral world. I had pleased myself with thinking that this would please him. But painful and indispensable business had so pressed upon me as to prevent the finishing of my paper. Now it is too late for him, or if done at all it will be only a pale In Memoriam. And business is more painful and pressing than ever to prevent even this.

Dr Farr, who has so worthily worked out some of the most important results of the master science, should as worthily give the world some inspiring account of our great Quetelet.

God governs by His laws, but so do we, when we have discovered them. If it were otherwise we could not learn from the past for the future.

Source: Draft essay, "In Memoriam," ADD Mss 45842 ff142-99, and see an earlier, shorter draft in ff84-117

21 February 1874

A portion of this essay was written in 1851-52. Quetelet's great discoveries published in his 1869 edition have disinterred the manuscript, renewed the search and given materials for continuing it.

The only fitting memorial to Quetelet [would be] to introduce his science in the studies of Oxford, the science of which he was the discoverer, upon which alone social and political philosophy can be founded, which as he said himself ought by no means to be limited to the administrative or legislative domain but should be the interpreter of all *theodikè*, all the divine government and its laws embracing the smallest and most accidental to the greatest and most universal actions and phenomena of our moral and physical life. . . .

[trans. from French] "Man, even without thinking of it, instinctively follows *the laws* which are prescribed *and which he executes* without a doubt with the greatest regularity." He was the creator of a new science in which observation and calculation are allied to bring out *the immutable laws* which govern phenomena *apparently the most accidental* of our physical life *to our least actions*.

[English resumes] This essay has been written under the pressure of continued illness and pressing incessant business of many kinds. I say this not as an excuse for its many faults, which might have been a reason for not publishing it at all, but in order that the idea may not be prejudged against owing to the failure of the execution. To me materials, time, strength, power and ability are wanting. Let anyone work out this worldwide idea, not original with me, and he will find in it the germ of a vast reform to be made in the world's morality, not by confessing and bewailing our *desperate wickedness* but by practically growing the new moral world out of the discovery of what the laws are.

How will "original sin" be exchanged for "original" goodness? By discovering all the *laws*, God's thoughts, which register—we will not say subject—man's actions in the plans of God's moral government (His *theodike*). These are the details of His "vast scheme of universal order." For it is not understood that human actions are not subordinate, but reducible to general laws, that man is, not submitting to but registering these laws, "co-ordinated" as the great master of this discovery, Quetelet, whose loss we now mourn, says "with such wisdom that they even escape our attention."

Of these at present we know hardly any. Our object in life is to ascertain, not that we are ignorant of these moral and divine "laws," but *what they are*. Shall we "advertise" for them? The £200 which we see offered for the discovery of a criminal might well be multiplied by itself, and itself a thousand times, even for mere economy, if we could thereby promote the discovery of how he was made a criminal, if we could thereby catch but the tail of one of these laws, for thereon hang all our hopes of turning "original" evil into "original" good. But if we work without the knowledge of these laws the best philanthropist of us all knows not but what he is doing harm instead of good.

Take two or three examples of this, examples at once of laws almost wholly unsuspected till within the last generation, and of untold mischief, done for centuries by legions of the greatest and best men and women, teaching and practising the reverse as the law of God.

1. The foundling hospital is the parent of immorality (1:380-85);
2. Indiscriminate dole-giving, from private or from public purse, is the parent of pauperism.

Here are two very distinct *laws*. Let us make the passing remark that the converse is not, as seems often supposed, also true: if we do not give to the vagrant he will not therefore find work. The suppression of the foundling hospital will not suppress immorality, nor will some poor little offspring of immorality not die which might have been saved by a foundling hospital. All that the first means is that but for foundling hospitals so many illegitimate children will not be deserted, perhaps will not be born, that foundling hospitals produce foundlings, produce, that is, an "enormous increase in the number of exposed illegitimate children," and that to render it easy to abandon a child safely and secretly is to demoralize.

The second means that almsgiving, un"charitable," not "charitable," and Poor-Law relieving, distributions of doles by Poor Law or by individual, without system, inquiry or discrimination, without, above

all, any plan for thereby setting the recipients on the way to maintaining themselves, or without practical judgment how to accomplish this, directly produces “idle and miserable” people, as well as maintains them at others’ expense, directly diminishes industry, frugality, self-reliance. (This is not to say that we are to exercise no “charity.” It is the reverse: our “charity” is to do good and not harm.)

These two “laws” are more than proved by—they are the actual result or *register* of—facts and numbers. “Facts are chiefls that downa ding [cannot be refuted].” The discovery of these two laws has revolutionized, or is in process of revolutionizing, a whole department of social or moral economy, showing how essential it is, how it is indeed the “one thing needful”¹³ for us to know God’s laws or thoughts, if we are to do any good, if even we are not to do immense harm, showing too how the discovery of “law,” or rather of *what* these moral divine laws are, will make all the difference between the new and the old moral worlds.

For example, people say that “the great moral” laws are “well known.” But in *our* day already a whole revolution has taken place in the meaning of one “moral” law: charity. It did mean *giving* to beggars. There is danger lest it should come to mean *refusing* beggars. For people are always tumbling over the horse the other side. For the greater part of two score centuries [4000 years] we have been *making* paupers, idle and miserable people, often from the highest religious motives, by our “charity.” We have been manufacturing vice and illegitimate children by our care for the poor little illegitimate ones. We have been also killing them as well as making them. (Note Sir James Simpson¹⁴ mentioned that, in the old Dublin Foundling Hospital of the last century, only some 135 lived out of 12,000 infants admitted.)

But this paper is not now to enter into the frightful death statistics, especially in France, of the poor children of the state, whether in the good sisters’ *crèches* or “farmed out” to nurse [wet nurse], whether legitimate or illegitimate infants (1:385). It will only give these conclusions now. Not only are foundlings always more numerous where there are foundling hospitals, but foundling hospitals increase the mortality of foundlings. The mortality of foundling hospitals is quite out of all proportion to that of the poorest homes, and not only is infanticide hardly prevented by foundling hospitals, but foundling hospitals destroy a much greater number of children than infanticide.

13 An allusion to Luke 10:42.

14 Sir James Simpson (1811-70), professor of midwifery, Edinburgh University.

The establishment of a tour [a foundling institution] in a (foreign) town produces foundlings, that is, exposed infants. Suppress it: infants are no longer exposed.

But there is another species of infanticide, the deaths of children put out to nurse (1:385). In 1867 an eminent French physician cites a district where there are women *always* receiving nurse-children and *never* returning them to their parents. This is his own expression. He says that he cannot conceive how any woman can be “such a fool as to commit infanticide when she can destroy her child so much more safely and agreeably to herself by putting it out to nurse.” This somewhat brutal manner of giving the truth may be some day illustrated in detail. It *is* infanticide putting children out to nurse in this way. At present the object of this paper is rather to obtain principles than to stop at details.

To us, considering these facts, if considering these alone, would it not appear how dreadful a “waste” by evil is here? How can we account for it but by supposing that there is a kingdom of evil: a devil—not a perfect God—tormenting all these wretched little innocents, who certainly could not help themselves being born into this state? Yet if we do but once discover, understand and apply these laws, all this evil may be transmuted into good. Is not here something like a law? Large union schools do not, however good, foster habits of independence and frugality, de-pauperize pauper children or fit them to make their own way in afterlife with the struggles of honest men and women, but rather to return upon the “rates,” or what is worse. “Boarding out” in picked industrious families does fit pauper children to re-enter the ranks of independence. Does not this lead us to the tail of a “law” about “family”?

Where the “family” develops good and active qualities of mind, heart and soul, independence, industry, foresight and self-reliance of man and woman, affection and self-denial in each and every member, the “family” is doing its work; it is answering its end. But where it crushes these qualities, where it enervates, where it checks the right development and use of every faculty in any one member, it is not a family; it is a thumbscrew, a Procrustes’ bed, an instrument either of torture or of deterioration, a disabilities office. Does not this seem like a truism? Yet, truism or no, is there any truth so little understood or acted on, even by the wisest? Were it acted on would it not almost by itself transform the world in an educational sense? (This paper merely touches on so vast a subject, to return to it perhaps some day.)

Note [that] Dr Jarvis,¹⁵ of the United States, justly remarks of children's nurses in general that, while no one employs a dressmaker without inquiring whether she can make dresses, no such inquiry is made before a children's nurse is employed, whether she can nurse children, understanding their constitutions and how to manage them, though "the most difficult task undertaken by man" (and woman) "is the creation and development of life."

What is meant by a "perfect God"? "Are you prepared to maintain," writes one [Benjamin Jowett], "that He governs the world with the least pain possible consistently with His purposes of educating mankind?" Certainly He would not be a perfect God who did otherwise. Only, would you put it as if God were a rival doctor, curing our diseases "with the least pain possible," or, as Antonio de Guevara in the sixteenth century expresses it: "God and the devil are like rival merchants, both trafficking in the same goods, namely, the souls and hearts of men." (Quoted with approbation by Augustine Baker, a Benedictine who died in 1634, in his noble work, *Sancta Sophia*.)

Does not the discovery of law raise us to the idea of a higher God than that of a "rival merchant"?, law leading each and every one of us through an infinite progress according to His plan. Surely it were a better definition of the "perfection" of His government to say *if everything to the least little circumstance were not exactly as it is*, mankind would not be *on their way to perfection*. If anything, any law, were in the least possible degree other than it is, mankind and every individual of mankind would not be on the road to progress.

This is the kingdom of law which, if rightly known and acted upon, would become the kingdom of heaven. The appearances of a dreadful "waste" by evil, evil working out no apparent good, are overwhelming, it is true. But whenever we do find out the "law" and set our hands to the plough,¹⁶ the transformation of evil into good is as striking and often as rapid and complete as the growth of "original" evil. Practical work to show how, when you do a thing right, all the results come right, which all went wrong when you did something else, how sequences, foreseen and unforeseen, come right, is not this the best guidepost at present perhaps to point towards a perfect God who is working out perfection in us and by us? For example, you made pauperism; you can make independence. We know out of what a school all came back to

15 Dr Edward Jarvis (1803-84), president, American Statistical Association.

16 An allusion to Luke 9:62.

the workhouse; we know out of what a school all go on to honest bread-winning. We seem to see, without being able to assert it, that the evil is to exist just so long and so much as is necessary to rouse us to find out the laws by which to change it all into good.

These ideas are as old as the hills; they existed even previous to Christianity. Does not Plato¹⁷ say there is no kingdom of *evil* in this world? It is the *truth*, in erroneous religions, doctrines, systems, which prevails, not the error. O brave Plato! But the discovery of law is new, almost of our generation. Is it not obvious that, if these laws exist at all, we *can* only work so as to do anything in accordance with these laws? Also that the "one thing needful" is to discover what they are?

For example, we have now the most exact numbers of how many thefts there will be *per annum*, *always presupposing* the present social state to continue, at precisely what ages these thefts will be committed, how many of the thieves will be able to read and write, how many to read only and how many neither to read nor write. Our master Quetelet justly points out that people often confuse moral and mental education with learning to read and write, that simply learning to read and write does not in itself appear to have such an effect in diminishing crime as is commonly supposed. Often it only puts a new instrument into the criminal's hands, that far too much stress has been laid on this one circumstance of reading and writing (2:411). There is also a most curious speculation as to how far education not diminishes crime but only increases the probability of a criminal *getting off*, that is, of his not being committed or not being convicted, so much so that Quetelet gives us a *table* of what are our superior advantages for not being convicted. Among these are:

- to have a superior education,
- to be a woman,
- to be more than thirty years old, etc.

So that is it not possible that *education* prevents less the crime than the conviction? So as to suicide; we have the same exact data by which we can prophesy exactly how many will kill themselves every year, supposing always the same state of society to continue, and even by what instruments and at what hours of the twenty-four.

These things make our hair stand on end, as if we were predestined by some horrid fate to suicide or crime. But ought they not rather to show us the arms put by perfect Wisdom and Goodness into our

17 Plato (427-347 BCE), Greek idealist philosopher.

hands with which to shape our own fate and that of others? If society—all resides in that *if*—is in such and such a condition, it brings forth *regularly*, quite regularly, with far more regularity than the earth brings forth her crops, exactly such and such an amount of crime.

It is the same also with, for example, accidents in the streets, the last thing from its very name of “accident,” in which we should expect regularity to appear. How can we tell whether a foolish woman will make a dart across the street, just as an ill-driven cab is tearing round the corner? Yet our friend the Registrar-General will tell us exactly the number of accidents that will happen next quarter; nay, were the number not made upon the last days of the quarter, we await (not with coolness, let us hope) the inexorable law or fate which, always supposing the state of society not to be changed, always fills up its quota.

So as to marriages: we should have thought that these would, more than anything else, register only fancies and uncontrollable, only feelings, unamenable to anything like the regularity of law, of men and women (1:261). But, nevertheless, these may be calculated with even greater regularity than deaths. Though a man marries but does not die “to please himself,” yet of these two classes of events, that which may be calculated with the greatest exactness is that which depends most entirely on our own will and pleasure. The numbers who will marry and their different ages may be prophesied for next year with exact precision, yes, even those marriages which appear to be the result of eccentric caprice, such as those of women above sixty years of age with men under thirty (1:277).

Marriage and murder, the first apparently depending on the feelings, the second on the passions, of mankind more than any other actions, and even the instruments with which murders will be committed may be calculated for years to come with more exactness than any other actions. They take place year by year with perfect regularity. (See the whole stated by the great discoverer, Quetelet, in his *Physique sociale* edition of 1869.)

Let us glance as we pass at what is perhaps the most extraordinary feature of the whole subject, and which stamps it with the precision, force and truth of “law,” namely, that the series *observed* and the series *calculated* beforehand, in all cases approximate so closely as to remind us of Newton¹⁸ and his observation of the apple falling, his *calculation* of the path of the moon and his agitation so great when on the eve of

18 Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727), discoverer of the “laws of motion.”

discovery whether the second would confirm the law indicated by the first, that he was obliged to call in someone to finish his calculation. So Quetelet calculates his curve or his formula and observes his facts. The facts tally (approximately) with the formula. And this as regards not only the dimensions but the actions of man.

Take the dimensions: there is a human type which Quetelet calls his "mean man." A preponderating number of this "mean man" exists. He, the "mean man," is a little under 5 ft. 8 inches in height—the numbers of shorter and taller men diminish regularly, down to 5 ft. and under, and up to 6 ft. 4 inches and over, according to a regular curve representing the variations from the race type—the individuals thus varying being "required in less and less proportion as they depart in excess or defect from the central type" (1:131). Suppose, as Plato would prescribe, we had made away with all the dwarfs and giants, we could not have done it with impunity.¹⁹ For our chief justice could tell us by the "formula" how many there had been of each size, and how many we had spirited away, and this in one millionth of the time it took him to decide the case whether Roger Tichborne²⁰ was there or had ever been there or not. Human heights, then, so far from being accidental, register laws the most exact, *calculable* beforehand to a regular curve and *observable* to tally with this curve.

So with human weights, human strength, quickness, etc. So, Quetelet believes, but had not fully worked out the problem, with intellectual and moral qualities. This, as he says, is one of the most admirable laws of creation. All is under God; nothing is accidental. The observed facts of nature are reduced to numerical calculation, as Tylor remarks. This is a law: a law does not "govern" or "subordinate," does not compel people to commit crime or suicide. On the contrary, it puts means into our hands to prevent them, if we did but observe and use these means. It simply reduces to calculation observed facts. This is all that a law means.

These laws or results change, of course, with the causes which give them birth, for example, civilization, sanitary and moral, changes the law of mortality by diminishing the death rate. So it is with the law of morality. The causes influencing the social system are to be recognized and modified. From the past we may predict the future. Let us

19 In the *Republic* Plato decreed the death by exposure of deformed infants. See Nightingale's condemnation of this pp 609-13 below.

20 A legal case of a man (or his impostor) who disappeared in Australia, to reappear years later to claim a fortune.

no longer act empirically in our legislation, in our philanthropy, in our government, but let us study and learn these laws. O that this all-important science might become part of university education! Let us make it a subject of study in our schools and universities, and then apply the laws it discovers to us in our political and social institutions (1:267).

To do this we must be able to appreciate with exactness the first clause, the condition of society of which these observed facts are the product. We come now to THE practical point in these laws: the first clause is rarely stated with precision. *What* is the social state which produces these fruits? The “law” is: given such and such a state of society there will be such and such an amount of crime, of accidents, of letters posted without an address, of marriages, normal and abnormal, etc. The *second* clause, the numbers and relations of crimes, of accidents, of unaddressed letters, of marriages and at what ages, is given us with the utmost possible exactitude, to a fraction, in fact.

So far back as 1848 [in *Système social*] Quetelet said that one would think that it had been determined by legal enactment how many marriages exactly should take place at each different age of the contracting parties, so great is the regularity (1:274). Were the figure fixed beforehand, the infractions to the rule could not be fewer. The “figure” is fixed beforehand, by the condition of society, by religious and social institutions, by the state of government and legislation. This is only to say that the wills or inclinations of men and women *will* be the same, the same causes acting. It is only to say that the series of general facts by which society exists register invariable laws, great social, political and scientific causes, when they change, change the series of facts or results. These causes proceed from men, but are not generally, or at least are only indirectly in general, influenced by the will of an individual. These causes are the “first clause.”

To return, the first clause, *what* the social condition is which produces a harvest, is not often exactly stated. If we definitely ask the question we are told *this*. *This* is the social state which, being given, the second clause follows. “*This*” is, however, just what we have to find out exactly. These numbers are fixed as long as national laws and customs and individual circumstances remain the same. Many of these circumstances cannot be altered by persons; they can only be altered by nations and governments. How great the importance then of statesmen studying these laws, Parliaments or powers which can gradually change those conditions of society of which these laws are the product.

Of these "powers" one undoubtedly in this day is the press. *Is* it, as Plato would say—only he calls the press by the name of "sophists"—is it only the "representative" of this world's influences, of party, of society? It is not the "corruptor" of the world/society, but is it the leader of public opinion? Or does it only tell us what men say? Does it only "give back to the world their own opinions?," "make public opinion the test of truth"? (*Republic*).

To return to the question whether these laws are immutable, or only unchanged as long as their causes remain unchanged in the condition of society: again and again Quetelet warns us to remember that, as we do not look in tables of mortality, or if we look we do not find, at what age A or B is to die, so tables of crime do not determine that A or B will commit murder, theft or suicide. *That* depends upon individual circumstances. These you can order or change for some As and Bs, so that you justly say you can "answer for" A or B "as for yourself," that he will never be found in the criminal's ranks. No one seriously disbelieves that the condition of society can be altered in like manner. It is only for society to will it. But society can only alter society. Mankind must create mankind, that is, government, legislation, institutions, churches, must bear a part in it.

That individual characters are so largely influenced by circumstances is however a proof, if one were needed, that the national character may be so too, in other words that there is no fatality in these laws. The question is the more important: *what* are the circumstances of the social state of which these crimes or accidents are the product? Have we not to find out? Are we not blind to our social state? Do not we judge, each from our own very small circle? Do not we give contradictory judgments? We distinguish so little between what is factitious and what is essential. We sometimes appear to know more about the social state of Rome or Athens some centuries before Christ than of the state of London in 1874. Do we not estimate almost as little relative importance of causes as Charles X when he considered the Revolution of 1830 due to kings having relaxed the etiquette of chamberlains approaching on their knees?

Still, may not the very existence of all these statistical inquiries, of this prevailing interest about *law*, assure us that we are on our way to an exact estimate of the *first* clause of these our "laws," namely, *if* such and such continue to be the antecedent circumstances, there *is*, already counted out in the figures, such and such a number of thefts, murders, suicides, foundlings or pauper children, etc., for future as

for past years. *What are* those antecedent circumstances? May not a prophetic consciousness of a new power for man's progress, a new guide in action, be found in these laws?

A method of science cannot anticipate science. But even the method of the *moral* sciences we scarcely have yet. Quetelet has discovered something (something of a method and something of facts) capable of inexhaustible application: a true conception and a certain inkling of facts. He is always on his guard against confounding probability with truth (1:137). He views truth as a matter of fact, and a matter of principle too resting on facts; he views truth as dealing with facts and also with ideas. He regards the sciences only in relation to the idea of good. *Have* the wonders performed by mechanical science increased our real good?

He approaches nearly to Plato's highest ideal of a philosopher. The "inspiring vision," the true ideal in the future, is that of perfection. Our guide in action is to be found in the conception, really worked out to discovery, of a divine Perfect, a perfect God working out perfection for *all*. This indeed is an "insufficient interpreter of the appearances of the world." It is not only this: the "appearances of the world" are often just the reverse. Nay, what is more, the "appearances" of evil, the *conviction* of the extreme extent and depth of evil—it is actually this which is so great that it must lead us to look for the *perfect* plan. And this is to be found indicated in such inquiries as these.

"These laws are so wisely co-ordinated that they even escape our attention" (1:278), for they act and react on one another throughout God's moral, social and physical worlds. We can scarcely say where one ends and the other begins, or which belongs to the physiological world, which to the moral world and which to political economy.

As an instance take the very common one that, if two sets of Frenchmen, the one of ages between twenty-one and twenty-five and the other of ages between thirty-five and forty, are placed in positions apparently equally favourable for theft, the propensity for thieving in the younger men is as five to three to that of the elder. (Note on making the thief pay his way out of prison.) This moral comparison appears to vary less from year to year, that is, within narrower limits than do purely physical comparisons of strength measured by the dynamometer from day to day.

When shall we come to registers of virtues and not of crimes/vices—ideals and not failures? When will the day come when we shall

register not crimes and drunkenness as we do now but virtues and great deeds of heroism and endurance, of self-sacrifice, love, trust and faith? Now we judge of people by the fault in them instead of by the ideal or perfection in them. Now and then, when for example the *Birkenhead* goes down and the men "obedient unto death"²¹ stand cool "as on parade" in the sinking vessel, not to endanger the lives of the women and children,²² we see that there may arise a state of society if but for an hour in which we may say: here are 400 heroes, as we ordinarily say: here are 400 drunkards. At Thermopylae there were 300 martyrs to the love of country and they live in history.²³ But the excitement to heroism was nothing in the case of the *Birkenhead* to what it was in the inspiring struggle of Leonidas. Obscurely those 400 martyrs to duty went down to death among the sharks, so far as they knew never to be heard of more.

Shall we say that the day of the purest self-sacrifice is past? Shall we not rather try to bring about the day and the state of society when high thoughts and deeds are substituted as an order of things for meanness and selfishness? Roughly speaking, man, or what he chooses to call his "free will," is the effect of the causes of his social system. Modify the causes and you modify the man, "free will" and all. *Then* shall we come to registers of virtues and not of crimes, of ideals and not of failures?

In conversation we distinguish people now by their faults, not by their virtues. Yet more perhaps do parents and conscientious educators in conversation about their children and young people distinguish generally those whom they are discussing by their defect from a standard, rarely by their coming up to it, never perhaps by their surpassing it. Rarely in speaking of them do they speak as of a high ideal, distinct in each, a different character of virtue which has to be trained or developed out of each. We rarely even ask, What is the ideal, the type in God's mind, for each? The type of the camel we know what that is, where he will prosper, where he will decline. But the type of man, what is it? With grown-up people it is a thing understood that

21 An allusion to Phil 2:8.

22 A famous shipwreck in 1852 and the first use of "women and children first" into the lifeboats. The troopship *Birkenhead*, en route to the Cape, went down in twenty minutes; 445 of the 638 persons on board died; all the women and children were saved.

23 The Spartan leader, Leonidas, sacrificed his life and that of 300 soldiers to the Persians, letting the rest of the army escape and later defeat them.

they are *not* to improve. No one thinks of asking whether Mr A or Mrs B is nearer to any ideal or type he or she may be pursuing. Because they are not pursuing any.

Yet Goethe²⁴ said of Schiller²⁵ that if he had been away from him for a week, he scarcely knew Schiller again; he had made such progress. Some of the most remarkable developments known have been made after middle age: Michelangelo,²⁶ Rousseau,²⁷ Sir Robert Peel,²⁸ [Pauline Viardot] Wilkie,²⁹ George Sand,³⁰ some great singers and actors. These were all people who were pursuing a type or ideal, tending towards it through experience. In general, the plan of the world is to do what is usual; the plan of God, the type in each individual to be educated or brought out of each boy or girl is not thought about at all.

There is indeed one remarkable exception, that of James Mill in educating his eldest son, John Stuart Mill.³¹ It seems, nevertheless, to have been rather the type in his own mind than the individuality of his son's which he was pursuing, but it still remains the most striking instance we know of a man unintermittingly, vigorously, successfully carrying out a distinct type in his own mind of a positive, not negative, education. The son "came direct out of his father's brain."

In general the vague talk of fathers and mothers, tutors and governesses, about children's faults, is disheartening and useless to the last degree. It would seem as if faults were the only element. It is like the conversation of a hospital about diseases. Some kind of disease seems the normal state of man to a hospital staff, so faults are the only thing they can see. One knows parents whose whole conversation for

24 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), German dramatist.

25 Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805), German poet.

26 Michelangelo (1475-1564), Italian painter, sculptor and architect, who began his great Last Judgment wall of the Sistine Chapel at age sixty-two.

27 Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-78), French political philosopher, whose *Confessions*, notably, were a late work.

28 Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850), 2nd baronet, who first became prime minister at age forty-six, who early opposed the Great Reform Act and resisted repeal of the Corn Laws, but later became more progressive, brought in repeal and at the end of his life was a hardworking member of Great Exhibition.

29 Pauline Viardot Wilkie (1821-1910), professor of music and composer after a long career as a singer.

30 George Sand (1804-76), French novelist, who published significant work in her fifties and sixties.

31 James Mill's rigorous regime is described in J.S. Mill's *Autobiography*.

ten or twenty years has been about their children's faults. It is true that our popular theology that man is "desperately wicked" bears them out in this. Indeed so do the world's statistics at present. No wonder that conversation is about people's faults and not about their virtues. But if we could come to having tabular statistics of the acts of heroism, public virtue, industry, frugality, temperance, etc., instead of having tabular statistics of crime and drunkenness, what a change that would be!

To return to our subject, namely, the connection of material conditions and moral actions or, in other words, that the laws of the material world, the laws of the moral world, the political world, the action of government, the economic world, or the conditions of trade, commerce, manufacture, agriculture, act and react on each other.

Idiocy is the result of deficient intelligence, madness of overexcited intelligence, idiocy of material influences, madness of social influences, idiocy of mountains or rather valleys: the dark unaired sides of deep valleys breed idiots (2:184). There seems to be a relation between the increase of civilization and the increase of madness and also of suicide, but again drunkenness breeds madness. (We are speaking of course quite generally, not writing a treatise on the brain but merely illustrating our subject.) Again there is the influence of seasons on madness and also of suicide, and the influence of age on all forms of mental alienation, childhood being the age most subject to imbecility, youth to mania; melancholy belongs to a riper age and dementia to the eldest age. All this seems readily to be accounted for. The ages at which imagination and reason are most productive are the ages at which madness too is most prevalent and most inveterate. When comes the age at which in men the body's growth stops, the mind's growth and also, alas! the growth of madness is more active. *Here* is also the maximum of crime (2:189).

The proportion of suicides does not change directly with political changes. This we should expect, but it develops with intelligence and madness (2:232-48). It varies with the hours of the day. In the civil relation it is the married woman and the single man who are most inclined to suicide. Among men and women living in unmarried union the woman is three times more given to suicide than the man. The influence of social organization on suicide is quite regular. Tables of suicide according to age, according to sex and even, as is well known, with the instruments of death which the poor wretch will use, and these again varying according to sex (for example, men prefer

hanging, women drowning) may be constructed for future years—always supposing the social organization not to change—with the same exactness as tables of mortality. That is to say, the present year reproduces the figures of the last, and the next year will reproduce the figures of the present year. In other words, these results are not accidental but their law, which however can be modified by modifying the causes, is ascertainable and registrable to a fraction.

In this regularity and certainty, which makes our hair stand on end, lies in fact our best, our only hope for the future. For were the results not certain, how could we foresee them? How could we modify, change them? We merely glance at these curious relations and leave them there. They must fructify in other minds than ours.

Take a large case now passing before our eyes, that of southern Italy, where the moral and material worlds have been most strikingly acting and reacting on each other. (For a most interesting account of the Abruzzi and of Torlonia's Marsh Transformed see *Times* correspondent.) There *was* misgovernment, civil and religious, most glaring, there *were* "priests and despots" in the moral world and in the physical, as naturally follows brambles instead of corn, marshes and malaria instead of cultivation, of health and plenty. With Italian priests and mendicant monks go brigands and banditti, lazy peasants and the picture is complete. There *are* now laws and freedom and security and the banditti/brigands are put down. Some months ago, for fear of these, no man could stir 500 yards outside the walls of his county town by night, or even by day, to go to his work. The cultivators could only live in towns; cultivation almost ceased. The road and rail are now beginning. So is the schoolmaster. So therefore are cultivation, draining of marshes, employment of capital and of intelligence, intercourse between the peasantry and the land soon, we may hope, to become resident. Who shall say that we cannot cultivate and make man as we cultivate and make land?

Influence of men over mortality tables, or laws of nature—how tables of mortality can be modified none knows better than we English: Calcutta water supply, India, Army, princes: individual self-will goes so little to alter things. It is the nation he represents that lets man do what he does. What are the conditions for a thriving agriculture? Security for the inhabitants of isolated dwellings, easy distance between the labourer's house and his work, good healthy houses, resident and enterprising landlords, employing capital, intelligence and personal intercourse among their cultivators, cheap means of communication

with good markets, brought by the road and rail. Within reach the schoolmaster, the printing press and the police, freedom, civil and religious: are not these the requisites for cultivation, which means in some countries more, in others less, in southern Italy almost entirely, the wealth and prosperity of the land? Mankind may create mankind. God has put it into our hands.

Take the other extreme, the lowest step of the ladder: slavery (1:392). It is well known that beetroot sugar may actually carry the day against cane sugar because slave labour cannot be relied upon against free labour, that is, that institution, let us rather say the degeneration of slavery is such that thriving cultivation becomes impossible.³²

The different influences which preside over births—we may be excused for using the astrological phrase—are as interesting as they are mysterious, many of them being as yet unexplained. The influence of hours on births is one instance, for example there are five births during the night to four during the day. It is well known that more boys are born than girls, but also that more boys die at birth and in infancy than girls. This appears to be quite independent of climate, but not of town versus country. In Belgium the preponderance of sons born over daughters appears to have been a little less in towns than in the country. The proportional number of boys born over girls all over Europe is higher in wedlock than in illegitimacy (1:244). In France it would appear as if to agriculturalists, that is, to persons whose employment tends to add to their physical strength, more boys are born; to those who are weakened by their employment, such as the work in factories and trade, more girls; and to persons of mixed employment, the number of boys and girls born is pretty nearly equal.

But the respective ages of the parents tend more than anything else to determine the proportion of male and female births. The more the father is older than the mother the more boys are born to them. When the mother is older than the father, or the same age as the father, then more girls are born than boys. If this be true, the births of one over the other sex can be regulated almost at our pleasure (1:165-70).

The laws of births and population appear then roughly to be thus: the sex will be on the side of the excess of age of the parent, the sex in excess will die in proportion to the difference in age between the parents. Thus in England more boys are born in the country, where men

³² Beetroots for sugar were grown by free labour in Europe, cane sugar by slaves in the West Indies and the American South.

marry later than they do in the towns and are generally older than their wives. So with illegitimate births; the ages of the parents are usually more equal and more girls are born. The relative ages of parents, not so much their age at marriage, are supposed to determine generally the relative number of boys and girls though it appears to have been shown that early marriages produce more daughters. In the English peerage widowers have decidedly more daughters. These are curious particularities which we will not pursue; statistics are as yet wanting to work them out with perfect certainty.

The object of quoting any of these instances here is not curiosity, still less statistical, scientific pursuit, but simply as illustrations of our great proposition that mankind can modify, can reform mankind, can almost create mankind by discovering and applying the laws which register (we will not say govern) the movements of the moral world, and that the laws of the moral and physical existence of men so act and react upon one another that it appears as though their express purpose were thus to put power into man's hands.

Thus the difference of age of parents is the main "regulator," that which chiefly determines the difference between the births of the two sexes and also from this depends in a measure the greater or less proportion of mortality in the children. Note: of course children's deaths are mainly due to sanitary or rather insanitary causes. In a large English town, then deficient in almost every sanitary essential, fifty-three out of every 100 children used to die under five years of age. Why the other forty-seven did not die we hardly know. It would be curious if we were to find that the difference of age in parents had any influence in determining *which* under equally insanitary conditions should live. . . .

Therefore the difference of births between boys and girls varies as this main "regulator" varies, that is, according as the difference in age of parents varies in town or country, in legitimate or illegitimate union. Taking Europe all over, generally men are five or six years older than their wives when they marry. Taking Europe all over, the births of sons over daughters appears to be as 106 to 100 (1:166).

We could scarcely have a more striking illustration of the way in which the laws of the moral and material worlds are made to act and react upon one another, and of the way in which we can act in modifying mankind through these laws when we have discovered them than this, namely, that what seems to be a measure of prudence, that is, a man not marrying till he can afford it and to stand within the sole

domain of political economy, influences sensibly what seems to be a purely physiological law, namely, the proportion of men and women born into the world.

As to the absolute number of children born to each married pair we would only indicate the sort of researches made, as for example too early marriages are without children, or the children die. Above this age marriages, at whatever age under thirty-three in the man and under twenty-six in the woman, tend to have the same number of children, and these are the ages which tend to have the greatest number of children. Where the man is a little older than his wife is the prospect of the greatest number of children. The greatest number of marriages for man or for woman takes place between the ages of twenty-six and thirty, the older age being the maximum for men, the younger for women. There are of course many other influences which sway the increase or decrease of population, such as malaria, which not only increases the death rate but diminishes the birth rate. We cannot too often repeat that we are merely giving indications of laws here, not seeking out the laws themselves, merely showing how complex are the phenomena of these laws, each law being one may say half moral, half material, and apparently expressly so, in order to give *us* dominion over *us*.

Part 2

What then becomes of our free will? When we come to this point up starts the question of "free will" immediately. If, from year to year, we must expect to see the same crimes in the same proportions, punished in the same proportions, the same marriages, the same suicides, the same accidents, etc., can there be any free will? But to say that we must expect to see the same crimes is merely saying, is it not? that the same causes will have the same effects. Is it merely an illustration of *ceteris paribus*? These calculations do not decide what Mr A or Mrs B, what each *individual*, will do. As well might we consult a table of crime, or any other sort of tabular return or estimate, to know what Mr A or Mrs B will *do*.

Here "free will" does come in, making *such* a calculation of our own actions impossible. Or rather we *can* modify the causes, or *some* causes, which influence our own lives and actions or those of some of our nearest and dearest, and in this way modify the results or lives and actions themselves. If this were done on any great scale, by unity in purpose of a great many, and with knowledge and wisdom, we should

of course be able to modify the national life and action. All the actions of man proceed with the greatest regularity. Whether he marry, murder or steal, whether he be born or kill himself, these things seem always determined for him and beyond his power of free will.

Is this fatalism? Not a bit of it. It only shows that the same effects follow the same social causes. "If I took it into my head," says our great discoverer, "to have the pavement taken up before my door, and if next day they came to tell me that several persons had fallen and hurt themselves in the night, am I to be surprised? On the contrary, would not such accidents be quite natural, and would not they recur night after night? For me to pretend that I am no cause of the mischief, that everybody is 'free' to go where he likes and that those who fell ought to have carried a light, would be but bad grace on my part." Now a large part of our moral falls in this social order arise in the same way, and we cannot take too much care to avert the occasions of these falls (2:248).

Here is the legislator's noble mission. By modifying the atmosphere in which we live, he can improve his fellow creature's condition. What, am I a fatalist because I recognize that the air which you make me breathe does me harm, oppresses me, kills me? Let me breathe a purer air. Modify the circumstances amid which I am forced to live and you will give me new life. "So my moral constitution may be strong, yet not capable of always resisting the injurious causes with which you surround me. My moral life is, like my physical life, almost constantly in your hands. Your institutions tolerate or even favour a crowd of snares and dangers, and if I tumble you beat me. Would it not be better to begin filling up the ditch on the edge of which I am obliged to walk, or at least to try and light my way?" (2:248-49).

May we not say that it is a law that, on a good pavement, there will be only so many accidents, on a bad one, so many, on no pavement at all, so many more? No one seriously doubts this; it is almost a truism. We do not take the alarm about our free will or raise a cry that we must take care, not lest we do not mend the pavement but lest we weaken the force of conviction in free will.

But when we come to moral laws we are all agog. Yet, we might say, when we have discovered and acted upon the "laws" which register the connection of physical condition with moral actions, *not* as that we must expect from year to year to see the same crimes, suicides, the same pauperism recurring but under such and such social conditions there will be only so many crimes, under such other, so many more,

under still worse social conditions so many more. The "collective" nation—and here it is fair to appeal to the "collective nation"—is responsible for such and such a degree of evil. Where it is unfair to appeal to the word, "collective" humanity is, is it not?, when it is thought to *substitute* for continuous progress through eternity for each individual, progress of collections of individuals. Cannot the "collective" nation be brought to such knowledge and sense as to be responsible for such and such a degree, an ever-increasing degree, of *good*?

The great "*sensitiveness*" of statistics to "acting causes" is what strikes us rather than the reverse. Quetelet says that the most eloquent pages we can read, if we read them well, are the numerical tables of population. Statistics, that is, statistical facts, answer to the helm, that is, to the modifying cause or spur. We are always blundering, are not we?, as to free will and choice. Man's *will* is *determined* by the "acting causes" of his "social system." Alter these and his will is altered.

Man is born, grows up and dies according to certain laws, of which the whole or the *mutual reactions* have never been studied. The *science of man* gives us only researches on some of these laws, results of single observations, or *theories based on views*. Moral and intellectual man has not been studied in his development. Nor has it been studied how he is influenced by the physical man which impresses its action at each age upon him, nor how the moral and intellectual man impresses *his* action on the physical man. That is, we have not studied these matters by the science of observation, observation of numbers and facts. There is a repugnance to look upon moral phenomena as "subject to" law, *registering* law, it would be more correct to say. Nor is it possible for one man alone to undertake these observations.

Are the actions of moral and intellectual man reducible to laws? That is the question. We appeal to experience. The individual man seems accidental, a "fraction" of the race, but a "fraction" is not accidental: the "fractions" make up the sum. There are no incoherent facts. There is an order in the march of nature. Moral faculties show general laws and immoral ones the same. In crime, as we have seen, the numbers are reproduced with amazing regularity. Even murders, which seem the result of *rows* without motive are yet uniform and regular, year by year even as to the instruments employed. The *prison's budget* is paid with more regularity than the Treasury's. We can number beforehand how many poisonings, how many forgeries, just as we number beforehand births and deaths. In this sense "society prepares; the criminal only executes crime." In every social state, that is, certain

crimes result from its organization. This is no discouragement, but the reverse. Men can be improved by improving their institutions and all that influences their being. Same causes: same effects. Alter the causes. Man can govern by moral laws as he does by physical laws. Mankind can discover the laws and govern by their means. That is to say, that it is not in the intention of God that man, ignorant man, *can* have an eternal or infinite action, at his own caprice. How unjust, were it so! We are always blundering, are not we? God alone sets the limits, that is, the laws.

We act within His laws, under His laws and also *by* His laws. Here may be discovered the perfect plan of the perfect God. God governs by His laws, but so do we, when we have discovered them. If it were otherwise we could not learn from the past for the future. This reaction or reflection of man upon himself is, as Quetelet says, one of his noblest attributes, his finest field of activity. As a member of the social body he is subject to causes, but as a man he is their master. Quetelet dwells on the *necessity*, by which we suppose he means the *regularity reducible to law*, of moral phenomena, but in this “necessity” resides the power of improving the social state which gives rise to these moral or immoral phenomena.

Political science is an inquiry into the precise laws of politics. Nothing has tended so much to stop the development of these sciences as the (so-called) free will theory. But no one seriously denies that the *general* will, so to speak, produces the causes of which the *individual* wills are the effects. And the *general* will can be modified.

Are statistics an art or a science? Quetelet asks. He answers by another question: is botany an art or a science? Botany at first was merely an inventory. Now it is a classification, an anatomy, a physiology (1:101). Statistics *are* not historical or political science. “History is statistics in motion,” says Schlözer³³ of Göttingen. The scientific statistician must deduce and judge as well as compile (1:102). This brings us to our main point.

Part 3

When will the chancellor of the Exchequer give us a budget of crimes and virtues (or the religion of politics)? (Even the word is wanting of *virtue in action*, but there are too many words to express vice in action: sin, crime, a word in every mouth.) What will the difference be

33 August Ludwig von Schlözer (1735-1809), universal historian.

between the new moral world and the old moral world as determined by the discovery of law? In the new moral world to find out the sort of social state which prepares the crime and to modify it so as to prepare the virtue. In the old moral world to have a church, supported by the state, which is to beg for us, to confess our sins for us, that we are desperately wicked, as indeed we are, to absolve us, to say that we won't do it any more, and then to confess again the same afternoon that we have done [so].

Is not the character of God shown to be quite different by these two very different appreciations of Him? And is it not our highest object to study His character in this His moral government? What is His character? Is it that He would have us to beg Him to repent of His purposes? Or is it that He arranges what we call His laws, namely, such and such conditions will have such and such results; such and such improved conditions will bring such and such diminution of crime; such and such increase of moral standard, such and such increase of physical standard, and that He would have us to find out what these equivalents are, what these concurrences or laws, and act upon them?

INFLUENCE OF GOVERNMENTS. As long as national legislation, laws and local circumstances remain the same we can compose mortality tables, matrimonial tables, tables of births, with the most absolute certainty for next year. One would think that legal enactments determined that exactly the same number of marriages should take place at the different ages every year, so great is the regularity even in this matter which seems to depend entirely on human fancy, human passion, human will. Were the figure fixed beforehand by law or regulation, the infractions of the rule could not be fewer (1:273-74). It is fixed by law, but a different kind of law, a law which is never broken. It is this: such a state of society, such will be the product. These numbers are fixed as long as the social and national circumstances remain the same. Individuals cannot alter these except by carrying what is called "public opinion," which makes governments with them. (Even a despotic prince is no exception, for a despot can only do mischief or good inasfar as his nation will let him, 1:108.) Governments can alter these; how great the importance then of governments studying these laws! so as to change that legislation which can change those conditions of society, of which these fixed numbers are the product, of which one may also say the previous legislation was the product. Quetelet gives an instance where the legislative change of the militia age changed the age of marriage.

“Statesmen are the best of missionaries,” said Livingstone.³⁴ Indeed they are.

Whether the same effects will return depends on whether the same causes are permanent. Great as are now social changes, yet in the event which seems to depend most entirely on man’s and woman’s free will, namely, marriage, we find a greater regularity than in the earth’s productions or in physical laws where man’s free will exercises no influence whatever. The same numbers are reproduced from year to year at the same ages. This cannot be the arrangement of chance. The number of men under thirty who marry women over sixty is the same. The young man marrying the sexagenarian is not the subject of fatality or of passion, yet he pays his tax, rates and taxes, to this inexorable Treasury, *this budget*, the budget of the customs and needs of our social organization (1:277). *This* estimate can be drawn up beforehand with more certainty than that with which the chancellor of the Exchequer estimates for the national revenue and expenditure (1:277), as also *these* rates and taxes are paid in more regularly than the nation, Italy especially, pays her government taxes.

Quetelet observes that man, so proud of ruling the world by his free will, submits, unknown to himself, more rigorously than any other created being, to the laws to which he is subject. We would not say “submits” or “subjects,” but “registers.” Man is the register of laws more than any other creature, that is, his actions are reducible to these laws, registrable under these laws (1:278). At once he *is* the register and can *keep* the register, which no other creature can do. This is his safety: he can observe himself registering and so alter himself that the register of himself shall be other than it is.

The influence of civilization, of political and religious institutions, on the moral and physical nature of man is at present little known as an exact science, still less as an art by which to do perfectly that which we now do gropingly and in the dark. We know, it is true, that civilization lengthens life, by sanitary measures, by extending commerce and improving agriculture, by liberalizing institutions. We know vaguely that certain crimes disappear in civilizations, but on the other hand other crimes increase.

We know that some populations increase, others remain stationary, others actually decrease. This appears to coincide with the increase or

34 David Livingstone (1813-73), missionary, doctor and explorer, on whom see more below.

decrease of prosperity. Amsterdam, once the most flourishing city in Europe, lost her commerce, and with it her increasing population. If the average length of life is low, it is a mark of want of prosperity. We know generally that morals, religious and political institutions have their influence on life statistics. The number of stillborn children increases with demoralization, as does the death rate of living children.

The religious institutions of Lent and fasting diminish vitality and the power of reproduction. The religious institution of celibacy diminishes population. Of political institutions, we know that conscription and war, which fall upon the strongest and most valuable part of the population, are causes which enfeeble successive generations.

The population of France has sensibly declined, as we see by the census of 1872, but as the *Times* remarks: "A great war diminishes population by many more than by those who are killed in battle or who die from exposure in the field, nor is it within a few years that its full consequences will disclose themselves. The waste of national resources which it involves is far more grave in its effects even upon population than the destruction which is wrought by the sword of the enemy. In an army, too, which is levied by conscription, each soldier killed is probably a producer lost and the means of national recovery are, of course, diminished by his removal. Admitting all 'the direct losses by war' there are 'the far greater indirect losses, which fall on both sexes indiscriminately or, if any difference is to be made, most heavily on the weakest.' A war contribution over and above that exacted by the enemy will long continue to be due, and the payment of it to the last farthing will be beyond man's power to remit or to avoid. Its signs will be traced not only in a diminished population, but in a thousand other forms less easy to detect. A lower standard of education, health, comfort and of all else which raises life and makes it more desirable, will long be among the disastrous consequences to France of her great war with Germany."

Above all it is governments which dispose of life (1:392). Is it not then the first, the most essential step to have a political science, to raise it, if it is a science at all, into an *exact* science, to determine the actual results of legislative measures and political institutions in figures, not to go on in this blind way, changing laws almost at random, at the caprice of party, but to make that an art which is the most essential of all arts?

We know generally that despotism stops the development of the race. We see in slavery—tyranny in its essence—and we see that slaves

do not multiply, and die in an immensely greater proportion to that in which their masters die (1:392). We know generally that freedom, not the freedom to do as we like, but the freedom to develop *ourselves* without trenching on the rights of others to develop *themselves*, favours industry and individual effort. But with such small precision can we as yet apply these principles that we often bring out a result almost the reverse of what we intended? We cut our pattern so badly that our coat fits no one. We create institutions expressly for our protection; we have calculated so ill that some reproduce the same evils from year to year which they were meant to cure; others show results so blurred that we hardly know whether in remedying one evil we have not created another; others seem to produce exactly the opposite effects to what was expected.

For example, we do not know whether in vaccination we have not, while diminishing the death rate and blind rate of smallpox, introduced other elements which tend to weaken the race. The abolition of smallpox, even were it complete, by vaccination, is by no means a clear gain. Vaccination does not increase population and, at all events, while we have been depending on vaccination and neglecting sanitary measures, we have only left other zymotic [contagious] diseases to reap the harvest which foul air has sown, and fill up the number of the death compellers, formerly occupied by the Jove, smallpox.

[Notes] To come to the influence of benevolent institutions on mortality: Foundling hospitals pp 380-85, p 395. Hospitals. Criminal legislation on crime. Thieves always returning to prison, paupers to the workhouse. To him that hath much shall be given.³⁵ The deterrent does not increase activity. Vagrants won't work because you do not give.

Source: Rejected draft notes for Essay "In Memoriam," ADD Mss 45842 ff106-15

Take for an instance the price of corn. Nothing influences the death rate (and indeed the continuance of the human race) so much as the price of food. It is for legislation to prevent as much as possible the causes which make the price of corn vary so frightfully. Sir Robert Peel repealed the Corn Laws.³⁶

35 An allusion to Matt 13:12.

36 The "Corn Laws" were protective legislation that kept the price of grain high, for the benefit of landowners and farmers, at the expense of high food prices for the mass of the population.

But it would seem that there must be a chancellor of the Exchequer and a "budget" for our crime as well as our finance. He must make estimates for morality (or immorality) as for revenue. The crop of crime will come in with more regularity than taxes, for the annual returns of crime are a result of our social organization, and will not diminish unless the causes be modified. Will not the House of Commons search out these causes and the ministerial and opposition benches agree to make them disappear as soon as possible? For "it is society which prepares the crime; the criminal is only the instrument."

The sinner is a sort of pioneer, a martyr too: his sin is the result of our social state. There is indeed, or rather there was, the race of real heroes, real pioneers. The pioneer's is the highest calling, and God calls the highest men to it—those who lead the Forlorn Hope and throw their bodies in the breach. But the thieves and murderers, who are also of God's calling, who are, in some sense, His pioneers!, how much more difficult is it to understand that He can have called *them* to such far greater agonies! This it is probably which has given birth to the expression that He himself "descends into hell" with them. He could not call them to go alone. St Vincent de Paul seems to have had an inkling of this truth when he summoned his missionaries to the galleys "to visit the Son of God suffering for our crimes, in the person of these men who suffer for their own disorderly life."

But mark the inference: it is *not* that legal punishments and criminal legislation are to be done away with. Punishment, at least preventive punishment, is all the more necessary. It *is* that there must be other means of prevention which may at last supersede these punishments, this criminal legislation. Out of all this opens the way towards perfection of the human race, of every human being in it.

One of the principal results of civilization is to bring man nearer to his mean or type. And let it not be said that this is to bring him nearer to the average or the commonplace. It is to bring him nearer to the good and the beautiful, to the type which must exist in God's mind for every one of us.

There is no doubt as appears from researches a type in God's mind for every nation and one for every individual. And Quetelet has shown this very plainly, has actually reduced to curves and numbers the deviations which revolve, as it were, round this type. And his curves concern, strangely enough, quite as much moral and intellectual as physical things. Physical monstrosities tend to disappear more

and more. So does plague, pestilence and famine. Shall not moral monstrosities be also made to disappear when their causes become known?

The causes of the Great Plague of London are perfectly well known and a Great Plague here is now impossible. Shall it not be so with moral pestilences?, at least when we have a type before us? But have either nations or individuals any *type* before them now? We say vaguely that “times improve,” whereas sometimes it is evident that they do *not* improve, that they degenerate—sometimes that exactly the same “budget” of crime or madness or ignorance is brought in every year, though *not* the same budget of epidemic disease.

Indeed, how can nations improve if they have no type before them? And say not that everything will be reduced to an uninspiring, dead level when the great deviations from types disappear. New sources of art, higher inspirations will open every day. Now that no nation or individual has a tangible type before them, all that they do is to imitate. When the Greeks believed in their gods, there came forth an Apollo Belvedere, a Ludovisi Juno. Now we no longer believe in them, but we still imitate them. And there come forth Titian’s Venuses and Canova’s Perseus. When the Italians believed in the Virgin Mary, see the Pietà of Michelangelo, the Madonna di San Sisto, the Holy Families of Raphael, the Mater Addolorato of Guercino and the Crucifixion of Guido. And say not that a large section of us does still believe in the Virgin. It is the “feeble multitude” and the “helpless” sex, either man or woman, whose “zeal gains intensity from distance and ignorance” who believe in “all that.” These never produce a high style of art. It is not the Leonardo da Vinci and the Michelangelos who were the “most accomplished” men of their age.

What resorts now to the papal throne “represents not the strength but rather the weakness” of the time, as an “Italian correspondent” says: those who know *not*, *not* those who know. It is not the dependents on lookers to bayonets and foreign powers who can reconstruct a high school of art or inspiration of any kind. No “school of the prophets” can be theirs. The “determination that Italy shall perish so that papal Rome shall live” will do nothing great: the great men of the high time of art were the patriots of their day.

The real enthusiasm of the *living* generation was *with them*. Now it is against all this foolery, all conceits: only the dead are for these. *Mankind* was for *patriots*: now the patriots are on the other side and mankind is still with them. One man, a king, may be for their “feeble

multitude," but whole nations of the wise are its adversaries. And the same Titian, whose Venus is an earthly profligate, paints a Virgin fit for the skies.

We still go on painting the holy family, though we have ceased to believe in it. And what holy families! And say not that a large section of us does still believe in the Virgin. It is not the grain of believers as they exist now which produces a high style of art. Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo were the most accomplished men of their age. Might not our new and higher inspiration be to paint a new holy family, the holy family of mankind? Were we but inspired by that, as the Greeks and Italians were by their gods and goddesses, a new era of art would come in and donkeys costing £160 whereas the live donkey costs £1.

(This very sensible remark was made by the Shah of Persia at our [Great] Exhibition here. And that the artistical goodness of the portraiture of a valueless object does not make the portraiture valuable is a maxim which might be applied with great results to all art and poetry and especially to novel-writing art, novelism.) But now we paint horses, and game, and mustard pots, and dogs, and little boys grinning, and ladies on horseback, and our great poets write about "red cotton nightcaps," and take up any mean and vulgar or licentious or superstitious tale that comes in their way to make a poem of, and our great word painters with their unsurpassed talent in literary craft publish novels in eight or eighty volumes, disdaining in their art the duties, interests, aspirations, ideals of humanity and addicting themselves purely to failures in ideal as it would seem.

But we see no holy families, nothing of what in the future *might be*—of the ideal—of the type which God intends mankind to reach: poets and artists, who are or ought to be our prophets, novelists, our artist-prophets, above all because most read to set forth. People are hardly aware of the very great importance of the present phase of religious and domestic life, of the change going on, of the need of reformers and of "prophets" for this hour of peculiar trial, to raise us from the dead. . . .

"The truth shall make you free."³⁷ Yes, indeed, when we know the truth about the moral laws, then indeed we shall be "free." God governs by His laws, but so do we when [we use them]. But we see no holy families, nothing of what in the future *might be* of the ideal, of the type which God intends mankind. . . . We see nothing of all this. People

37 John 8:32.

are hardly aware of the very great importance of the present phase of religious and domestic life, of the change going on, of the need of reformers and of “prophets,” whether preachers or novelists, for this hour of peculiar trial to raise us from the dead.

If a thing goes wrong, if a piece of machinery is out of joint, we can detect the intention of the machinery perhaps better than if it move with such unvarying regularity as to seem “to go of itself,” as we put it. God’s machinery never goes wrong. It is never out of joint. In fact, it works with such invariable regularity as to be imperceptible, so imperceptible that positivism says: there is no God, or, if there is, we cannot see Him. It would, perhaps, be scarcely possible to pay a greater tribute, a more unconscious homage to God’s omnipotence, God’s omnipresence.

In human government a hitch betrays the governor’s existence. In divine government, however, all one can say of it is man’s actions are reducible to such and such laws, i.e., registrable under such and such laws. But, the nearer the human approaches to the divine in the perfection of its arrangements, the less we think of the Law-Giver. Indeed, we wonder how it ever could have been otherwise. We hardly believe that it ever has been otherwise. Sir Robert Peel repealed the Corn Laws and we now can hardly conceive how anyone ever could have taxed our bread.

The positivists say: you cannot know that there is a God and you cannot know that there is no God—you cannot know anything about Him. We say you cannot but know Him, you cannot help knowing Him. You can help knowing human beings; indeed, in many cases, you cannot by any means get to know them but you cannot help knowing God for He is always at work all around you.

Notes and Letters to Jowett on Quetelet and Probability

Editor: The material following consists of further notes of Quetelet’s *Physique sociale*, catalogued with notes shared with Benjamin Jowett. Whether or not Jowett commented on them (or indeed if they were in fact sent to him) is not known. The notes show Nightingale working through the technical parts of Quetelet’s book, adding observations from theological and natural science sources.

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45784 ff201-21

Sun rises.³⁸ Causes = God. Herschel pp 414-15; Quetelet 1:45. Providential arrangement *is*, etc., Quetelet 1:46. Tendencies working through opportunities³⁹ 1:50. Quetelet: family does not give opportunities, human race. It has been said that the reason (for *reason* we should rather say *probability*) why the sun rises again tomorrow is that its rising has been always recurrent, never interrupted. It has been more truly said that the reason why we expect the sun to rise tomorrow is the character of God. That there is an efficient cause for the rising of the sun is we have seen an overwhelming probability.

If it be said that the sun rising is an arrangement or law working by or through (secondary) causes and contingencies (nem con [no one opposed]). But if it is said that this is all we can know about it, this appears nonsense. "Providential arrangement," as it is sometimes called by the opposite party, *is* the arrangement of secondary causes and contingencies by Providence. The probability that this arrangement is by a Mind (commonly called Providence) would seem to be by a number, inconceivable in ∞ to 1. That events *do* happen according to their calculated chances leads or applies to the discovery of the great First Cause. For, why do facts conform to probabilities? The answer is the same as that to the common error of supposing that laws *govern*. Laws don't govern, they only register. The *record* of facts is not the compelling power. Laws are only the *record* of facts. So with "probabilities." The doctrine of probabilities is in fact the discovery of laws, of an order.

Wisdom, goodness and all-mightiness which makes the laws, for how can a law make itself? Or they say we can know nothing about the Supreme Power. But, says Hooker: "The wise amongst the very heathens themselves have all acknowledged some first cause, whereupon originally the being of all things dependeth, neither have they otherwise spoken of that cause than as an agent, which, *knowing what and why it worketh*, observeth, in working, a *most exact order or law* (the 'order of the best.' "⁴⁰)

38 Nightingale underlined the following passage in her copy of Quetelet's *Physique sociale* (1:45): "Probability of determining cause increases with each recurrence . . . probability that the sun will rise tomorrow 1,000,000:1 from having risen 1,000,000 times."

39 Nightingale's annotation of *Physique sociale* at 1:50: "Not causes but *tendencies* working through *opportunities*."

40 Richard Hooker (1554-1600), *On the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, in *Works of Mr Richard Hooker with an Account of His Life and Death* 1:149.

“Never was man,” says Raleigh,⁴¹ “whose apprehensions are sober and by pensive inspection advised, but hath found by an irresistible necessity, one everlasting Being, all forever causing, and all forever sustaining.” “And,” says South,⁴² “it is necessary in such a chain of causes to ascend to and terminate in some first, which should be the original of motion, and the cause of all other things, but itself be caused by none.” (“His causeless power the cause of all things,” Blackmore.⁴³)

“Again,” says Hooker, “God, which moveth mere natural agents as an efficient only” (1:159) and “Observations of the *order of nature* carry the mind up to *the Great Efficient of the World*,” says Hale. Final, ultimate, first, efficient, proximate cause synonymous? Final: without which it cannot be.

Nature = Author of Nature = Natura [illeg] = Creator. Nature = essence or quality, nature as “by nature” = spontaneous = produced by its proper cause. Nature = established order or settled course. Nature = constitution, temperament or structure. Nature = system of God’s works = world = universe. Nature = a kind of semi-deity. In this sense it is best not to use it at all (Boyle⁴⁴). Character = being in action, nature in action? Is proximate cause/secondary synonymous?

“The religious sense” (by which I understand “the practice of virtue and holiness, FOR THE SAKE of a Being who is absolutely good and absolutely holy) has ever supplied the perseverance necessary for this labour of bettering mankind” (Paul of Tarsus p 368). Surely this is the answer to the positivists when they say what is the good? What is the good of having a leader?

You say to me: “Things are changed since you and I used to talk of these subjects together; *then* it was a question what manner of God there was. Now there is the question whether there is a God at all, or, if there is, can we know anything about Him?” (This question, and the positivists who ask it, are really, I believe, as irrational as the table-turners, so-called “spiritualists.” Could anyone have believed that in 1873 such a controversy could have appeared in the “leading journal” of the most businesslike nation?)

41 Possibly Sir Walter Raleigh (c1552-1618), courtier and explorer, but quotation unidentified.

42 Robert South (1634-1716), English divine, orator.

43 Sir Richard Blackmore, whose “Creation, a Philosophical Poem,” 1793, refers to the “causeless cause” (625).

44 Robert Boyle (1627-91), eminent chemist and devout Christian.

Still, if you think such a question wants answering, let us answer it. I would begin then thus: there is a *prima facie* probability of the recurrence of an event from its having happened several times in succession in that particular manner, but the probability of a determining *cause* increases with each recurrence in a far higher ratio than the simple probability of its happening once more (i.e., than the probability of the recurrence itself). It is in fact the difference between a geometrical and an arithmetical progression (I take this out of Herschel's "Quetelet," 1850). For example, the probability that the sun will rise tomorrow, from its having risen a million times in unbroken succession is as a million to one. But the probability of its having risen by *cause* and not by *chance* is as $2^{1000000}:1$ (2 raised to the millionth power),⁴⁵ that is, as this enormous number inconceivable in thought to 1 (Bayes's theorem⁴⁶). Thus by the doctrine of probabilities the idea of *chance* may be expelled from philosophy.⁴⁷ (The positivists who invoke positive philosophy and nothing else are in glaring contradiction with their own philosophy.)

Now the cause of the rising of the sun is what we call God. The "probability" therefore of an efficient, a final, a first cause amounts to a demonstration, that is, it is as a number inexpressible in words to 1. If it is said the efficient cause is a "fortuitous concurrence of atoms" (*conglomerated* as it were into a cause) again we must call upon the doctrine of probabilities. This tells us that "Mind" is the cause of events. And the "Mind" which makes the solar system, the mechanism of the heavens (makes, that is, the sun to rise), is what we call God. How, then, can it be said that we know nothing of God?

Do you know, it appears to me, in making this demonstration that it is very like making a demonstration that life is the "cause" of a living body or that "mind" is the "cause" and not my "bones and muscles" of my writing this. Still, if you think it necessary and if the manners (I can't call them "minds") of the day make it necessary, I'm

45 Nightingale noted in *Physique sociale* (1:45) that the probability that the sun would rise tomorrow was 1,000,000, "but probability of its having risen by *cause* and not by *chance* as 2 to the millionth power."

46 Thomas Bayes (1702-61), mathematician and Presbyterian minister, early probability theorist.

47 Nightingale underlined the passage in Quetelet's *Physique sociale* (1:45): The theorem on which depends this curious application of the doctrine of probabilities *to the expulsion from philosophy of the idea of chance* is known to geometers by the name of its first promulgator, Bayes.

your man. I can truly say that—now more especially in my great troubles—but for the last twenty horrible years, I have scarcely ever looked at the return of day without its being my great support. In this way I say to myself: “Now you can’t make the sun to rise. So, the course of events which you would so fain guide is out of your power. But the ‘Mind,’ the ‘order of the best,’ which makes the sun to rise is the same which guides and orders these events. Don’t tear yourself to pieces because you can’t alter these events any more than you can prevent the sun from setting. Both are in the ‘order of the best.’ But you can be the fellow worker (though not the rival) of the ‘Mind’ which is the ‘order of the best.’”

As before said, the demonstration that God *is*, that His “mind” is the “cause” of events, and that we *can* know something about Him, appears to me as if going back, back, as if Descartes were to say, “Now I will begin again to learn my ABC.”⁴⁸ It partakes scarcely of the nature of a demonstration; it is of the nature of an axiom, a postulate, a definition. How the positivists have gone back since Socrates!⁴⁹

Old Hooker was a wiser man than they. Says he: “The wise, amongst the very heathens themselves, have all acknowledged some first cause, whereupon originally the being of all things dependeth; neither have they otherwise spoken of that cause than as an agent, which, *knowing what and why it worketh*, observeth, in working *a most exact order or law*.” (The “*final cause*” of all things is that *without which they cannot be*. This being admitted, surely we can then know, by studying the “things” or laws *which cannot be* without this final cause, more of this final cause than of aught else.)

It is a trite thing to say that to deny it would be the same as if I were to say that because I had never seen the first Napoleon,⁵⁰ or if I had never seen this unhappy man who is just dead,⁵¹ therefore I could know nothing about him. Here is another definition or axiom; it is from Raleigh. “Never was man,” he says, “whose apprehensions are sober, and by pensive inspection advised, but hath found by an irresistible necessity, one everlasting being, all forever causing and all forever sus-

48 René Descartes (1596-1650), French mathematician and philosopher. In his *Discourse of Method*, 1637, he urged a complete scepticism, to doubt everything we ever learned, then to reconstruct knowledge on the basis of “clear and distinct” ideas.

49 Socrates (469-399 BCE), Athenian philosopher and teacher.

50 Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821).

51 Louis Napoleon or Napoleon III (1808-73).

taining." Of the same "necessity" South speaks when he says, "it is necessary in such a chain of causes to ascend to and terminate in some first, which should be the original of motion, and the cause of all other things, but itself be caused by none" ("His causeless power, the cause of all things," Blackmore). As above said, this fact is more of the nature of a postulate than of a demonstration. As when Hooker says again: "God which moveth mere natural agents as an efficient only." And Hale: "the Great Efficient of the World" ("Observations of the *order of nature* carry the mind up to the *Great Efficient of the World*," Hale). Surely it is nonsense to say that we can know nothing of this "Great Efficient," that is, of the Great "Efficient's" *characteristics* (we can't know anything of His *nature*).

It has been said that the reason why we expect (i.e., the "probability") that the sun will rise tomorrow is that its rising has been always recurrent, never interrupted. But you say, more truly, that the reason—and it is a reason of a force multiplied almost to infinity—why we expect the sun to rise tomorrow is the character of God, God's being-in-action. (This is in fact in popular terms and applied to the "Great Efficient of the World": only Bayes's theorem which shows that for the rising of the sun the probability of there being an "efficient" cause is overwhelming.

This seems the real question, *the thing which wants working out*: "Mind is the cause of all things" quotes Socrates. "If mind is the cause of all things," adds Socrates, "mind must dispose them all for the best." "*Order of the best*" ("in man and nature"). What needs working out is, is it not? (1) *is there this "order of the best"*? What reason have we to show for it? (2) Whether "mind" disposes "all things for the best" depends, does it not?, on the *character* of that "mind." In other words: what is the *purpose* of God in making the world?

"Why did God make the world?" (if He did make it). "Like man, He must have a purpose." And Plato replies: "And His purpose is the diffusion of that goodness or good which He Himself is." That is a beautiful *definition*, but it does not seem as if this could be, like the existence of the "Great Efficient of the World," made a subject of definition (i.e., not of evidence). May we take for granted that it is a *perfect* Mind, the "Author of order in his works," (as Plato says) or, as we should say, that it *is* an "order of the *best*" (which we call Providence) which makes or orders the laws, those laws which do not "govern" (that is, an incorrect word) which are only the register, the record, the description of what passes "in man and nature"?

“None know,” says Socrates (and how little we have discovered since Socrates of the “order of the best,” nay, how positivism has gone back). “None know how much stronger than any Atlas is the power of the best!” Yet the positivists and many others put “Atlas” (that is, what they call the “laws of *nature*”) above the “power of the best,” that is, above the power of Supreme Wisdom and Goodness—of All Mightiness which makes the laws. For how can a law make itself? (Or, they say, “we can know nothing about the Supreme Power.”) N.B. I would not use that expression, “laws of *nature*,” or I would say laws *in* nature. It is like the expression, “Commissioners of Lunacy,” which looks as if they “commissioned,” like ships, lunatics. “Commissioners *in* Lunacy,” they are now called, and I would say laws *in* nature. Boyle says: “Nature” is often used as if it were “a kind of semi-deity.” And “in this sense it is best not to use it at all.” Indeed it is.

The “order of the best,” that is, that the Creator is leading every man of us to perfection is (put thus as an assertion without any evidence) only a metaphysical idea, is it not? For history answers, or is often said to answer, that man is only a constant repetition of himself. (Through all these years I have been supported and only supported by the belief that I am working with Him who is bringing everyone to perfection (the “order of the best”). But we must show some at least of the laws of this “order of the best” by which He is bringing us to perfection (*this* is not a matter of definition, axiom or postulate) that we may know “in whom we have believed” and know *how* we know “in whom we have believed.”⁵² Without this, it is nothing but a metaphysical idea; moral philosophy is only *metaphysical* philosophy, *if it* is not a study of the plan of God and of the laws by which His moral government is carried on (described). *Is* His moral government a plan for our everlasting progress? Or *are* all our generations the same? Is not this what we have to show? (To be continued.)

Hospital Statistics

Editor: Nightingale’s concerted, lifelong work on hospital reform, to be reported later in a full volume, began with the questionnaire which follows and the short letters on hospital statistics done for the International Statistical Congress, held in London in 1860. The terrible mortality rate of the Barrack Hospital in Scutari had alerted her to the

52 Allusions to 2 Tim 1:12.

potential for harm by bad hospital design or location. Next, in the late 1860s, the unacceptably high rate of maternal mortality from puerperal fever in the lying-in ward of King's College Hospital, used to train nurse midwives, would further reinforce her caution. Those mortality rates led to the closing of the ward and Nightingale's training program (see *Women*). It also prompted her to suggest, in a new preface to the third edition of *Notes on Hospitals*, that hospitals as well as doctors should be bound by the Hippocratic oath, i.e., that hospitals ought to be obliged, first of all, "to do no harm." The items that follow here then introduce a key concern of her social reform career.

The letters immediately below show Nightingale's efforts to get St Bartholomew's Hospital to do a pre-test of her questionnaire on hospital statistics, a very proper procedure, but one scarcely undertaken then and not always now. The draft questionnaire following it may or may not be what she sent to the hospital; certainly it is a pioneering document in the history of social research. This material shows the work that went into the two short published papers Nightingale actually sent to the International Statistical Congress.

Jocelyn Keith described Nightingale's proposal as "the first model for the systematic collection of hospital data using a uniform classification of diseases and operations that was to form the basis of the international classification of diseases used today."⁵³ Short as the letter was, Nightingale took the opportunity to incorporate new material on which she was working, statistics on disease and death among aborigines in colonial schools and hospitals (reported in *Public Health Care*). The letter is also noteworthy for its arguing the need for relevant data to persuade public opinion. Nightingale held that by showing the high cost of *not* intervening, people would be more likely to support the expenditures needed for reform. The first items show Nightingale's preparation for the International Statistical Congress, at which a resolution was adopted on uniform hospital statistics.

This 1860 congress obviously predated the second publication of *Physique sociale*, 1869, and the marginal annotations and essay discussed above, but is placed here as less central to understanding the Nightingale-Quetelet connection. The congress is important to the story, though, not least because it provided the only occasion when the two actually met (Nightingale entertained Quetelet and colleagues

53 Jocelyn M. Keith, "Florence Nightingale: Statistician and Consultant Epidemiologist" 148.

both at her London home and in the country). Quetelet's importance to Nightingale can also be seen in the arrangements she made for entertaining delegates.

Source: Letter, Wellcome Ms 5474/11; typed copy, Add Mss 43398 f140

Montague Grove
Hampstead

14 September 1859

Dear Dr Farr

. . . A propos to *hospital statistical forms*, we made up a copy of the eight forms you sent us for remaining, admissions, discharges, deaths, remaining, etc., and sent them to St Thomas' Hospital, but have not been able to get them filled up. Have you any data in the General-Register Office of the London hospitals which could be rendered available for filling up these, to any extent? Or could you from all you know of the London hospitals tell me which would be most likely to give the information, or any part of it? St Thomas' appears to keep its statistics more for the sake of checking obstreperous patients, which is an object certainly, but not a scientific one.

I should like to have done something at Bradford about them, and laid the way for a vote of the more magnificent Statistical Congress.

yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

Source: Draft/copy/letter, Add Mss 45797 ff61-62

Hampstead, N.W.
24 September 1859

Mr dear Sir [James Paget⁵⁴]

. . . You will think that “la reconnaissance n'est qu'un vif sentiment des bienfaits futurs” [appreciation is but a lively sentiment of future benefits] when I ask you to do something more for me, which would be a great favour. I have had a set of new forms prepared (with the Registrar-General's sanction) for hospital statistics. I should be very glad if St Bartholomew's would be so good as to fill up a set on trial. But, before presuming to send them one, I should like to ascertain to what extent the information *can* be obtained from the hospital books. The following are the data required to fill up the forms. Of these will be required the *remainings* on the last day of any year, say 1857, and of the *remainings* at the end of 1858 (a full year).

54 Sir James Paget (1814-99), surgeon to Queen Victoria.

1. <i>Age</i>	}Also, the	<i>Admissions</i>
2. <i>Sex</i>	}	<i>Discharge</i>
3. <i>Disease</i>	}	<i>Deaths</i>
	}	<i>Discharged Incurable</i>
	}and the	<i>Duration of the Cases</i>

N.B. The *Age, Sex and Disease* must be shown for each of these headings. St Thomas' Hospital has been so good as to consent to fill up these forms for me for one (past) year. But they have been an immense time about it.

F. Nightingale

Source: Undated draft questionnaire, ADD Mss 45796 ff46-49 [see also an earlier questionnaire in f45]

Sir

In beginning a new hospital, I take the liberty of applying to you, in common with many others, it being of the greatest consequence to ascertain the best information and beg for an answer to the following queries.

In _____? *Answer*

Number of patients at the present time?

Out patients? _____answer?

Nurses

Wages of nurses?

Boarded?

How fed?

Any provision for their old age?

Wages of matron?

Sub-matron?

What time of observation the chaplain has had?

How many wards?

How many beds to each ward?

How many nurses to each ward?

Is the surgeon in the house?

What command has he?

What control over nurses?

Or patients?

What means are there to prevent the nurses being in the power of the surgeon from fear?

What is the age of nurses?

What the length of service of each nurse?

How many chief nurses?

How many under nurses?

Matron?

Master?

Sub-matron?

Master?

Scrubbers?

Flockwoman?

Cook?

Kitchenmaid?

Scullery maid?

Housemaids?

Laundry maids?

Hired women?

Porters?

Men nurses?

Is the night nursing done by the nurses in the house?

Or is it done by women who come in for the night?

If so, what check is there upon these women to prevent their drinking or falling asleep?

In the male wards is *all* the attendance afforded by women?

Or do porters or men nurses give their assistance in certain cases?

Are there separate syphilitic wards?

Are there men nurses for the syphilitic wards?

Or are women of a proper age and character sought for these?

Is there a dispenser in the house?

How many pupils?

What do the pupils do?

What the annual expense of food, fire, water, drugs?

What the annual expense of printing, salaries, wages, furniture, repairs, library, museum?

What the amount of income of the hospital?
and whence derived?

Is the chaplain resident?

What are his duties?

Are prayers read in each ward?

What are the services, weekly or daily?

Is there a lending library for the patients?

What average amount of spiritual instruction or visiting does each patient receive?

Is any moral or spiritual instruction given to the nurses?

What moral character do they hear?

Who inquires into it?

Who engages them?

What spiritual instruction do patients not of the Church of England receive?

In whom is the virtual management of the hospital vested?

In the treasurer?

In the surgeon?

In the matron?

Do the nurses read prayers in their own wards?

If so, do they receive any spiritual instruction for this purpose from the chaplain?

Is their character such that they would be listened to by the patients?

Are lady visitors admitted?

At all hours?

With or without the consent of the treasurer and chaplain?

Does the chaplain communicate with the nurses, in order to learn the personal character and cases of each of the patients?

Does the chaplain require assistance in his work?

Is the dressing, bandaging, etc., done by the nurses or the pupils or dressers?

Is there any examination into the nurses' education?

Into their mechanical skill?

Into their moral principle?

Can they read and write?

If not, have any mistakes arisen in administering medicine from this cause?

Have they any training?

Has the chaplain any control over the character of the nurses?

Or of the pupils?

What rules does the treasurer establish for these? and what discipline is there over them?

Is the power of the chaplain confined to the chapel and the sick?

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8998/7

5 October 1859

I should have gratefully accepted your kind offer to read a paper for me at Bradford, as there is a subject I wished very much to start there: hospital statistics. They are, as well as workhouse statistics, at present an unworked mine, both in France and England. And these institutions, created for the relief of human distress, positively do not know whether they relieve it or not. But my facts are not all ready, so that I have not finished my paper, as I do not like to read up or get up a thing but must have personal observation and experience to go upon.

Source: Unsigned letter/draft/copy, Add Mss 45797 ff70-73

Hampstead N.W.

31 October 1859

My dear Sir [probably James Paget]

I am very much obliged to you for your kind remembrance of my wish. I send you these forms, not because they are all that could be desired but because they indicate the kind of information which hospital statistics should give.

It would be a good initiation for your registrar to fill up and return to you (for me) these forms; I would promise him that they should be made use of. He would very likely discover that the easiest way of keeping his statistics would be to have seven separate nominal books, or at all events a ledger with columns for each separate subject: remaining, admitted and discharged, etc., into which he could enter day by day the particulars from his day book.

These sheets, of course, make no provisions for surgical or medical treatment, in respect to which the medical officers would have to lay down the necessary statistical details, which however should be complete enough to show the statistical results of operations, particular methods of treatments, etc. The ages should, of course, be minutely entered.

In conclusion, I would ask you to do one a great favour, viz., to send me a complete disease list, including surgical cases, such as would include all those who come into hospital at St Bartholomew's. The disease list on these forms, which is the Registrar-General's, and which does better for a mortality register than for a hospital register, is not convenient for this latter purpose. I am trying to have a set of forms compiled which would suit all hospitals.

With many thanks for your kindness in thinking of this.

Source: From a letter to Julius Mohl,⁵⁵ Woodward Biomedical Library (University of British Columbia) A.2

13 June 1859

You will wonder at being bothered again so soon. Do you remember the trouble I gave you about the *Compte Moral Administratif* and afterwards about the hospital forms? These latter are proposed at p 2 (in a note) of a little book of mine called *Notes on Hospitals* (which is only a reprint, done not by me but by Parker, of some papers of mine). I have mentioned the French hospitals of Lariboisière and Vincennes with so much praise, though not so much as they deserve, that hospital reformers in England have thought the Académie Impériale de Médecine (is that the name?) might review it, which review would then be copied in our medical papers and produce some reform in our hospitals. Also that the note at p 2 might possibly awaken attention to hospital statistics. Our Registrar-General means to draw up forms according to that note, and propose them at the next European Statistical Congress, which is to be held in London.

Parker (the publisher) is going to send you three copies of the said tiresome little book. Don't you give yourself trouble about it, unless you are yourself interested in the subject and think it will do good and, above all, unless you are *not* too much overworked.

ever yours

F. Nightingale

Source: Letter, Wellcome Ms 5474/16, copy Add Mss 43398 f168

Hampstead, N.W.

31 January 1860

Dear Dr Farr

St Thomas', University College and St Mary's Hospitals have sent in their statistics, which I send you. After a conversation which Dr Sutherland and I had about them, I asked him to write the enclosed. If you are kind enough to reduce the results out of the forms and to send them back to us, I should wish to be allowed to remunerate any extra work which it may give your men.

I don't expect any more to come in, although Guy's has promised. And Mr Paget of Bartholomew's writes me word that they have set up a registrar, adopted these forms (which they sent for) and he hopes in six months to send me the result!

⁵⁵ Julius Mohl (1800-76), Orientalist and friend, husband of friend Mary Clarke Mohl (1796-1883).

I will show you some more very curious correspondence about it when we meet, and a really good letter from St Thomas' registrar.

yours ever sincerely

F. Nightingale

I hope to be in town on Friday.

Editor: Nightingale organized a breakfast for the congress, to which she invited her good friend and assistant, A.H. Clough, and his wife, Blanche Smith Clough, her cousin: "A great lot of people have *offered* themselves. But the best of them, Quetelet, who has offered himself too, and the only one I wanted you *much* to see, I hardly expect, because of his health."⁵⁶ Nightingale asked Clough to arrange an hour interview with Quetelet.

Source: Letter, Wellcome Ms 5474/23, typed copy ADD Mss 43398 f193

30 Old Burlington St., W.

21 June 1860

Dear Dr Farr

If these rooms can be of any use to you and Mr Hammack during the time of the congress, pray command them. One room shall always be yours. (You may want to have some place where you can bring people in to breakfast, lunch or dine, or write a letter. If you will give me notice, you shall have a better dinner than you have had the experience of heretofore here. And breakfast you can always have.)

It is more than probable that you may have both rooms all to yourselves all day, if you like. My cousin, who is a first-rate linguist [Hilary Bonham Carter], will be delighted to do the honours in French, German or Italian to your friends.

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Source: Letter/draft/copy, ADD Mss 45770 ff130-31

30 Old Burlington St.

16 July 1860

Dear Mr Chadwick

Could you come in any morning at 1/4 before 9 to breakfast this week? There are several of the foreign delegates, who would like to meet you. You might perhaps find *none* some morning and too many the next. If, therefore, you could tell me what morning or mornings

56 Letter to A.H. Clough 17 July 1860, Balliol College Archives.

we may hope for the pleasure of having you, I would try and get the proper people. Varrentrapp, who knows you, will be here tomorrow (Tuesday) if you have your morning disengaged.

ever yours sincerely and gratefully

Florence Nightingale

Source: Hospital Statistics, Paper submitted to the Second Section of the Congress, 1860

Up to the present time the statistics of hospitals have been kept on no uniform plan. Every hospital has followed its own nomenclature and classification of diseases, and there has been no reduction on any uniform model of the vast amount of observations which have been made in these establishments. So far as relates either to medical or sanitary science, these observations in their present state bear exactly the same relation as an indefinite number of astronomical observations made without concert, and reduced to no common standard, would bear to the progress of astronomy. The material exists, but it is inaccessible.

With the view of rendering the present stores of observation useful, and of collecting all future observations on one uniform plan, tables have been prepared for recording, on one common form, all the facts of hospital experience. The forms will be submitted to the congress [they were published as an appendix]. They have been already tried in several hospitals, and the results have been sufficient to show how large a field for statistical analysis and inquiry would be opened by their general adoption.

They would enable us to ascertain the relative mortality in different hospitals, as well as of different diseases and injuries at the same and at different ages, the relative frequency of different diseases and injuries among the classes which enter hospitals in different countries, and in different districts of the same country. They would enable us to ascertain how much of each year of life is wasted by illness—what diseases and ages press most heavily on the resources of particular hospitals. For example, it was found that a very large proportion of the limited finances of one hospital was swallowed up by one preventible disease: rheumatism, to the exclusion of many important cases or other diseases from the benefits of the hospital treatment. It has been shown that most of the cases admitted to the hospitals, where the forms have been tried, belong to the productive ages of life, and not to the ages at the two extremes of existence.

The relation of the duration of cases to the general utility of a hospital has never yet been shown, although it must be obvious that if, by

any sanitary means or improved treatment, the duration of cases could be reduced to one half, the utility of the hospital would be doubled, so far as its funds are concerned. The proposed forms would enable the mortality in hospitals, and also the mortality from particular diseases, injuries and operations, to be ascertained with accuracy, and these facts, together with the duration of cases, would enable the value of particular methods of treatment and of special operations to be brought to statistical proof. The sanitary state of the hospital itself could likewise be ascertained. The statistics of rare diseases and operations are still very imperfect, but by abstracting the results of such diseases and operations from the tables after a long term of years, trustworthy data could be obtained to guide future experience.

Source: Letter to the International Statistical Congress, Second Section, read by the Earl of Shaftesbury⁵⁷

30 Old Burlington St.

[read] 19 July 1860

My lord, Pardon me for suggesting to you, first, that there must be a large amount of statistical information bearing on the prevention of disease in possession of the governments of different countries and, secondly, that it would be of great importance at the next meeting of this congress if each delegate would include, in any report to be presented, any marked examples of diminution of mortality and disease, together with the saving of cost consequent on the carrying out of sanitary improvements in towns, in dwellings of the labouring classes, in schools, in hospitals and in armies. As, for example, it is stated to be a fact, demonstrated by statistics, that in improved dwellings the mortality has fallen in certain cases from 25 and 24 to 14 per 1000, and that in common lodging houses, which have been hotbeds of epidemics, such diseases have almost disappeared as heads of statistics, through the adoption of sanitary measures. As no one has been more instrumental than your lordship in bringing about these happy results, so no one is better acquainted than yourself with these facts.

It is also stated that in the British Army large bodies of men, living under certain improved sanitary conditions, have presented a death rate about one third only of what the Army has suffered in past years.

⁵⁷ Antony Ashley Cooper (1801-85), 7th Earl of Shaftesbury, philanthropist, social reformer, notably as an advocate of the Factory Acts and humane treatment for the mentally ill, on whom more below.

Would not your lordship consider it as of great importance that the statistics of these and similar cases should be carefully collected and presented for comparison with the statistics of ordinary mortality?

Again it is stated that in our colonial schools for aborigines we have in many instances exposed the children to the risk of scrofula and consumption, while Christianizing and civilizing them. Might not this be avoided by sanitary arrangements? Again, to take a different case from the experience of schools, it is stated as statistically true of some industrial and half-time schools for orphan and destitute children, that whereas formerly two thirds of the pupils became sacrifices to vice and crime (as indeed is stated to be still the case in some instances), the failures on account of misconduct among the pupils have been reduced to less than two percent. Might it not be well to consider whether these statistical results do not exemplify what may be done by application of like means?

I am encouraged to make these suggestions by the following words from the statesman Guizot:⁵⁸ "Valuable reports, replete with facts and suggestions drawn up by committees, inspectors, directors and prefects remain unknown to the public. Government ought to take care to make itself acquainted with and promote the diffusion of all good methods, to watch all endeavours, to encourage every improvement. With our habits and institutions there is but one instrument endowed with energy and power sufficient to secure this salutary influence: that instrument is the press."

If facts already existing regarding the points I have mentioned above were carefully abstracted and made accessible to the public, through the medium of the congress, there cannot be a doubt of the great benefits which would accrue to science and humanity. And if (as it is the cost which frightens communities from executing the works necessary to carry out sanitary improvements) it could be shown that the cost of crime, disease and excess of mortality is actually greater, it would remove one of the most legitimate objections in the minds of governments and nations against such measures.

Editor: The transactions of the second section of the congress show the high esteem in which the international statistical community held Nightingale. Practical work was accomplished, Nightingale's two short

58 François-Pierre-Guillaume Guizot (1787-1874), Huguenot historian and educational reformer; de facto prime minister 1830-48 under Louis Philippe.

contributions above receiving enthusiastic support. She understood the importance of having an international congress take a leading position and went to considerable trouble, with Farr's help, to ensure that it did. To Farr she observed that the "adhesion of congress" would make the hospital statistical forms more likely to be used: "Otherwise I might just as well have printed the papers on my own account last December twelvemonth."⁵⁹ Dublin hospital authorities later asked her "to urge the same hospital statistical scheme" at the meetings of the Social Science Association in Dublin, again to bolster their case for change.⁶⁰

Source: Letter of Edwin Chadwick, ADD Mss 45770 ff138-39

Friday afternoon

[20 July 1860]

Dear Miss Nightingale

The letter was read by Lord Shaftesbury at the section. It read well; he [illeg] it, and it was received in the best possible manner. I moved a resolution that it should be earnestly recommended for the adoption of the general congress and the resolution was carried by acclamation. It will be read at the general meeting, I expect by Lord Shaftesbury—I have charge of it. If any verbal alterations were thought desirable it might be revised but I think it reads very well, and all that is now wanted is two or three copies to give to the reporters when it is read. . . .

yours faithfully

E. Chadwick

Source: Letter of Edwin Chadwick, ADD Mss 45770 ff140-43

[21 July 1860]

Dear Miss Nightingale

After the report from the Sanitary Section was read, in which the mention of your name was received with applause in respect to the proposal to obtain uniform hospital statistics, Lord Shaftesbury stated that he had received a letter from you, which he had read to the section, and which they had unanimously and earnestly requested him to read to the congress.

He then proceeded to read it, and it was very well received and produced a very good impression, the instances stated however taking

59 Letter to Farr 21 March 1861, ADD Mss 43399 f3.

60 Letter to Farr 22 July 1861, ADD Mss 43399 f35.

many people by surprise. Amongst others, Lord Birmingham testified his surprise. It was then moved by M Legoyt⁶¹ that the congress recommend the letter to the special notice of the government represented by the delegate. He took [the] occasion to speak of the large sanitary sewer works undertaken in Paris, of the old houses gutted down and of the new and more salubrious ones constructed, of the ventilation of barracks carried out. . . .

The motion was seconded by Quetelet, who rather unexpectedly said that I had asked him to support it, which he did gladly, but this led to my being called upon to speak in its support. When I told them of model cottages erected in Holland, Prussia, Switzerland and Turin after the example set by Prince Albert, which had all been followed by important sanitary results, little noticed in the respective countries, and lost for international purposes. . . .

The resolution was carried of course, unanimously. Resolutions in various forms, one by Mr Vischers, one by someone else, for the special observation of matters affecting the labouring classes, were carried. These resolutions had been prepared independently and they showed the tendency of the sectional minds. I have taken your letter to the stationers to have half a dozen copies got ready to send them round to the papers from the secretary of the section. I think, that if we could get, translating in French and German the delegates would get copies inserted in their respective papers. . . .

yours faithfully

Source: Resolution of M Legoyt, Proceedings of the International Statistical Congress, Second Section 1860, 181-83, 211

[trans. from French] "That the congress recommend for the consideration of the various governments the propositions contained in the letter of Mlle Nightingale."

"Hear hear! Agreed!"

The chair announced that there was no opposition. "No, no! Call the question."

Quetelet addressed the section:

"You know, gentlemen, how important [is] the work with which we are dealing. After the great results which have already been obtained, the congress can only rejoice that the author intends to continue this work. The propositions contained in Mlle Nightingale's letter are of

61 Arthur A. Legoyt (1815-85), French statistician.

the greatest importance and we must, as a matter of urgency, support a resolution whose sole aim is to recommend proposals, from a person who has done so much valuable work and who is preparing to do more. Let us hope that the illness from which she suffers will disappear and that her health will permit her to achieve the intentions so nobly expressed. I ask, with Messrs Legoyt and Chadwick, the meeting to support the work in the author's letter, by expressing our wishes conformably with her desires."

"Very good! Very good! Agreed! Call the question!"

Editor: Edwin Chadwick then spoke in support of the proposal: "That the respective governments of Europe should be requested by the congress to carry out the suggestions contained in the letter of Miss Nightingale. . . . Now the object of this proposal of Miss Nightingale is that the sanitary results of such works should not be buried in the mass of ordinary statistics, but should be brought forward separately and distinctly as *norms*, to measure what may be done for the benefit of the respective populations. It has not hitherto, that I am aware of, been the practice of any governmental authority to observe such trial works for social or legislative guidance" (181-82).

Chadwick then gave a number of examples of improvements that had been made in mortality rates from improved sanitary measures. "In some cases a reduction of one third, in others of more than one half the mortality commonly prevalent, has been obtained by one simple means, namely, by house drainage, by the abolition of cesspools obtained by sewers and by a better water supply. Even we in England do not know and have not had these results brought together and verified in the manner which Miss Nightingale, in her letter, recommends." Nightingale in turn quoted Chadwick's one third statistic in her next communication to the congress.

M Legoyt raised the name of Nightingale later in the fourth section, acknowledging her hospitality (her cousin Hilary Bonham Carter received the delegates on her behalf).

Legoyt: [trans. from French] "Women in England, perhaps more than elsewhere, take an interest in scientific questions in all their forms. Miss Nightingale (applause) has given us proof in deigning to receive us at her home, in spite of the unfortunate state of her health. The whole world knows the name of Miss Nightingale. They know her admirable devotion and heroic work in the Crimean War, which was,

one could say, providential for the English Army. Miss Nightingale since her return has not ceased to associate herself with every measure related to the improvement of the material condition of the working population, and who believes, with reason, that only statistics can reveal their needs. Miss Nightingale seeks the means to evaluate our efforts and follow their progress.”

Source: Letter, Wellcome Ms 5474/25, copy ADD Mss 43398 ff202-03

Upper Terrace
Hampstead

6 September 1860

My dear Dr Farr

There was a leading article in the *Medical Times* of 25 August, and a letter from a Dr Tripe in that of 1 September, in which there were adverse views and misrepresentations as to the nature and objects of the “*hospital* statistical forms.” I know what the provincial hospitals are. For them the *Medical Times* is a Bible. They will say, oh! the profession have rejected these forms. They will think because the *Medical Times* is not answered, it cannot be answered. And those who have already applied for the forms will not adopt them.

O’Connell said a lie which lasted twenty-four hours was worth making. My experience of life is quite the same. I think you should answer the *Medical Times*.

1. As regards the nomenclature, it has already been adopted at previous meetings of the congress. It cannot be altered.

2. As regards the classification, the most cursory examination of the forms would have shown the objectors that, inasfar as the forms were concerned, the classification is intended to facilitate the process of recording and to diminish the length of the disease list by one half.

3. Dr Tripe’s averment that the forms were not fully discussed is not correct. They were under discussion for one day and part of another. They were more discussed than any other subject before the section.

4. Any reduction of the number of diseases on the list would, in the first place, be to surrender the ground already taken by the congress at previous meetings and (2) to surrender scientific accuracy on the plea of trouble.

The time may come when all diseases may be reduced under one name. But at present improved means of diagnosis rather tend to increase scientifically the almost endless varieties of diseased action in different organs. And we *must* have better reasons for diminishing the

list of “ills that flesh is heir to” than any that have yet appeared against these forms which, rather it is to be hoped, will before long be in use in all hospitals.

sincerely yours

F. Nightingale

Source: Incomplete draft to an unnamed recipient, ADD Mss 45797 ff196-97

[printed address] 30 Old Burlington Street, W.

28 April 1861

My dear Sir

I venture to send you my paper on hospital statistics with some abstracts added at the end. The Statistical Congress will send it officially to all the hospitals. There is no form for operations in it because I have not been able to satisfy myself with any. I am going to send you three in manuscript, two for amputations and one for others. And then I shall wait till your book comes out. Because, then, having before me all the causes which influence the results of operations, I shall be better able to construct a form which shall give us the greatest amount of information upon these.

Source: Letter/draft/copy, ADD Mss 45797 ff200-01

30 Old Burlington St., W.

1 May 1861

My dear Sir [James Paget]

St Bartholomew's has the credit of having produced the first statistical report which is worth having. The Army hospitals are now using similar forms, but they have not yet published any. No one can look at what you have done without seeing what a fund of information for future reduction has been collected. This is all-important. The data, however, will have to be reduced by future statisticians, to be useful. The only weak point which strikes me is the table of operations.

It would be most desirable that an uniform table should be adopted in all hospitals for this purpose. The Army has one but it is adapted only to war wounds. A proper operation table could only be drawn up after very careful inquiry as to the practice of different hospitals, so as to include all the elements of: age, sex, accident, surgical diseases, habit of body, nature of operation, after accidents, etc. It would be well worthwhile to attempt such a form, on account of the great importance of the inquiries springing out of it.

Topinard's book⁶² shows what might be done in this direction in one or two points. But the *whole* result of surgical practice should be reduced into elements for tabulation, as we hope that medical practice may be. I have been shown an extensive tabulation by eminent physicians of results of treatment, in Paris, of phthisis; in London of cholera. The results showed that hardly any two people treated the disease alike and yet the mortality was exactly the same. Surgery being a more positive art than medicine would no doubt give more satisfactory results and it is worthwhile trying to obtain them.

yours sincerely and gratefully

Florence Nightingale

P.S. I have written this letter and its enclosures at different times, because I have been more than usually incapable and before I had your kind note. Could you come in tomorrow (Thursday) between 2:00 and 4:00 and bring your list of the causes of death after operations? It would be invaluable, coming from such an authority, for constructing a form. If this time does not suit you, let us try another.

F.N.

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8999/16

30 O.B. St.

7 May 1861

My dear Sir Harry [Verney]

I send you two copies of my statistical hospital paper, with the additions of the Statistical Congress. Perhaps you will be good enough to send one of these to Mr Ceely. They have been sent officially by the congress to most hospitals with a letter.

ever yours

F.N.

Source: Letter, Private Collection of Susan Teagle, copy Wellcome

[printed address] 35 South Street

Park Lane, W.

31 August 1872

My dear Dr Farr

You were so good as to ask me for my "commission" when you left to join the World's Statistical Congress [in St Petersburg] and I was too ill (*not* to feel my best interest but) to speak it. At the same time, I cannot let this great occasion pass without giving you joy of the noble way in

62 Probably that by French anthropologist Paul Topinard, who did skull measurements: *Quelques aperçus sur la chirurgie anglaise*, 1860.

which the imperial city appreciates the science which must be the basis of all sciences, whether of government, of philanthropy or of society, nor without asking you to give my humble but earnest and grateful remembrances to any who may kindly remember me, especially to M Quetelet, the founder and author of us all, if I may be so venturesome as to enroll myself among you.⁶³ I would have sent my *Notes on Lying-in Institutions* by you, if I could have thought this little book a not-too-contemptible offering to the congress, knowing how much Russia has occupied herself in that direction. But I had not this vanity.

But I will ask you to request M Quetelet to allow me to offer him a copy on his return, as he has treated of this subject in his *Physique sociale*. But, above all, I will ask you to recall to him (what was the subject of correspondence between you and me) that—for the sake of the University of Oxford, which is now ripe and “willing” for including social statistics, this all-important subject, in its “final examinations,”⁶⁴ all-important when one considers that the legislature, the statesmanship, the professions of England, find their supply from the youth of Oxford. M Quetelet *must* undertake at once a new edition of his *Physique sociale* (which is not now to be had) for us. I will not now take up your time except with my very best greetings. God bless you. And pray believe me, dear Dr Farr, as ever

yours “overflowingly”

Florence Nightingale

Analysis of the 1841 Census

Editor: It seems Nightingale first became interested in census material in the early 1850s. The item that follows is dated 1853, her first analysis of quantitative data, preceding the Crimean War and her first royal commission. The 1851 census had already been held, but the results had not yet been published, hence the requirement to use the earlier source. Martineau’s lengthy and excellent analysis of the 1851 census appeared in April 1854 in the *Westminster Review*.⁶⁵ At this time Mar-

63 On his death Nightingale linked Farr with Quetelet in the founding of this science (Letter to H.H. Janson 25 June 1883, British Library of Political and Economic Science).

64 Nightingale indeed gave the last copy she could purchase to Oxford University for this purpose (letter to Quetelet 18 November 1872, Wellcome copy 9094/3).

65 Harriet Martineau, “Results of the Census of 1851.”

tineau (1802-76) was clearly Nightingale's superior in knowledge and facility in analysis. Nightingale would soon surpass her, going on not only to agitate for improvements in the census questionnaire, but to devise her own questionnaires and analyze her own data. The item here on the 1841 census is of interest to show what Nightingale considered important: occupations, social problems (especially poverty, bad housing and drunkenness) and religion (especially the number of unchurched), on all of which she would later write a great deal.

Source: Note, Add Mss 43402 ff96-97

14 January 1853

By the last census, the population of Great Britain was nearly 21,000,000.

The mining population	800,000
(3 English counties)	
Manufacturing counties	4,130,000
(5 English counties)	
Agricultural counties	5,600,000
(23 English counties)	
Mixed Agricultural and Manufacturing	2,270,000
(8 English counties)	

In Great Britain

men above 20 years, are	4,760,000
of these Employed in Manufactures	390,000
in Retail Trade or Handicrafts	1,730,000
Employed in Trade or Manufacture }	2,120,000
or nearly 45 percent }	

Farmers and Occupiers	274,000
Agricultural Labourers, etc.	923,000

Employed in Agriculture }	1,197,000
or 25 percent }	

Professional educated men	200,000
Labourers (not agricultural)	500,000
Men servants	150,000
Alms People	54,000

Of Men and Women of all ages in Great Britain

Employed in Cotton Factories	312,000
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Woollen and Wosted	124,000
Flax	41,000
Silk	44,000
Men and Women Employed as Miners	194,000
(of whom under 20 years of age are	51,000)
Employed as Smelters	36,000
(of whom under 20 years of age are	8,000)

The results of the last census are not yet out so that some of these numbers may chance to be wrong by a hundred thousand or two; such is the fluctuation of population in England. By writing a note to the Home Office and stating the object of the inquiry, the results of the last census might be obtained.

In London, population now	2,450,000
In Churches and Chapels of all denominations, sittings for}	750,000
(of these, communicants are	100,000)
Go to no place of worship whatever	1,700,000

In this respect, the United States are 6 times better off than London.

In the wynds of London, or what are called the “back slums,” 40 live in a room or 6 families, 5 in a bed, who pay 2 pence each. In Marylebone there are 3000 lodgers in 49 lodging houses.

Work through Sunday	100,000
Women annually in custody for intoxication	10,000
Criminals annually in London jails	36,000
Children thieves (before ragged schools)	30,000

There are in London criminal persons 471,000
so that 1 in 5 of all whom you meet is a criminal of these—

Thieves	50,000
Persons making their subsistence of profligacy	150,000
Gin drinkers	180,000
Drunkards	30,000
Beggars	25,000
Professional gamblers	15,000
Receivers of stolen goods	5,000
Children trained to crime	16,000

making	471,000
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One third of all the drunkenness is committed on Saturday nights and Sundays. English are the most drunken nation upon earth and Sheffield is the most drunken town in England. The cause of this is possibility of having wages high enough in 3 days' work to last them the whole week.

provision shops	10,790 only
and public houses	11,000
Clergy in London	1,275
Missionaries	279
Scripture Readers	120
Visitors	1,000
Sunday School Teachers	7,259

I take those towns only whose population is *above* 100,000.

	<i>Population</i>	<i>Proportion of Drunkards to</i>
Population:		
Sheffield	135,000	/ : 90
Leeds	185,000	/ : 270
Bristol	140,000	/ : 180
Birmingham	234,000	/ : 290
Manchester	350,000	/ : 400
Liverpool	400,000	/ : 450

There are in London:

Omnibuses	3,000
Cabs	3,500
Employing	11,000

To this population of 11,000 only two missionaries assigned.

Proposals for the 1861 Census

Editor: Nightingale made concerted, but unsuccessful, efforts in 1860 to have questions added to the 1861 census that would elicit information on housing and health, and thus provide material that could be used for practical planning for amelioration. Note the attention to detail in lobbying manoeuvres, for example, ensuring that Lord Grey

had written notes delivered to him on the day the bill was to be debated in the Lords, by the leading expert on the subject, Dr Farr.

Source: Letter, Wellcome Ms 5474/18, typed copy Add Mss 43398 f175

30 Old Burlington St., W.

21 April 1860

Dear Dr Farr

I feel so very strongly about this census bill that I cannot help writing to you of how much importance it would be, as bearing on all questions of the public health, to have a column in the enumeration paper in which should be entered the number of sick people in each house with the diseases. In this way we should have a return of the whole sick and diseases in the United Kingdom for one spring day, which would give a good average idea of the sanitary state of all classes of the population.

The mortuary returns take no cognizance of a large amount of disease which rarely proves fatal, but which nevertheless represents a vast loss of efficiency in the population. How important to bring this out for once, as was done in the Irish census of 1851.

Why should a compulsory sick return be more obnoxious than a compulsory death return? The public benefit would infinitely outweigh any petty inconvenience in filling up these returns. And, when taken with the sick returns of hospitals, asylums, workhouses, etc., they would afford insight into problems of great importance.

yours sincerely

Florence Nightingale

Source: Letter of Sir George Lewis,⁶⁶ Add Mss 45797 f116-17

6 May [1860]

My dear [Robert] Lowe

Both the points mentioned in Miss Nightingale's letter were duly considered before the census bill was introduced. It was thought that the question of health or sickness was too indeterminate to be made the subject of a question to each individual. The absence of any fixed standard makes it certain that the answers would not be based on a uniform principle and that the result obtained would be inaccurate.

66 Sir George Lewis (1806-63) was then home secretary; Lowe, then vice-president of a commission on education, later home secretary, and throughout a friend of Jowett's, had presumably intervened on Nightingale's behalf. Dr Farr's reply to Lowe 6 May [1860] is in Add Mss 45797 ff116-18.

With regard to an enumeration of houses, it was thought that this is not a proper subject to be included in a census of population. I was aware that an enumeration of houses had been included in the Irish census, but the information which I received led me to the conclusion that the result is not peculiarly instructive. Believe me,

yours very truly

G.C. Lewis

Source: Letter, Wellcome Ms 5474/20, copy ADD Mss 43398 f183

30 Old Burlington St.

10 May [1860]

Dear Dr Farr

At the eleventh hour Sir George Lewis writes, "Both the points mentioned were duly considered before the census bill was introduced. It was thought that the question of health or sickness was too indeterminate to be made the subject of a question to each individual. The absence of any fixed standard makes it certain that the answers would not be based on a uniform principle and that the result obtained would be inaccurate. With regard to an enumeration of houses, it was thought that this is not a proper subject to be included in a census of population."

"I was aware that an enumeration of houses had been included in the Irish census, but the information which I received led me to the conclusion that the result is not peculiarly instructive." . . .

F.N.

If you could furnish me with any decisive answers to these allegations, I would still try. But, as they will not answer the main allegation (implied) "Mr Waddington does not like to take the trouble," I have not much hope of success.

F.N.

Source: Letter with envelope, ADD Mss 45797 ff118-22

30 Old Burlington St.

London, W.

10 May 1860

My dear Sir [Robert Lowe MP]

I cannot forbear thanking you for your letter and for your exertions in our favour. Sir George Lewis's letter, "*being interpreted*," means "Mr Waddington does not choose to take the trouble." It is a letter such as I have scores of in my possession from Airey, Filder and alas! from Lord Raglan, Sir John Hall, the *doctor* and from Andrew Smith. It

is a true “Horse Guards”⁶⁷ letter. They are the very same arguments also, used by Lord John,⁶⁸ against the feasibility of registering the “cause of death” in 1837, which has now been the law of the land for twenty-three years. He was beaten in the Lords.

And we are now going to fight Sir George Lewis in the Lords and we hope to beat him too. It is mere child’s play to tell *us* that what every man of the millions who belong to friendly societies⁶⁹ does, every week of his life, as to registering himself sick or well, cannot be done in the census.

It is mere childishness to tell us that it is “not important” to know what houses the people live in and that it “cannot be done.” The French census does it. The Irish census tells us of the great diminution of mud cabins between 1841 and 1851. The connection between the *health* and the *dwellings* of the population is one of the most important that exists.

The “diseases” can be obtained approximately also. In all the most important diseases, such as smallpox, fevers, measles, heart disease, etc., all those which affect the *national* health, there will be very little error (about ladies’ nervous diseases, there will be a great deal). Where there *is* error in these things, the error is *uniform*, as is proved by the friendly societies, and corrects itself.

If we do not win in the Lords (what is it the great man says? “Thank God we have a House of Lords”) I shall have the melancholy satisfaction of holding up my country to contempt in the International Statistical Congress, which is to be held here in July. Believe me, with many thanks,

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

P.S. By nice arrangement and a little management we could get the diseases on the voluntary principle. The sickness and infirmity would be returned “sick,” “infirm” or something to that effect. And people would be invited for the public good to state, whenever they could without inconvenience to themselves, etc., the nature of the sickness, as supplied by the medical attendant. This would work.

67 The Horse Guards, Whitehall, office of the commander-in-chief of the Army; the term was used to refer to the (reactionary) policies of the Army command.

68 Lord John Russell (1792-1878), then home secretary.

69 An early form of credit union for workers.

Source: Incomplete letter, Durham University GRE/B117/5/17

30 Old Burlington St., W.

11 May 1860

Dear Lord Grey⁷⁰

Do you remember how very kind you were to one Florence Nightingale some three years ago?⁷¹ “La reconnaissance n’est qu’un vif sentiment des bienfaits futurs.” And my only reason for troubling you now is that you were so very good then.

It is about this census bill. We want *you* to help us in the “Lords.” If you look at a copy of the bill, I am sure you will be struck by the small advance which it shows in appreciating those social problems which the census is intended to supply the means of solving.

A number of defects might be pointed out. But there are two points which it would be unpardonable if this census did not contain. They might be had with no more trouble than is entailed on the public by the present forms, and at an additional cost infinitely below the value of the results.

1. We have absolutely no information on the sanitary state of the people. The death returns only tell us *who have died*. But this by itself is a very imperfect standard of health. The only real standard is: *how many people are well, how many ill* and the *diseases*. An excellent average could be obtained by simply requiring that each householder shall enter the numbers sick in the house; and, if possible, the “diseases.” The time when the census is taken (April) being neither a time of epidemics nor a particularly healthy season is a very good average standard (as we cannot get the information for the whole year through).

2. There is no adequate information as to the class of houses in which the people live: how many live in hovels at the present day, or in stables, or in cottages, or in flats, or in cellars, or in *back-to-back* houses, or in mansions. Yet this very foundation question of social statistics might be solved by the census. (A Mr Caird has a Notice of Motion, something to this effect, in the House, but I doubt whether he will carry it.)

These two points: how many sick there are in the population, and in what kind of houses the population live, are fundamental points,

⁷⁰ Henry George, 3rd Earl Grey (1802-94).

⁷¹ In a letter 22 June 1857 Nightingale asked him to criticize her draft report for the Royal Commission on the Sanitary Condition of the Army in the East. He replied 29 June 1857 with detailed comments (Durham University Archives GRE/B117/5/5).

easy to be ascertained, and would afford a better basis upon which to build up social progress than any information the census now gives. Most of it is obtained for Ireland and the results are exceedingly valuable. Note: the chief expense is incurred by the delivery and collection of the papers. What is proposed *additional* would add a little clerk's work to the expense—that is all. The value of the information can scarcely be overrated. . . .

The very same arguments were made use of by Lord John *against* the "Registration" column for the "cause of death" in 1837, which has now been for twenty-three years the law of the land. It was obstinately refused in the Commons on the very same grounds as "sickness" is refused now. It was inserted in the "Lords" and it was swallowed, after a few grimaces, in the "certain place." We are in hopes that you will do the same thing for us now.

1. It is mere childishness to say that what every man of the millions who belong to friendly societies does, every week of his life, as to registering himself "sick" or "well," cannot be done in the census. Where there is error in these cases, the error is uniform, as is shown by the friendly societies, and corrects itself, i.e., a whole district calls that sickness which another does not. By a little management we could get the "diseases" too on the voluntary principle. The sicknesses and infirmity would be returned "sick," "infirm" or something to that effect, and people would be invited for the public good to state, whenever they could without inconvenience to themselves, etc., the nature of the sickness, as supplied by the medical attendant. This would work.

It could be done so as to give the sick of the country no offence or annoyance. In all the most important diseases, such as smallpox, fever, measles, heart disease, etc. (i.e., all those which affect the *national* health), there will be very little error. (In ladies' nervous diseases, in gout, etc., there may be a great deal.)

2. It is mere childishness to say that it is not important to know what houses the people live in—or that it cannot be done [breaks off]

Source: Letter, Wellcome Ms 5474/21, typed copy ADD Mss 43398 f186

30 Old Burlington St.

12 May 1860

Dear Dr Farr

The census bill did not go into committee last night, as you know. It is put off till Tuesday, when they expect a debate upon it, Mr Baines and Mr Caird having both amendments upon it. Under these circum-

stances, if you think anything more can be done in the Commons, pray command me.

I wrote both to Lord Grey and to Lord Shaftesbury yesterday. The former answers as you see. If the bill goes up to the "Lords" on Wednesday, it might still be before Lord Grey goes to Germany. And, in that case, would you call upon him, taking with you a written statement (not in your own handwriting) for him to make use of in the Lords? and "put him up to things"? I will write to him and tell him you will call, if you give me leave, on the day when we see the appearance of the bill on the notice paper of the House of Lords.

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Source: From a letter to Dr Farr, Wellcome Ms 5474/37, typed copy ADD Mss 43399 ff4-5

Good Friday [29 March] 1861

I like your census sermon much. It is one of the best public papers I have seen. I wish other sermons were as much to the purpose. I retain you to dinner on Wednesday and Urim and Thummin⁷² shall come to meet you. But pray come (for *me*) as much before 6:00 o'clock as you can.

Source: From a letter to Dr Farr, Wellcome Ms 5474/39, typed copy ADD Mss 43399 f8

6 April 1861

You have not sent me a census paper to myself. And, as nothing will induce me to declare the age of the cats to my landlord, you won't have me at all.

I have looked over all your enumerator's papers, which you were so good as to send me. They seem very complete. But, I don't quite see how you will get all the railroad travellers for instance, although it is very astute of you to take the Sunday.

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

⁷² Objects on the breastplate of the Jewish high priest to declare the will of God, often translated "light and truth."

Source: Letter, Wellcome Ms 5474/40, typed copy ADD Mss 43399 ff10-12

[printed address] 30 Old Burlington Street, W.

9 April 1861

My dear Dr Farr

As you justly said that the perfect working of the census must depend upon the detail, I think I am doing you a service in mentioning how the detail was worked here. (I should say that this vast hotel, “Burlington Hotel,” consisting of three large houses, besides *this*—which is the “private” house—is composed mainly of *family* suites of rooms.) On Sunday morning (the 7th) a verbal message was sent up to me, *not* by the occupier of the hotel but by his factotum (a kind of house steward), desiring me to write my age (and my maid’s) on a bit of paper, *nothing more*. This was the message, verbatim et literatim.

I swallowed the answer which rose to my lips, not thinking it worthwhile to have a war of words with this person, and, after ascertaining from his assertion that no schedules had been left for the families in this hotel, I took one of the specimen forms you were so kind as to give me, and wrote the information fully and accurately therein concerning myself and maid (the man servant does not sleep in the hotel) and sent it down to him.

I leave you to think, if the message sent up to the other families occupying apartments in these four houses were similar to that sent to me, of how dependable and valuable a return is the information filled in by this person on his sheet. He appeared to consider the Census Act as an invention designed to afford him the amusement of asking people their ages, and of drawing upon his imagination for the rest of the information required.

As you know how much interested I am in the proper working of the census, and that I had rather the information required of us (as regards our healths and houses) were more than less complete, I venture to suggest that all heads of families, whether that family consist of one, two or more persons, wherever living, whether in hotels, lodgings, etc., should be required to fill up their own paper.

Believe me (from my personal experience of what happened here) people who have not reflected much on the value of a census have a very different conscience as to affording *accurate* information, when called upon to do so by an ignorant hotel servant, and when called upon directly by the law, which all English people obey. And this observation I think applies rather more to the “upper” than to the “lower classes,” as they are called. Believe me,

sincerely yours

Florence Nightingale

You are quite at liberty to make any use of this.

N.B. The term "heads of families" should include single persons living in hotels and lodging houses, all of whom should have the opportunity of filling up separate papers. You will say that you would then have to send papers to every lodger in a two-penny lodging house. But might you not place on the superintendent's registrar the duty of ascertaining or deciding what class of hotels and lodging houses should have separate papers for their inmates, the enumerator being then directed to leave the required number?

F.N.

Editor: Nightingale's occupation is given as "Formerly Hospital Nurse," her condition: "Lodger," her birthplace "Italy, British Subject." One servant is listed, Mary Bratby, as "Housekeeper."⁷³

As Householder in the 1871 Census

Editor: Nightingale gave up trying to reform the census so that the next items concern only the vexing matter as to how she should herself respond as a householder in the 1871 census.

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9005/33

31 March 1871

My dear Sir Harry [Verney]

Could you advise me about filling up this *census paper*, e.g.

1. (Column 2) Am I the "head" of this "family"? There being no "family," there can be no "head," but, I suppose, in Dr Farr's language, I am the "head" (?)

2. (Column 6) As *everybody* ought to have a defined "occupation," I wish to return mine. I ought, at least, to put "War Hospital Matron, or War Hospital Matron retired from active service through illness" (?) (I asked a government friend what I should return and he said that, the object being to classify the industrial occupations, I ought to return: "None, Gentlewoman.")

In all these assertions I am quite sure he is wrong. By the instructions you are particularly desired to return "scientific" or "literary" or "professional occupations." You are particularly desired *not* to put "gentleman." And if I were to return "*no* occupation" (for myself) I

⁷³ Individual census returns, Public Record Office.

should deserve to be fined “for false information,” not “£5” but £50. But *indeed* I could not.

M Mohl used to call me “Empress of Scavengers for India and the British Kingdom.” If I were to put “Scavengeress for India and the United Kingdom,” it would be near the truth, but *what shall I do? What shall I return?* (In a return I had to make at the beginning of the year the question was asked, was *this* a “house” or “office”? I put “house *and office*.” I think it most important to the truth that people, especially women, should describe really what they are) and make true returns.

3. (last column) If I were to put “imbecile and blind,” it would be right. And unless Mr Cardwell,⁷⁴ Lord Northbrook⁷⁵ and many others put “imbecile and blind,” they ought to be fined “for false information.”

ever yours

F.N.

Source: From a letter by Harry Verney with Nightingale’s reply written on it, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9005/34

My dear Florence

1 April [1871]

I will go to your home tomorrow, and fill up the return and send it to you if your household will entrust me with the delicate information required by the government.

yours

H. Verney

My dear Sir Harry [Verney]

1000 thanks for your kind offer, which however I cannot accept. The instructions on this head are positive. The return is not to be filled up till *Monday* morning, because otherwise how can you tell who “slept in the house” on *Sunday night*? and is to be filled up “wherever possible” by the acting head himself or *herself*. Besides: my maids, each of whom I make a point of seeing every day (except one whom I see as often as I can) would be so excessively astonished at my not taking this information from them *myself* that they would think I was gone mad.

⁷⁴ Edward Cardwell (1813-86), secretary of state for war.

⁷⁵ Viscount Baring and 1st Earl of Northbrook, then under secretary of state for war.

All I want is, if you will be so good as to tell me, (1) ought I to put myself down as "head" of the family? (column 2). (2) What is my "occupation"? (see my note to you). If you offered to fill up my return, what should *you* put down as my "occupation"? *R.S.V.P.* If you meant to put "none," I shall return simply, *Formerly Hospital Matron.*

yours

F.N.

Editor: In fact the entry for Nightingale in the 1871 census reads: "Director of Nightingale nurses," that for the 1881 census: "Director of Nightingale Fund for training Hospital Nurses," for 1891: "Director of Nightingale Fund Training School for Nurses. Living on her own Means," but only "Living on own Means" in 1901.⁷⁶

Proposal for a Chair in Social Physics

Editor: One of the last initiatives Nightingale took in her life, in 1891, was the attempt to have a chair or readership established at Oxford University on social physics and their practical application. This was to be the means of carrying on Quetelet's work and better still of introducing it to those who could best make use of it for social good: future administrators of government programs. Nightingale had reproached her friend Sidney Herbert, secretary of state for war, for failing to reorganize the War Office so that it could engage in an ongoing reform process. Administrators in the civil service able to interpret statistics would be essential to implement the appropriate lessons from them and advance a reform agenda.

The idea for teaching the subject at Oxford University goes back to her "In Memoriam" essay on Quetelet's death, 1874. It would be "the only fitting memorial" to her great mentor "to introduce *his science*" to Oxford, "the science of which he was the discoverer, upon which alone social and political philosophy can be founded" (see p 40 above). Correspondence with Jowett shows them discussing the idea in 1876, but the serious work was not done until 1890-91. It would be her last tribute to Quetelet.⁷⁷ To Jowett she explained:

⁷⁶ Individual Census Returns, Public Record Office.

⁷⁷ Letter of Jowett to Nightingale 31 December 1876, in Vincent Quinn and John Prest, eds., *Dear Miss Nightingale: A Selection of Benjamin Jowett's Letters to Florence Nightingale 1860-1893* 274-75.

Our chief point was that the enormous amount of statistics at this moment available at their disposal (or in their pigeonholes which means *not* at their disposal) is almost absolutely useless. Why? Because the Cabinet ministers . . . their subordinates, the large majority of whom have received a university education, have received no education whatever on the point upon which all legislation and all administration must—to be progressive and not *vibratory*—ultimately be based. We do *not* want a *great arithmetical law*; we want to know *what we are doing* in things which must be tested by results. We want experience and not experiment. We legislate *without knowing* what we are doing. . . . What we want . . . is not so much an accumulation of facts, i.e., not at present, but to teach them to the men who are to govern the country.⁷⁸

Jowett gave her considerable encouragement in the endeavour, including the offer of leaving money in his will for the chair.⁷⁹ He also proposed that the chair be named after her father.⁸⁰

Nightingale approached Francis Galton, the eugenics expert and demographer, to formulate the project and give it a public face. Her letter to him 7 February 1891 is a masterpiece, although she herself, at age seventy-one, felt very diffident about her writing ability. Thus she declined to write a paper for a demographic congress Galton had requested from her. Also, curiously, she asked him for his opinions on current social science research that she would earlier have read for herself and drawn her own conclusions (the recently published second volume of Charles Booth's *Life and Labour of the People of London*).

Galton replied to Nightingale's proposal with three additional problems to investigate: the hours of work and value of output of different occupations, the effect of town life on offspring, their number and health and the contribution of the various social classes to the population of the next generation. These are interesting questions, surely, but only one is of a social *problem*, and it is not formulated so as to move to application. Nightingale had difficulty convincing him of the need for *practical application*; she corrected his draft title of "Application to the Solution of Important Social Questions" to "Practical Application to Social Problems" (below). She had used the more comprehensive "Social Physics" in the original proposal, no doubt in

78 Letter to Jowett 3 January 1891, ADD Mss 45785 ff144-45.

79 Letter by Benjamin Jowett to Nightingale 26 October 1890, in Quinn and Prest, eds., *Dear Miss Nightingale* 314.

80 Nightingale letter to Evelyn Abbott 13 March 1896, ADD Mss 45785 ff215-18.

honour of Quetelet; he narrowed it to the more technical "Statistical Science."⁸¹

Galton conscientiously formulated several alternatives but, as his biographer Karl Pearson concluded, he "seemed to overlook the very kernel of Florence Nightingale's scheme and the whole vanished in a trivial essay project."⁸² Pearson, the renowned statistician and author of the correlation coefficient, "Pearson's r ," considered the letter with Nightingale's original formulation of the project as one of the "finest" she ever wrote (2:418). Some of the illustrations take up points in Quetelet's *Physique sociale*, duly annotated and written up in the "In Memoriam" essay, for example, as to whether education reduced criminal behaviour or only convictions for it. Similarly, in what she referred to as a "second law" in that essay, that charity and Poor Law relief do not reduce pauperism, has here become a question for comparative research on the different means for de-pauperization. Her research questions also show her years of work on India. There are pointed questions on British management of the Indian economy, with strong hints as to the desirability of more local control.

Although the questions are as sharp as ever, their style of presentation is more mellow. The prodding is unusually low key for Nightingale: if we do not know the effects on national life of Forster's Education Act,⁸³ "Is not this a strange gap in reasonable England's knowledge? If we do not know if 'jail is the cradle of crime' or 'a boy must be in jail once . . . before he can be rescued' . . . is it again not strange in practical England that we know no more about this?" (see p 111 below).

Nightingale's efforts to get a chair on social physics took place over a year and a half. There is some repetition in the letters below, but note how carefully she developed her case for Galton, working through ideas with Benjamin Jowett. In June 1891 she signed off from her attempt with polite thanks to Galton for his efforts. According to Pearson the correspondence may have influenced Galton himself, for when he established his own foundation he linked it with a school of statistical training (2:424).

81 Enclosure in a letter to Galton 19 April 1891, University College, London.

82 Karl Pearson, ed., *Life, Letters and Labours of Francis Galton* 2:424.

83 William Edward Forster (1818-86), whose Elementary Education Act of 1870 made state schools available for large numbers of children whose non-conformist families could not afford school fees or did not wish to send their children to Anglican schools.

Source: Incomplete draft/copy to Benjamin Jowett, ADD Mss 45785 ff140-43

December 1890

Private. As to Statistics

Please return to F. Nightingale

Mr Mundella⁸⁴ says: Here we have been sweeping every year (under Forster's Act) some hundreds of thousands of children) into our schools, and we have not the slightest idea of the results of what we have been doing. We have spent millions of money. And it may be, more or less, WASTE. We do not know how many children forget all they have learnt (though it is supposed to be a very large proportion). No organization of night schools or secondary schools completes the scheme of education so as to prevent this enormous waste. (From the Horse Guards some sort of estimate might come, but only an enterprising young fatherly general has tried to fathom the abyss, and he finds that even among the Guards who are by regulation to be "educated" (every one of whose recruits he sees himself), an astonishing number are absolutely unable to read or write. I have seen their papers.) We have no idea either what is the *practical result* on the after-life of these children who do not forget everything—in short, of the effect of our scheme on the national life. Our knowledge is practically nil, though that scheme is now twenty years old.

À propos to Mundella, the answers one receives from grave administrators are like those of the Irishwoman who returned a jug broken: (1) that it was not broken; (2) that it was broken when it came; (3) that she had never had it at all. They, the grave administrators' answers are: (1) that crime has diminished exactly in proportion that education has increased; (2) that a large proportion of men in jail are very well educated, that education tends more to increase their cleverness *in escaping conviction*, or when released to improve them in burglary, etc.; (3) that (elementary) education has nothing whatever to do with crime either in increasing or diminishing it, the children's afterlife not being known.

He said: Get a schoolmaster or mistress to trace for ten years back, say, 1000 children. Then, he said, the *Rev W. Rogers*⁸⁵ would help. Have

84 Antony John Mundella (1825-97), MP and a prolific writer on educational reform.

85 William Rogers (1819-96), priest, social and educational reformer and author of *The School and Children's Bible*, on which Nightingale assisted him (see *Theology* 3:547-70).

your professor ready. He told me of several similar inquiries he himself had held, for example, Sir James Paget had traced (I think he said 1000) students for him. The three best were now Regius Professors, of the three worst, two had committed suicide in disgrace, one was Palmer. However, I hate anecdotes. He wanted me to write an article in one of the monthlies. He himself had done so in the *Fortnightly* and he said it brought down such a deal of information and useful answers. But I don't think I could do that, much less send round the hat with it. He said, if the Royal Institution would not accept my endowment probably the Statistical Society would. Of course, I could lengthen this letter to any extent, for you have but to ask a question, that is pull the string of the shower bath, keep your head steady, and down comes the shower of facts. But I do not know that I shall have time. We are very much pressed with a legal question about registration of nurses, not to mention India. And perhaps I had better ask you kindly to consider first what I have now written to your three questions: how to find the (1) money, (2) man, (3) facts. But indeed we discussed almost everything in your note.

ever yours

F. Nightingale

I shall be most truly grateful to you to advise me on all the things in this note, if you will be so very good.

Source: Letter/draft/copy, ADD Mss 45785 ff144-45

[printed address] Claydon House
Winslow, Bucks
3 January 1891

Please return to F. Nightingale

Dear Mr Jowett

I wish you all the blessings of a New Year and on your work. *Statistical Professorship*: I think I cannot fully understand what you kindly tell me about Professor [Alfred] Marshall's answer, because in the first place it does not answer our question at all. And in the second his own book on economics (which ought rather to be called an Inquiry into the Moral Philosophy of Statistics?⁸⁶) seems to prove the exact contrary of what he says. (Also, I understand he is himself forming a statistical society.) He says that "government ought to do it." I thought

86 Alfred Marshall (1842-1924), fellow at Balliol College, later chair of political economy at Cambridge University. His *Principles of Economics*, 1890, was an influential book in economics for several decades.

our chief point was that the enormous amount of statistics at this moment at their disposal (or in their pigeonholes which means *not* at their disposal) is almost absolutely useless. Why? Because the Cabinet ministers, the Army, of their subordinates, the Houses of Parliament, the large majority of whom have received an university education, have received no education whatever on the point upon which all legislation and all administration must, to be progressive and not *vibratory*, see-saw-y, ultimately be based. We do *not* want a *neat arithmetical sum*; we want to know *what we are doing* in things which must be tested by results. We want experience and not experiment. We legislate *without knowing* what we are doing.

The War Office has on some subjects some of the finest statistics in the world. What comes of them? Little or nothing. Why? Because the heads don't know how to make anything of them (with the two exceptions of Sidney Herbert and W.H. Smith⁸⁷). Our Indian statistics are really better on some subjects than those of England. Of these *nothing* in *administration* is made. *On elementary education* I enclose a few recent words of Mr Mundella, premising that he was not thinking of statistical professorships, that these were casual words and must not be quoted. *Please return them to me*. What we want first is not so much an accumulation of facts (i.e., not at present) but to teach the men who are to govern the country what are the *USES* of facts, of "statistics." You said this yourself. . . .

Source: Letter, University College Archives, Galton Papers 290. In Karl Pearson, ed., *Life, Letters and Labours of Francis Galton* 2:416-18; draft dated 6 February 1890 in British Library Add Mss 45810 ff172-78

7 February 1891

PRIVATE

Dear Sir [Francis Galton]

Sir Douglas Galton⁸⁸ has given me your most kind message saying that, if I will explain in writing to you what I think needs doing, you will be so good as to give it the experienced attention without which it would be worthless. By your kind leave it is this: a *scheme* from someone of high authority as to what should be *the work and subjects in teaching social physics and their practical application*, in the event of our being

87 W.H. Smith (1825-91), a Cabinet minister Nightingale greatly respected.

88 A close colleague on hospital and Army matters, Douglas Galton was both a cousin of Francis Galton and husband of Nightingale's cousin, Marianne Nicholson.

able to obtain a statistical professorship or readership at the University of Oxford.

I am not thinking so much of hygiene and sanitary work, because this and their statistics have been more closely studied in England than probably any other branch of statistics, though much remains to be desired, as, for example, the result of the food and cooking of the poor, as seen in the children of infant schools and those of somewhat higher ages. But I would, subject always to your criticism and only for the sake of illustration, mention a few of the other branches in which we appear hardly to know anything.

A. The results of Forster's [Elementary Education] Act, now twenty years old. We sweep annually into our elementary schools hundreds of thousands of children, spending millions of money. Do we know (1) what proportion of children forget their whole education after leaving school, whether all they have been taught is *waste*? (The almost accidental statistics of Guards' recruits would point to a large proportion.) (2) What are the results upon the lives and conduct of children in afterlife who do not forget all they have been taught? (3) What are the methods and what the results, for example, in night schools and secondary schools in preventing primary education from being *awaste*? If we know not what are the effects upon our national life of Forster's Act, is not this a strange gap in reasonable England's knowledge?

B1. The results of legal punishments, i.e., the deterrent, or encouraging, effects upon crime of being in jail. Some excellent and hard-working reformers tell us: Whatever you do, keep a boy out of jail—the First Offenders' Act—once in jail, always in jail; jail is the cradle of crime. Other equally zealous and active reformers say: A boy must be in jail once at least to learn its hardships before he can be rescued. Is it again not strange in practical England that we know no more about this?

B2. Is the career of a criminal from his first committal, and for what action, to his last, whether (a) to the gallows or (b) to rehabilitation, recorded? It is stated by trustworthy persons that no such statistics exist, and that we can only learn the criminal's career from himself in friendly confidence, what it has been from being in jail, say, for stealing a turnip for a boys' feast or for breaking his schoolroom window in a temper, because he has been turned out of school for making a noise—to murder or to morality. In how many cases must all our legislation be experiment, not experience! Any experience must be thrown away.

B3. What effect has education on crime? (a) Some people answer unhesitatingly: as education increases, crime decreases. (b) Others as unhesitatingly: education only teaches to escape conviction, or to steal better when released. (c) Others again: education has nothing to do with it either way.

C. We spend millions in rates in putting people into workhouses and millions in charity in taking them out. What is the proportion of names which, from generation to generation, appear the same in workhouse records? What is the proportion of children de-pauperized or pauperized by the workhouse? Does the large union school, or the small, or “boarding out” return pauper children to honest independent life?

On girls, what is the result of the training of the large union schools in fitting them for honest little domestic places, and what proportion of them, falling into vice, have to return to the workhouse? Upon all such subjects, how should the use of statistics be taught?

D. *India*. With its 250 millions (200 millions being our fellow subjects, I suppose) enters so little into practical English public life that many scarcely know where this small country is. It forms scarcely an element in our calculations, though we have piles of Indian statistics. (As to India the problems are (1) whether the peoples there are growing richer or poorer, better or worse fed and clothed; (2) whether their physical powers are deteriorating or not?; (3) whether fever not only kills less or more but whether it incapacitates from labour for fewer or more months in the year.

(4) What are the native manufactures and productions, needed by the greatest customer in the world, the Government of India, which could be had as good and cheap in India as those to be had from England? (5) Whether the native trades and handicrafts are being ruined or being encouraged under our rule? (6) What is the result of Sir C. Wood’s (1853) Education Act in India? These are only a very few of the Indian things which, I will not say are hotly contested, for few care, either in the House of Commons or out—but have their opposites asserted with equal positiveness.

I have no time to make my letter any shorter, although these are but a very few instances. What is wanted is that so high an authority as Mr Francis Galton should jot down other great branches upon which he would wish for statistics, *and for some TEACHING how to use these statistics in order to legislate for and to administer our national life* with more precision and experience.

One authority was consulted and he answered "that we had statistics, and that government must do it." Surely the answering question is: the government does not use the statistics which it has in administering and legislating, except indeed to *deal damnation* across the floor of the House of Commons at the Opposition and vice versa. Why? Because though the great majority of Cabinet ministers, of the Army, of the executive of both Houses of Parliament, have received a university education, what has the university education taught them of the practical application of statistics? Many of the government offices have splendid statistics. What use do they make of them? One of the last words Dr Farr, of the General Register Office, said to me was: "Yes, you must get an Oxford professorship; don't let it drop."

M Quetelet gave me his *Physique sociale* and his *Anthropométrie*. He said, almost like Sir Isaac Newton: "These are only a few pebbles picked up on the vast seashore of the ocean to be explored. Let the explorations be carried out."⁸⁹ You know how Quetelet reduced the most apparently accidental carelessness to ever-recurring facts, so that as long as the same conditions exist the same "accidents" will recur with absolutely unfailing regularity. I presume that no one now but understands, however, vaguely, that if we change the conditions for the better, the evils will diminish accordingly.

You remember that Quetelet wrote, and Sir J. Herschel enforced, the advice: "Put down what you expect from such and such legislation after -- years, see where it has given you what you expected and where it has failed. But you change your laws and your administering of them so fast and without inquiry after results past or present, that it is all experiment, see-saw, doctrinaire, a shuttlecock between two battle-dores." Might I ask from your kindness—if not deterred by this long scrawl—for your answer in writing, as to heads of subject for the scheme? then to give me some little time and that you would make an appointment some afternoon, as you kindly proposed, to talk it over, to teach, advise me? Pray believe me,

yours most faithfully

Florence Nightingale

89 In Louis Trenchard More, *Isaac Newton: A Biography* 664, and cited in her Bible (see *Spiritual Journey* 2:113, 164).

Source: From a draft/copy to Benjamin Jowett, ADD Mss 45785 ff150-57

14 February 1891

Private. Social Physics teaching

I have consulted an expert about a “scheme,” as you put it, for teaching *social physics and their practical application* at Oxford. At his desire I gave him some of the subjects that I should wish to be treated, which, as you and I have already, I believe, discussed, I shall only put here, quite short, and asked him to add to them. The subjects I gave him were:

A *Results of Forster’s Act*

- (1) what proportion of children forget all they have learnt?
- (2) what results on after life and conduct of those who don’t?
- (3) what methods, e.g., in night and secondary schools to prevent such a waste?

B *Results of legal punishments*, deterring from or encouraging crime;

- (a) some say, keep a boy out of jail, whatever you do;
- (b) others, give a boy a taste of jail, or he can’t be reformed.

B2 No statistics exist of the career of a criminal from first committal to jail, say, for stealing a turnip or breaking a window, to his last, to the gallows or back to honest life.

B3 What effect has education upon crime?

- (a) some say as education increases, crime decreases;
- (b) others education only teaches to escape conviction or steal better;
- (c) others, education has nothing to do with it.

C *Workhouses*

- (1) what proportion of *same* names from generation to generation there?
- (2) what proportion of children de-pauperized by (a) large or (b) small union schools or (c) boarding out?
- (3) what proportion of girls from large union schools fitted (a) for domestic service? (b) for vice [prostitution]?

D *India*

1. Whether peoples growing richer or poorer under us?
2. Whether physical powers deteriorating or not?
3. What manufactures or productions as good and cheap in India as in England, whether bought by Government of India?
4. Whether native trades and handicrafts flourishing or perishing under our rule?
5. What result of Sir C. Wood’s Education [Act] of 1853?

To these my friend only added, because, he said, “Other things must be considered first.” “What” he said, “were some of the things

which must be first considered?, the difficulty to specify exactly what is aimed at in a way free from all ambiguity and again in a way to which the statistics available will give an answer also free from ambiguity.” (This is enlarged upon.) “Therefore,” he says, “by no straightforward and expeditious method can the above problems be solved. Each is a separate and difficult undertaking, requiring a vast deal of thought and planning, just like planning a campaign.”

Way in which object might be attained requires: (1) a man or men conversant with the methods and especially the *higher methods* of statistics; (2) conversant with the existing statistical data; (3) with his heart directed towards the solution, one by one, of such parts of such of the above problems as he can, after much thought, see his way to attack successfully, (4) proportioning his labour so as to stop short when he has reached a fairly near approximative result and not to waste himself in figures in order to procure a slightly closer approximation. “He must be the master and not the slave of his statistics.” Instances Quetelet and Buckle.⁹⁰

“Difficulties *against* the two universities, e.g., Geographical Society. Unless subject has a place in examinations, professor will get *no class* at all. A salaried sinecurist would live in much isolation at Oxford,” whose “main interests are scholastic.” [He] recommends the *Royal Institution* in London to found a professorship there, and require a yearly course of lectures (gives his reasons). Considers “*London* the best residence by far for an inquirer into social statistics.” Now, of course, I am not giving you all this as information, since you are the first person in the world I should ask (and do ask) about it. Also your generosity in leaving £2000 would probably stipulate for alma mater.

ever yours

F. Nightingale

Excuse scrawl.

Source: Notes on meeting with Francis Galton, ADD Mss 45785 ff159-60

23 February 1891

F. Galton: Social Physics—What? Royal Institution. Longstaff: three difficulties: to find the money, (greater) man (what man?), (greatest) facts Mr Goschen,⁹¹ Mr Ritchie: set before them facts wanted about

90 Henry Thomas Buckle (1821-62), whose *History of Civilization in England* Nightingale knew well.

91 George Joachim Goschen (1831-1907), MP and president of the Poor Law Board.

criminals, paupers, any other country [with] better facts, in better form? Only government can collect the facts.

Statistical Society: any funds? Could they set on foot any branches of inquiry? What facts would answer our questions? How they could be obtained? Facts from prisons? French system, English system, non-criminating themselves, prevents their career being known, schools, customs, workhouses. Inferences drawn from such, for example, effect of punishment on crime, others, for example, effects of education on crime. So complex: can't isolate cause and effect.

1. Form estimate of sort of facts which government could supply. Human nature bad subject for statistics, can't get distinct account of it, runs up into so many forms of physics and is so involved in circumstances. For example, you can't distinguish effect of education from effect of race, climate, drink, can't you? Can't arrive at definite conclusion. Any statistical genius devoting himself to these secrets of nature? Who? What are the subjects to which statistics applicable with chance of discovering any certain truth?

Source: Incomplete draft/copy, ADD Mss 45785 ff146-48

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane W.

25 February 1891

Private. Professorship of Social ?

Dear Mr Jowett

My "expert friend" (I never saw him before), Mr Francis Galton, came to see me on Monday by appointment, to talk over the above, A1. He proposes that he should ask privately the secretary of the Royal Institution and two or three others (without mentioning my name) after talking over the scheme, whether he, the secretary, thinks the Royal Institution would accept an endowment of £3,333 6/8, for a professorship after the Fullerian fashion⁹² (to secure £100 a year) to lecture upon XYZ. I enclose what he proposes as a title; he does not like the word "*social physics*." (You asked the question.) He says he looked in the dictionary and that physics is something "not changeable, stable in 'itself' and does not include 'environment'" (perhaps I am mistranslating him—what do you say?). The only word I stuck out for was "practical application." He was most delicate about the money, but I think, rather than lose a well-digested scheme, I could spare that

92 The Fullerian Lectures at the Royal Institution were given to the broader public, reporting a high standard of scientific work.

sum even to the 6/8, out of my own money, and compel my trustee to consent (who is unhappily out of town for health). (3) He, Mr Galton, thinks the Statistical Society would follow suit and found *its* own professorship of social physics, and perhaps other societies too, perhaps Oxford and Cambridge.

About a *man*: Of course if I can only raise £100 a year, we can't have a professor to ourselves. But, he says, there *are* rising men, devoting themselves to similar pursuits and inquiries. He named two (Berry? of Cambridge, Professor Edgeworth⁹³). He thought Edgeworth, who is Professor of Political Economy at King's College, would accept the place and the £100 and do it well. But he would talk and see.

About the *facts*: this is of course the main difficulty. He said we must leave a large margin to the future professor, offer several subjects and let the professor choose. He talked wisely and with a wealth of illustration on all my subjects. For example, as to what Mr Mundella said about elementary education and its effects or non-effects on social physics, and their practical application. How can government "practically apply" them? They know nothing of them but how to make a "case" for the House of Commons. What should you think of a manufacturer who kept his accounts and statistics in the neatest and most perfect manner, but made no use of them as to what manufactures were sold, what are the markets of the world?

Quetelet has made a noble beginning, cut short by brain exhaustion. Farr the same. Both bequeathed to me the following of it up (by a readership or professorship). There is a book coming out by Longstaff.⁹⁴ Nobody has followed Quetelet and Farr. As for Marshall's book, it is *most* interesting, but does not help *us* much. Farr's statistics in the office (over which he used to take me thirty years ago) are, I am told enormous (and unused).

93 Francis Ysidro Edgeworth (1845-1926), notably author of *Mathematical Psychics: An Essay on the Application of Mathematics to the Moral Sciences*, 1881, and Drummond Professor of Political Economy at Oxford.

94 George Blundell Longstaff, physician at St Thomas' Hospital and a Poor Law guardian, author, *Studies in Statistics*.

Source: Nightingale copy of Galton letter to her, Add Mss 45785 ff161-62

42 Rutland Gate S.W.

16 March 1891

Copy. Please return to F.N.

Dear Miss Nightingale

What do you think of the enclosed, subject of course to any corrections of your own, as a printed leaflet to be sent with a private letter to a few competent friends? I think it would start the matter on safe and good lines, so that in a very brief time, after the receipt of the answers, it might be possible to take the open step of disclosing your name and of summoning a meeting of the more helpful correspondents to finally discuss details for your consideration, viz., whom to ask to write the essays.

If I am moving too rapidly, you must check me, and if I have misstated the sum available, you will of course correct it. The more I think of the first step mentioned in the memorandum, the more reasonable it seems to be. It would excite much interest, comment and constructive criticism, and would give abundant time to discovering a proper person and to making subsequent necessary arrangements.

very sincerely yours

Francis Galton

(Confidential) To _____

At the request of an intending donor, whose name is for the present withheld, I have drawn up the following memorandum to elicit the views of a few competent persons before further steps are taken. I should be greatly obliged if you would favour me with your opinion on or before _____, stating at the same time whether you would permit public use to be made of it.

(signed) Francis Galton

MEMORANDUM The sum of £4000⁹⁵ is now available to further the scientific study of social problems from a statistical point of view, if a plan can be devised which is likely to lead to important practical results. The problems in question are scattered over a wide field. They refer to education, pauperism, disease, crime, and to numerous similar subjects, and especially to the measure of success that has followed various acts of legislation upon them. It is fully recognized that no one of this vast range of problems can be attacked with hope of success, without a great deal of previous consideration and knowledge of disturb-

95 Presumably counting £2000 each from Jowett and Nightingale.

ing conditions. Still, it is believed, that by grappling with such problems, one by one in succession—beginning with those that seem to offer the least resistance, much valuable result would accumulate from the labour of even a single competent inquirer. The question is how to expend the sum in question to the best advantage.

A plan that provisionally commends itself is to allot (say) £200 or £300 in honoraria (say) of £50 each, to a few selected writers who should severally draw up a list of what seem to them to be the most feasible problems in the branch of inquiry with which they are familiar. It would be their part to think out and to draw up reasonable plans of campaign, specifying the available data now in existence, and such other data as would be required, and which at the same time might be procured without serious difficulty.

Their essays might at first be published in any way acceptable to themselves, as in magazine articles, but with the reservation that, after a few months, parts or the whole of them might be republished in a separate volume. It is thought that the simultaneous direction of the minds of (say, six) highly competent persons to different branches of the same general scheme, would greatly assist in its inauguration and in drawing public attention to its importance. There is also some reason to think that the now available sum might in the meantime be increased by the contribution of others. Limiting ourselves, however, to the residue of the £4000 upon which we could count with certainty, and which if placed in trust as an endowment, would yield a little more than £100 a year, what should be done with it?

Two results ought to be aimed at, the one to ensure that the *memoirs it elicits* should be critically discussed by competent persons, as at a meeting of the Statistical Society, the other that the results of the investigation should be given in a lucid form such as would be intelligible and attractive to an audience like that of the Royal Institution. Considering the good work done by the Fullerian professorships of the Royal Institution, on a similar endowment to that now in view, it seems not unreasonable to offer to that body the residue of the £4000 for a like purpose, that is, to establish a professorship of (social economy) renewable from time to time at fixed periods, and charging its holder with the duty of delivering a certain number of lectures annually.

Another plan is to endow a studentship at a university. A third plan is to institute an annual lecture or course of lectures, like the Hibbert Lectures. A fourth plan is to institute an annual essay, to be read before and published by some learned society.

Source: Note on a meeting with William Coltman,⁹⁶ ADD Mss 45785 ff167-68

16 March 1891

Social Physics Professorship

Money: guarantee from me, a written guarantee.

1. Form a committee, of names likely to attract subscriptions.
2. Select a working committee from these to publish a statement of the necessity for and objects of the proposed institution, and collect subscriptions.
3. Afterwards consider whether I should give a capital sum or what?
4. Or undertake to guarantee £100 for the first one, two or three years, as might be thought desirable.
5. Mr Jowett's £2000 left for scholarship or prize at Oxford. Names: Duke of Westminster,⁹⁷ Sam Smith,⁹⁸ MP (rich) interested in *continuing elementary education*, Mr Rathbone,⁹⁹ Mr Phillips of Manchester (rich, interested in reformatories), Colonel Howard Vincent¹⁰⁰ (rich, interested in prison statistics, First Offenders' Act), Mundella (education, want of education statistics), Lord Brassey,¹⁰¹ objects: elementary education results, crime, punishments, effect of jail, reformatories, prison statistics, workhouses and schools, de-pauperizing?

Source: Exchange between Jowett and Nightingale on Galton's letter, ADD Mss 45785 f168

[1891]

FN: *Mr Galton's letter*

1. Statistical Society: is their journal *read*? Where are their rooms? Could your professor work there? What lectures?
2. Royal Institution, yes, lecture there, and paper. Where would he work? Could endowment be at Statistical Society and lecture at Royal Institution? Could he give RESULTS of statistics at Royal Institution, for example, variations in crime from year to year? *Why* it was so? *Why* it was *not* so? Royal Institution lectures so unspeakably more interesting to a general public than Statistical Society papers, so condensed.

96 William Bachelor Coltman (c1828-1902), lawyer and husband of Nightingale's cousin, Bertha Smith.

97 Hugh Lupus Grosvenor (1825-99), 1st Duke of Westminster, wealthy land-lord, generally progressive on social issues.

98 Samuel Smith (1836-1906), no relation.

99 William Rathbone (1819-1902), Liberal MP, the philanthropist who funded the introduction of nursing into the Liverpool Workhouse Infirmary (see *Public Health Care*).

100 Howard Vincent (1849-1908), law reformer.

101 Thomas Brassey (1836-1918), 1st Earl, MP, writer on work and wages.

3. No elementary schoolmaster or mistress or high school mistress [would have the] time to trace back 1000 children for ten years.

Mr Jowett's 1600 [former students at Balliol].

4. No staff at education office for statistics. Records of every child, but no one to follow it up.

5. Professorship in London?

6. Where is the Black Book? Home Office?

7. Brewery *Distillery* Record of *every brew* for 120 years under 16 heads: Why it failed; Why it succeeded. Ah but that's *for drink*; we *can't* do that *for morality*.

BJ: Professor should be expected to give not more than eight or twelve lectures in the year and to publish a paper every year. Thirdly, the subject seems to me very difficult. It is so large and the inferences to be drawn from it so uncertain. I look at it in this way: during the last *forty years* I have had about 1600 pupils at Balliol College. Could I or anyone draw up statistical facts about them which would lead to trustworthy results, e.g., of the proportion of length of life or of distinction in afterlife in university honours? I doubt it but it may be worth considering. The first question to settle is the subjects to which statistics are applicable. We see of course that they must be definite and that they must be isolated or capable of being isolated. The "theory" or "philosophy" of statistics has not been sufficiently examined. It is no use, like Mr Herbert Spencer, to set a label on each man or on facts of history,¹⁰² if we can't read them in this connection.

I think that for the first five years it might be better to confine the professorship to a department of the subject, for example, crime or education, and then have another for the next five years. It seems to me that no one can collect statistics on a given subject or know what it is useful to collect unless he have a great knowledge of the subject, e.g., physiology.

One interesting subject would be the collection of facts bearing upon the relation of body and mind, lunatic asylums, etc. It would be well to have plans for the collection of facts or criticisms on the defects of the *public offices* or the effects of new laws; do something, say, about bankruptcy, changes in the Poor Law and popularizing them.

FN: Keep clear of criticism at first. Do something.

BJ: Another subject, "the results of statistics." What of the Statistical Society?

102 Herbert Spencer (1820-1903); this critique of his method is similar to that of Beatrice Potter, *My Apprenticeship* 44.

FN: No criticism but help.

BJ: Is it a useful body? and can we get some money out of it to found prizes or the like?

FN: Prizes a signal failure, except in France, e.g., India.

BJ: Whether it might not be well to include in statistics or at least to recognize as a sister subject (of direct production?) the experience of wise men upon their own subjects, although they cannot be reduced to precise figures “that everybody knows and nobody thinks of.” Also, “the experience of great physicians, great inventors, or the like.”

FN: As in my heroic virtue I don’t propose sanitary things, because of the plenty of machinery at work for these, so I don’t want bankruptcy, etc., at present, only *directly* practical things, such as *moral* sanitation (as you say, e.g., crime and education) and Poor Law I’m quite agreeable to. And I don’t want *at present* “criticism” of “public offices,” official or unofficial, or *negative* things (I should have been just where we were thirty-five years ago, should not I? if I had “criticized” the War Office or nursing instead of working for it, by others and myself). Don’t be literary yet in these things, as they are trying to make us nurses.

Source: From a draft/copy to Benjamin Jowett, ADD Mss 45785 ff176-77

17 March 1891

Private

I ought to report to you in some degree what is taking place about the professorship or lectureship. Mr Francis Galton came to me again yesterday. He is going kindly to prepare for me a sort of rough note for a statement of the *necessity for and objects of the proposed institution*, such as might constitute *an appeal*. First he says we must have *a name*, intelligible to the vulgar. He does not like social *physics*, for the reason I gave you. Could you kindly, without much trouble, *return me a half note sheet, in his handwriting, of a proposed name* enclosed in my last letter to you, which you answered? (I foolishly took no copy of it.) If you could return me the whole letter it would be as well, but don’t trouble.

Mr Galton has consulted several experts. One thing I am rather sorry for, the general opinion has veered round from Edgeworth to *Llewellyn Smith*. Do you know him? Is he a pupil of yours? He is an enthusiast in these things. He was a writer in C. Booth’s book.¹⁰³ He

103 Hubert Llewellyn Smith, chief advisor to Charles Booth’s classic survey, *Life and Labour of the People of London*. See Beatrice (Potter) Webb, “A Grand Inquest into the Condition of the People of London,” in *My Apprenticeship* 263-305. Llewellyn Smith later supported reforms Nightingale wanted: a national network of state labour exchanges and unemployment insurance.

bestirs himself at Toynbee [Hall]. He is young. He is a secretary to somebody.

Mr Galton says, make a beginning: make a start, that is the thing now to do. Let us have an intelligible program and then ask subscriptions. He aspires to (1) Lectureship at Royal Institution, (2) Scholarship at Oxford. He says if *you* are interested in it, certain to succeed. (3) Regular professorship somewhere. (4) Endowment of a course of annual lectures, like the Hibbert. But, he says, we must always remember how little can be done by money to secure original work. He says the thing is to get together a number of youngish men with enthusiasm for the subject and keep them together by ready sympathy and appreciation. (This is what *you* do.)

ever yours

F. Nightingale

Source: Letter, University College Archives, Galton Papers 290

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane, W.
21 March 1891

My dear Sir [Francis Galton]

Thank you exceedingly for your note and for the enclosed "Plan of Campaign," which I think excellent and smiling success. Yet more I thank you for your kindness in telling me to "tell" you if you are "moving too rapidly" and if you have misstated the "sum available."

Give me a few days more, please. I have been very busy. And if you are going out of town at Easter, please give me a postcard. I am only afraid of (by delay) wasting your time—the time you are good enough to give me. But it shan't be wasted. Pray believe me,

ever faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale

Source: Letter, University College Archives, Galton Papers 290

10 South Street
Park Lane, W.
8 April 1891

"Demographic"

My dear Sir [Francis Galton]

Thank you for your very kind letter. I hope you are quite well again. At your meeting today it would be most important to have for "one of" your "specified subjects," as you propose, "the more complete utilization of existing demographic statistics." But—you do me the

honour to ask me—I am afraid of engaging myself at such short notice to “open the discussion with a paper of fifteen-minutes duration.” I should like to do it, but do not know whether or not it would be fairly doing justice to yourself and the cause—probably not.

I could have told better if the scheme had been started, of the six “experts” at £50 apiece. It is entirely my fault that this is not yet done. I eagerly grasp at your kind offer of coming to me on *Friday* afternoon—shall it be at 4 or 5:00 P.M.? I will defer anything I have to trouble your kindness about till then, though perhaps I may write you some questions tomorrow when your meeting, fraught with good consequences to us, is over. Pray believe me,

ever sincerely yours

Florence Nightingale

Source: Letter, University College Archives, Galton Papers 290

10 South St.
Park Lane, W.
9 April 1891

“Social *Physics? Professorship*”

“Je m’appelle Tarare [?] parce que ce n’est pas mon nom.”

My dear Sir [Francis Galton]

I am very much obliged to you for your too kind notes, and very sorry that you have to return to Leamington, but trust that this time you will leave it “all right.”

Your “subject for discussion” seems most important, I mean, for the “Demographics.” Is Mr Charles Booth’s second volume (just out) serviceable for education statistics? But this is more for our particular scheme than for the “Demographic Section”? Are Mr Herbert Spencer’s big statistics valuable? Mr Giffen,¹⁰⁴ I suppose, is a “bright particular star,” but not in my line of business, that of moral sanitation. Nor Sir J. Farrer.¹⁰⁵ Also, they are not your “youngish men” whom you so wisely and so well collect and educate.

Now I venture to enclose to you again your own admirable scheme, and with shame and confusion of face to state the following: Of this sort, many of those who are interested in the Congress of Hygiene and Demography may desire, in addition to the knowledge gained and the facts accumulated and co-ordinated at the congress, to see

104 Robert Giffen (1837-1910), later Sir, economist.

105 Sir James Anson Farrer (1849-1925), who wrote on Adam Smith, religion and the military.

some opportunity offered for continuing and perpetuating its work after it has separated. Perhaps one of the ways in which this end may be attained would be by the appointment of some well-qualified men to be employed (query: not only in one country or in one part of the world) in the work of collecting and classifying (query: under the direction of a special committee appointed by the congress) figures and facts which will be of use (query: not only for similar congresses in the future) but also to be practically applied to solve social problems in legislation and everyday public life.

Than, an' it please you, humbly to put my three or four moral, social problems to the fore as (these are what I would wish). Then perhaps, if you think well, to say how much money is wanted (at least say a definite sum to begin with). How much I can give towards it—*IF so much* be raised. Part of this might be said at the beginning, part at the end of the congress, as you yourself might wish. I cannot express my gratitude to you, but am,

ever yours sincerely

Florence Nightingale

F.N.

Source: Letter, University College Archives, Galton Papers 290

10 South St.
Park Lane, W.
19 April 1891

My dear Sir [Francis Galton]

I know not how to excuse myself. Your kindness, if *you* can, must be my excuse. If not too late, may I thank you for bringing in the subject before the Demographic Congress with the title of "the more systematic collection and utilization of demographic statistics," thereby "dealing on a statistical basis with almost any matters that affect a large part of the community," and for now proposing to "select two or three of the subjects that most commend themselves for this purpose and make them the subjects of some of the essays, the authors being asked to bring the subject also before the congress, without prejudice to the subsequent publication in any desired form." "That some opportunity might be taken of publicly stating any more matured development of" my "scheme," in short (1) "arrange for the essays as already suggested; (2) arrange with the authors of one, two or three of them to briefly bring some of their results before the Demographic Congress."

I am, too, thankful that you are not too anxious to be rid of me altogether, and I most gratefully accept your proposal and ask: (a) What

should be the new (moral) subjects for the practical application of statistics? (b) Who would be the eminent “youngish” writers who would illustrate these subjects? (c) Would four essays be enough to begin with? And £200 the expense?

With regard to (1) subjects, I would only suggest that the statistics on *business* which the Statistical Society so often and so wisely publishes are not quite the sort of thing, nor are quite hygiene and sanitation proper, for which also there is already such large machinery, official and unofficial. And [I] would ask: would “the matters that affect a large part of the community” include such subjects as so press on my mind and to which you have so generously given a home?, such as (but all these subjects would be peculiarly English, but perhaps your essayists could put them afterwards before the congress in a general *human* form):

A. The results of Forster’s Elementary Education Act. I believe very considerable progress in night schools under the Education Office has been lately made. You allude to the “physical condition of school children.” The extent to which food AND COOKING influence this, both in town and country, is perhaps scarcely yet appreciated, or the maternal superstitions about feeding their children, especially in *infancy* as appears by a familiar inspection of infant schools. This comes even under the head of “business” too. For example, the country people who sell their milk in town, while their own children get none. Cooking classes exist now in almost all London schools, I believe. This, or rather the results of this, may be important in hygiene. . . .

You kindly say that you still wish something to be said on my behalf at the congress. There is time to think about this, but would you wish something of this sort [breaks off]

You were good enough to write the proposed title, would you not prefer the part marked in red, omitting the (in)? I have taken the precaution of keeping a copy as well as of the letter and memorandum. I was so good! as to return to you.

F.N.

[Galton’s title as amended]

Professorship of Statistics to be called by the name of the “— Professorship of (Statistics)” for Promoting by Means of Lectures or Otherwise the Statistical Science, and especially its Application to the Solution of Important Social Questions [Nightingale revised this to:] *Its Practical Application to Social Questions [Problems]*.

Source: Letter, University College Archives, Galton Papers 290

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane, W.
23 May 1891

My dear Sir [Francis Galton]

I am exceedingly sorry for the delay in answering your most kind letter of 21 April and entirely adopt your suggestion that I do not feel equal to writing a paper myself. I have put my initials at the foot of the paper which I return, so wisely written by yourself. As your authority for submitting it to the "eminent authorities" to be selected by you, the only alteration I have made is to put, where you have written in pencil another subject: "Effect of Poor Law and workhouses, whether de-pauperizing or not." But it will rest, of course, entirely with you whether you choose to insert this or not, or to alter it. I hope I am not too late, but I know how busy and overbusy you must be.

ever yours gratefully

Florence Nightingale

I can only sum up my apologies in how good you have been and how bad I.

F.N.

Source: Letter, University College Archives, Galton Papers 290, in Karl Pearson, ed., *Life, Letters and Labours of Francis Galton* 2:424

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane, W.
13 June 1891

Statistical Inquiry Essays

My dear Sir [Francis Galton]

I sorrowfully acknowledge your just award that the "season is now too far advanced" for you to "attempt" carrying out the "preliminaries." I can only hope that, when the vacations are over, I may still appeal to your kind wisdom. You have been more than kind. No one could do for the matter what you would. I trust your Demography is making favourable progress. I am,

ever yours gratefully

Florence Nightingale

Source: Note for revision of will, Add Mss 45815 f124

[late 1890s]

I recall or revoke the legacy of £2000 to Mr Francis Galton because he does not think it sufficient for the purpose I wished and proposes a

small endowment for research, which I believe will only end in endowing some bacillus or microbe. . . . And I think to leave it in the will will only be a worry to Mr F. Galton after my death.

Editor: Nightingale's bequest in her 1896 codicil provided for its payment as a priority over other legacies. She revoked it in a second codicil 23 August 1897 (Probate Registry).

SOCIAL POLICY, POVERTY, POOR LAW AND CHARITY

“A Note on Pauperism”

Nightingale's paper on pauperism, published in *Fraser's Magazine*, 1869, is her only publication on broad social policy. It is a remarkably progressive statement and indeed an early contribution to what would be termed “Christian socialism” in Britain and the “social gospel” in the United States and Canada. The paper includes the usual complaints about wasting money on poor relief and almsgiving and the evils of unions with positive examples of voluntary efforts to create jobs (through co-operatives). Much confidence is expressed in emigration as a solution. There is a clear statement of the underlying, Christian, foundation to what would become the welfare state: “The same tie unites us to God and all our fellow creatures.” Hence the abuse of the “imbecile old woman” and “dirty child” was no less than “treason” to God. “Love to God is synonymous with love to man” (see p 132 below). Work is accorded a key role, that is, *paid work*, again perhaps remarkable for a person who never had a paid job in her life. Work was not only the “first of our necessities” but “the strongest of our instincts” (see p 133 below). With an understanding of what would later be called *human capital* theory she affirmed that the “greatest harm” was the withdrawing of “all these heads and hands” from production (see p 134 below).

Nightingale wrote the article shortly after the adoption of the Metropolitan Poor Bill, which facilitated the provision of professional nursing into workhouse infirmaries in London (reported in *Public Health Care*). Her memorandum on the ABCs of Poor Law reform, written in defence of her proposal, called for the removal of “all the sick (incapable) out of the workhouses and [to] provide for their cure or care” as a first step. The next step was “not to punish the hungry for

being hungry” but to teach them to feed themselves (see p 132 below). The article then addressed pauperism not caused by ill health.

As usual the most salient facts pertaining to the problem are set out: the large amount of money spent on relief for the destitute, while pauperism had doubled in the previous ten years; the existence of 100,000 homeless children on the streets of London, contrary to the provisions of the Poor Law. The Poor Law itself, of Elizabethan origin, had been designed for an agricultural age (see p 133 below). Its failure was an indictment of practical organization as well as a sign of failure to love God. She did not begrudge expenditure on the destitute, so long as it was put to good effect, or “the least harm of the overflowing workhouse is the burden on the rates” [municipal taxes] (see p 134 below).

Nightingale’s tirade against unions was typical for her day. Their tyranny drove wages up, lost jobs to other countries and was thus against the interests of the workers themselves. She even acknowledged a “right to work,” or a right of workers to bargain, presumably individually, with their employer. Yet she recognized the seriousness of unemployment. Free trade had not succeeded in producing jobs (see p 143 below). Workers, moreover, not an argument often heard at the time, should be paid well. The Poor Law itself was a kind of “savage communism” to keep down wages. She noted the obvious convenience to employers of the existence of a “vast industrial army, ready for any work, *and chargeable on the public* when its work is not longer wanted.” The “reserve army of labour” of course is a Marxist term, but Nightingale was here citing an article in the *Times* (see p 141 below). She totally opposed the unproductive work required in workhouses. She recommended a “special commission” to investigate the unemployed poor (see p 404 below).

The Poor Law reforms of the 1830s, on which Edwin Chadwick was the prime mover, forced the destitute into the workhouse to get relief by abolishing “outdoor relief,” or financial support provided outside the workhouse for the able-bodied. The workhouse “test” was the requirement to go into the workhouse to receive assistance, implying that unless one was willing to do this he or she was not really destitute. The work provided by the workhouse was overwhelmingly “unproductive,” such as crushing stones in a stoneyard and picking oakum.

In a draft memorandum on workhouse infirmary reform in 1865 Nightingale raised the question, short of outright recommending, the abolition of workhouses “converting all paupers into outdoor recipients,” as a “great saving.”¹

1 Draft note [1 July 1865], Add Mss 45787 f6, in *Public Health Care*.

Nightingale recognized that most people wanted to work and that there were many who would work if they could get a job. She acknowledged the institutional barriers to employment, notably in Poor Law provisions that discouraged the unemployed from moving to another place: a parish only had to support its own destitute. "Starvation does not teach geography," she observed (see p 137 below). Most importantly she suggested that the state might play a role in *creating jobs* for the unemployed, at least in exceptional times of distress (see p 134 below). This would be a central component of John Maynard Keynes's strategy of counter cyclical public spending, in *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, 1936, and a key strategy for combatting recession in the twentieth century throughout the industrialized, capitalist world.

Nightingale was critical of the political economy school teaching of equilibrium between supply and demand, a "doctrine" which "pre-supposes the possibility of supply coming to the demand" (see p 136 below). She advocated the establishment of an agency to bring employers and job searchers together, what are called "employment centres" in Canada, "labour exchanges" in Britain. She explained how markets brought cotton and cotton mills together, even when separated by half the globe. But there was no agency to bring workers and employers together, and both suffered as a consequence. The institution of labour exchanges would be a key recommendation of the Minority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law of 1909,² implemented over the next decades.

The last page of the article is a postscript on prisons, reflecting a standard utilitarian approach. Nightingale regarded prison as free lodging for the prisoner, while the law should make it "dearer to steal" than to work (see p 144 below). She noted that it cost more to keep people in prison than to provide maintenance for "honest starving people." The article ended with the ironical observation that the remedy, we were told, was "to pay for more police, for more supervision of criminals out of prison, and we suppose for more imprisonments!" (see p 145 below). Correspondence regarding the article follows the article itself. For an early rough draft 23 December 1868 see ADD MSS 45818 ff71-80, for the fair copy see ff81-133 and corrected proofs 1 February 1869 ff134-43.

2 See Sidney and Beatrice Webb, "The Public Organisation of the Labour Market," in *Break-up of the Poor Law* Part 2.

Source: "A Note on Pauperism," *Fraser's Magazine* 79 (March 1869):281-90

Seven millions of pounds are spent annually in this great London of ours in relief, Poor Law and charitable. And with what result? To increase directly and indirectly the pauperism which it is meant to relieve. Pauperism in London has doubled in the last ten years.

The evil is become so pressing that Poor Law administrators, the charitable, the philanthropists, even the political economists, are beginning to turn their attention to it, and no longer to spend or to sanction the spending, or to prevent the spending of money without looking where we are going. First as to charity: the same tie unites us to God and to every one of our fellows. Therefore the ill-use or neglect (worst kind of ill-use) of every imbecile old woman or dirty child is a sort of treason against the Almighty. Love to God is synonymous with love to man. But the love which leads to pauperizing man is neither one nor the other.

All paupers who can move arm or leg can more or less support themselves. The first thing to do is to remove all the sick (incapable) out of workhouses and provide for their cure or care. This is, in a considerable measure, being done or about to be done [through the Metropolitan Poor Bill]. The next is not to punish the hungry for being hungry, but to teach the hungry to feed themselves.

Statesmen fancy this is to be done by "education," the three Rs, teaching the laws of nature. Now some of the very greatest rascals that ever lived are those who knew the laws of nature best. In a country where local self-government has trenched largely on the fourth R, rascaldom, everybody knows the three Rs. But the greatest sovereign the world ever saw, Charlemagne,³ organized the civil polity of Western Europe at a time when scarcely anybody could either read or write.

There have been those, and are to this day, who applied themselves not only to teach the laws of nature but to teach men how to live. The only way to teach paupers to support themselves is the way of the early Benedictines, of St Bernard of Clairvaux,⁴ a way practised by some excellent Protestants at the present day.⁵ The Benedictines set them-

3 Charlemagne (742-814), founder of the "Holy Roman Empire."

4 Benedictine monasticism, from the rule formulated by St Benedict (c480-c550), which combined work and prayer. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) brought in rigorous reforms to what became the Cistercian Order of Benedictines.

5 Nightingale was immensely impressed with the work of Johann Hinrich Wichern (1808-81), his family and artisan "brothers" at the *Rauhhaus*, Hamburg, which she visited in 1850 (see *European Travels*).

selves down where everybody robbed his neighbour, and invited any to join them who would not only obey, but work and get others to work. Clairvaux was a colony, a colony for agriculture, carpenters, smiths' work, and many other things besides learning. Early monasticism did this for all. All learned, but a residuum of pure paupers. These will always require to be taught how to feed themselves.

When a government delivers up its own responsibility into the charge of its subordinates who are permanent, it pays a staff to prevent human progress. The best work the world has seen has been paid work. But for any one of us to deliver up his or her charity, his or her personal responsibility, as to every imbecile old woman, as to every dirty child, into the hands of a paid staff, into the hands of any staff indeed, paid or unpaid, is to salve over the sore which we ought to heal.

As has been well said: "Work is the strongest of our instincts and the first of our necessities, and in work we either command or we obey." Again: "No doubt it is the first duty of man to take care of himself, but there certainly is a very large proportion of mankind who cannot do it with the least success." "All these people . . . will work, if they have the work to do and the very circumstance that they have been accustomed to special places in large industrial organizations contributes to their helplessness when cast on their own invention and their own resources. They don't know what to do because they have always been told what to do, and they cannot work because they have not masters." Who "will collect and gather" these "to order, industry and self-reliance?"

The answer is: it *has* been done in some cases, in many not known to fame, and which publish no reports. Why cannot it be done in many more? The Poor Law taxes the whole country to support (and to pauperize) those who are starving in the inevitable fluctuations of trade. A testimony like that of Mr Hill to the law of Elizabeth cannot be lightly passed over or disregarded. But the law of Elizabeth was for an age which lived by agriculture and land alone. Is it impossible for a legislature, for a nation to apply it, to modify it *mutatis mutandis* so as to suit the present age? The old political economists simply give the go-by to the whole question, saying, Let well alone, which being interpreted means, Let bad alone. Yet this "bad" is now so alarming, so pressing, that even *they* say: Something must be done.

Consider the always recurring distress of every winter, e.g., that of the East End. It is no longer possible to shut our eyes to the facts. Free

trade, from which so much was expected, although it may have provided for many willing workers, has left a vast number without work. When shall we have a “right to free course for trade in labour?”

The Poor Law has completely broken down, so far at least as diminishing the amount of pauperism, by increasing the number of willing workers who could find work. Private charity has broken down, and worse, it has increased the evil. The “workhouse test” has completely broken down, the *unproductive labour* test the same. Not only are they punishing these pitiable paupers with unproductive labour at unremunerative prices, but the punishment test is of no avail, for the workhouses are overflowing and the people are starving. And the least harm of the overflowing workhouse is the burden on the rates. The greatest harm is the withdrawing all these heads and hands from contact with the materials and means of production. The “workhouse test” has saddled this country with pauperism, more perhaps than anything except the want of education—education not into the mystery of letters and figures, but of work. Consider the amount of real practical workable knowledge shown by the trades’ unions in the answers given a winter or two ago by the shipwrights, to the offer of employment on two ships. These men, knowing that shipbuilding is an irregular, a fluctuating employment, pitch their expenditure at the *maximum* rate of their wages, and then will not take less.

As long as the legislature 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 freedom is wanting. For this is not to steal from me the result of my power of production. “Who steals my purse steals trash.” But who steals my power of production steals all I have.⁶

As long as a man is liable to be deprived of his right to labour where, when and how he likes, he cannot be called a free man. Our political liberties are a farce and you have a machinery at hand for filling your workhouses. Is it really possible to believe that our legislators could not, if they gave their minds to it, frame an act by which the workman might make his own bargain as to wages with his employer, with an appeal to courts of justice or other authorities?

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 [state work-

6 A paraphrase from Shakespeare, *Othello* Act 3, scene 3.

shops])? The state, in one department, does give work, but it is unproductive work. Unproductive work seems as great a blunder as trades' unions ever made.

It is always cheaper to pay labour its full value. Labour underpaid is more expensive. This has been the opinion of the most experienced contractors, employers and true economists. The great French contractor of the Suez Canal has, it is understood, given every man employed under him "a direct pecuniary interest in the success of the work and its speedy completion." Among these workmen are Dalmatians, Greeks, Egyptian fellahs, Nubians, etc., not very promising students of political economy, but in a better way perhaps to learn it practically than our Englishmen with their "rates in aid of wages."

Day by day, year by year, all kinds of reports of associations and advertisements in newspapers indicate that we cannot go on as we are, and that the whole subject of the unemployed poor, in other words, of the working faculty without the will or means of applying it productively, must be taken up by a special commission or committee, which will go into the whole question without prejudice, and tell us what is to be done.

Who have risen up to do the real Poor Law work? Müller at Bristol,⁷ the Roman Catholic "Little Sisters of the Poor," both societies of foreigners, and doing their voluntary part of Poor Law work with more Christianity and more economy than the [Poor Law] Guardians themselves.

The Poor Law says: There shall not be a single orphan wandering about the streets. In London we know that there are 100,000 stray children. In Bristol Müller collects them and the means to support them. *He* gets money enough, while half England is clamouring and complaining about the rates. The unreason of it is unbearable. Try voluntary effort in a single parish. When Dr Chalmers⁸ was minister of St John's at Glasgow, he so managed the voluntary family assistance to the poor that no legal aid was necessary during his incumbency.

If we could suppose for a moment by way of hypothesis that the state could, by seizing and educating the 100,000 homeless children running about the streets of London (even though the education should be free), enable all these to earn their own maintenance hon-

7 George Müller (1805-98), German-born evangelical preacher and founder of many orphanages in Bristol.

8 Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847); see his *Application of Christianity to the Commercial and Ordinary Affairs of Life*, 1820.

estly and well, without ever coming back as paupers or as thieves upon the rates and the country, even political economy would say “well done,” even those who seem to think that unlimited liberty of the Briton must include that of stealing or of starving or of pauperizing his family.

Yet this is not a wild hypothesis. It is an experiment which has been successfully tried. Especially has it been successfully tried in Scotland, where the pauper child has been placed out to board with a cottager at an expense, covering everything, of nine pounds a year. Here it has been proved what family kindness, shown even by strangers, will do to de-pauperize.

It is well known that a pauper child must be removed from all his pauper associations in order not to turn out a pauper. He must not even be apprenticed in the parish whence he comes, otherwise he and his children will turn out paupers forever. “Nearly one fifth return to the workhouse of those brought up in workhouse or district schools.” On the other hand, “It is a rare thing,” says the Edinburgh Inspector of Poor, “for either a boy or a girl” put out to board with a cottager as above described, “to become chargeable to the parish in afterlife.” That is, if you remove children from their “hereditary pauperism,” educate them, body and mind, you may make them good citizens.

Political economy requires farther expansion in order to include all the elements of this great social problem. It is a true doctrine that demand and supply regulate the price of all things, labour included. But this doctrine presupposes that there is a possibility of the supply coming to the demand, for example, whatever demand there was for cotton in Lancashire and whatever supply there was of it in America would matter little to the Lancashire manufacturers, if there were no ships or other agencies whereby the supply could encounter the demand. In the same way, whatever amount of labour may be available and whatever demand for labour there may be, this would matter little if there were no means of bringing them together. At the present time there is an agency which brings cotton and cotton mills, separated by half the globe, into immediate relation, but there is no agency whereby labour and the demand or means of labour can be brought together. This is simply done by chance at present, and both labourer and employer suffer.

Political economy does *not* say, Let madmen run about the streets and pick up their living as they can. But it does say—and it takes for granted in spite of every day’s cruel experience—that all human beings

having any producing power have also the power of finding work if they choose. Now no one can ever really have seen much among the poor, especially in workhouses, without seeing that the faculty of finding work is quite a peculiar one, or the result of education. The great mass of workmen are perfectly incapable, if work fails them, of forming any reasonable scheme for going to find it elsewhere or in other wise, and starvation will not teach geography.

The industrious widow left with children, for instance, cannot go out to find work, and if work comes to her, it is a welcome accident. A man may certainly go out to find work, but whether he gets it or not depends exclusively upon his previous training in the habit of obtaining work. How is he to obtain the previous training? Our laws of settlement were actually devised upon the express principle of discouraging a man from changing his residence. Also, instead of presenting work as the greatest blessing of man, it is proposed by the law as a punishment, a penalty, a grievance.

St Paul's opinion, that a man must work to eat,⁹ is so clear that one would think it was also clear, for people who read the New Testament, that not giving money but helping men to work, to exercise their producing power, who have not the gift, natural or acquired, to do so unaided, is the charity which, above all, is preached there. When Christ says: "The poor ye have always with you,"¹⁰ he cannot have meant that we were "always" to be giving them money, but that we were "always" to be "doing good" to them. The only real "good" is done by helping those to work who could not do it without our help. Instead of this, *we* say to those who can't find work, "Go into the workhouse." If indeed it were what its name implies, a house for work, an "Adult Industrial Home," there would be some sense in it.

But our national common sense has not yet arrived at this result: take out all the sick, infirm, those who have lost either for a time or for life all producing power, cure them or make them as comfortable as you can. For the rest, those who have only half lost their producing power, or have not lost it, but, from want of education, want of knowledge of industrial and commercial matters, want of geography, in short, of *faculty*, know just as little as the madman whom our political economy does *not* leave to pick up his own living, how to utilize their producing power—say to these, Come and we will help you to find work.

9 An allusion to 2 Thess 3:10.

10 Mark 14:7.

The wage-producing power of the population is said to equal the consumption. This may be, but the Poor Law statistics show us exactly how much of the producing power is squandered on those who cannot produce because we don't help them. Now, as above said, the wages of a nation ought to cover the maintenance, both of the producers and of the sick and infirm depending upon them. Without falling in the least into the error of the French or Spanish "Ateliers Nationaux," surely it is possible for a Poor Law to help its poor to find work, where work is in one place and labour in another, to bring them together.

This restoring the balance betwixt the labourer and his work was one of the original objects of the reformed Poor Law. In the report of the Poor Law Commissioners for 1837 it is stated that, not only was emigration encouraged, but that "the overstocked labour market" in one county had been "relieved of 2000" profitless mouths sent to the manufacturing districts "at a cost of £3600," with the practical result of lowering their cost to the rates from £2000 to £65.

So far as concerns the able-bodied and non-criminal poor, the real function of a Poor Law is neither to punish nor to feed, but to train them to self-dependence and industry, a branch of national education which is in small sense helped by reading, writing and figures, or by any "conscience clause" which can be framed. There must be, of course, the natural premium of work, namely, pay, subject, of course, to the natural rise and fall of prices in the labour market.

Three not rich ladies have solved this insoluble problem for about twenty-five poor women, weak in intellect, weak in habits of temperance, in an "Adult Industrial Home" (Miss Hurry's, St Stephen's Home, Shepherd's Bush, West [London]). These are just the helpless class we find in workhouses, just the class with whom, says the Poor Law, we *can* do nothing. They were set to laundry and other work for which they were fit, and the earnings of these poor incompetents have amounted the last two years to between £800 and £900 a year. Each of the inmates has a share in the profits of the laundry. Here was a successful de-pauperizing experiment. The Poor Law would have set them to pick oakum as a test of hunger, and have said, How can the impossible be done? The answer is it *has* been done, and with the most unpromising materials.

The works for which adult paupers, under supervision and with the natural stimulus of pay, are fit, are numerous. But there are two for which they are unfit: attending to sick and attending to children. All grown-up paupers are paupers from defect: moral defect, intellectual

defect, physical defect. It has been found by actual experiment that no training can make these grown-up ones such as we ought to put about sick or children. Take the next generation, if you please, and train them up to be nurses.¹¹

It is, above all, however, towards devising new industrial occupations that our ingenuity might be directed, for example, Lord Shaftesbury's Ragged Shoeblack Brigade. There a want, namely, to have one's shoes cleaned away from home, was supplied. Or in filling new fields of industry which we have not to create, for God has created them for us somewhere or other in the boundless empire on which the sun never sets.

At Edinburgh the "Industrial Brigade" which began with shoe blacking has gone on to finding remunerative situations for the boys. These boys could not have found places for themselves. The earnings of the boys in the institution pay rent and food. This is one successful industrial experiment. Here is another: "1750 persons have been rescued from pauperism at an expenditure of about £6400," that is to say, at less than £4 a piece (which in today's advertisements is offered for a lost dog). Where? How? Who were these persons rescued? By emigration and migration from the East End of London. Of these, seventy families were in the lowest sink of pauperism, selected by the [Board of] Guardians themselves as those they wished to be rid of. All have done well and are, except two, permanently settled. Therefore, for four pounds a head you can provide permanently, with a little care, skill and common sense, for starving people.

Even oakum picking, out of the workhouse, and as an intermediary to finding more suitable work, can be put to some good use, when fairly paid for. It is cheaper than idleness in the workhouse, as the following Birmingham experience will show (quoted by the *Times* 8 February) in the employment of able-bodied women in oakum picking for out-relief. "Each woman is required to pick three pounds of oakum per diem, for which she receives 4s 6d a week." "The total estimated saving on orders issued for work, as compared with the maintenance of the women as inmates of the workhouse, during the year, is calculated to have been £646."

There is good sense as well as good political economy in this, only the work should not be made a "test." It should be made to pay. And

11 The experiment was tried at the Liverpool Workhouse Infirmary, against Nightingale's will. The adult "pauper nurses" were a dismal failure (see *Public Health Care*), but Nightingale remained hopeful that girls from workhouses could become nurses with suitable work experience and training.

surely oakum picking is not the most profitable occupation to which women can be put. Is there not needlework? It is true that needlework, although peculiarly fitted for women, must be taught. If the vast majority at present of needlewomen are not well paid, it is because their work is not worth the money. Those who can work well can command their own terms.

Only the shortest allusion can here be made to one of the most fruitful causes, if not *the* most fruitful, of pauperism in England, and this is the state of the dwellings of the poor. Some of the best Poor Law authorities¹² are of opinion that Poor Law medical officers, who now can only give a little useless or mischievous medicine to poor people, and who helplessly see disease growing up from its root, namely, the ill-drained, ill-built dwelling, should be endowed with the function of bringing the cause of disease immediately before the magistrate, as the Inspector of Nuisances must do, and compelling the removal of this cause of pauperism. Does not the wretched, degenerate, puny population of Bethnal Green, Shoreditch and other parishes cry aloud for this? (Alderman Waterlow, MP, has shown that healthy dwellings for the poor can be built to pay 5 percent—actually 7 percent, but the company have kept 2 percent in hand for extending their operations.)

The English maxim, “Every man for himself” means, Let every man have as much wages as will just keep soul and body together, and when he can’t get them, be taken care of by the community. It was a kind of savage communism, meant to keep down wages.

Suppose for a moment a thoroughly prosperous and well-ordered community. In such a one, as we have said, every man ought to be able to earn as much as he requires for his own sustenance and for that of his family, besides laying up sufficient for illness, temporary want of work and old age. But as this state of things does not exist we act as follows: The law takes it for granted that all employers of labour will get the labour done at as cheap a rate as possible. The law takes it for granted that this rate is not sufficient to do more than supply, and that barely, the present necessities of the worker. The law hence levies a tax on the whole community, whether employers of labour or not, for the purpose of supplementing the want of wages, want of foresight, or want of self-control, as the case may be. It has now to be considered how the evil can be met.

12 In the rough draft, Sir John McNeill, Add Mss 45818 f71.

Beginning with the political economy of the question: in all trade and great mercantile and manufacturing enterprise there is an element of uncertainty, an irregular element not existing to the same degree in land and agricultural enterprise. There are times when there is a great deal too much to do, and times when there is a great deal too little, in other words, times when there is too much labour for the market and times when there is not enough. There is a wicked element here, and this is that, whenever emigration of the surplus population—the population which the land, according to the law of Elizabeth, did find work for, and can no longer find work for, and which now overflows into the large towns, by a rush of blood as it were to the head—whenever, we say, emigration on any large scale has been proposed, the answer has been: No, we can't afford to part with our surplus population because then we shall not be able to undersell every other country by having more hands than we can employ at all times.

As the *Times* says: "There is an obvious convenience in the possession of a vast industrial army ready for any work *and chargeable on the public* when its work is no longer wanted." While, on the other hand, the old political economists, the Poor Law administrators, consider that starvation is the proper stimulus to work (as if starvation were a quickener of the wits) and make no provision for finding work for those who don't know how to find it, but who would do it if they had it to do.

Private subscriptions and almsgiving then step into supply the obvious defect in this mode of dealing with the poor and the practical result is an increase of the evil. A French "administrateur" once said: "We cannot understand your English laws—you have a Poor Law—you pay rates for your child paupers to be educated, for your sick paupers to be housed and doctored in places called workhouses, etc. Then you subscribe to private charities to take your paupers out of the power of the Poor Law. If you do the one, why do you do the other? Would it not be cheaper to see that the two work in the same direction? We cannot understand such a principle of administration."

Has then the future Poor Law reform, which we are so anxiously hoping for, nothing to do but to economize? It has to do this certainly, but only as a means to a higher economy. The private enterprises, referred to above, showed a truer economy than that recommended theoretically by the greatest political economists. Has then private charity nothing to do but to hold its hand? If the word "char-

ity” is but named, political economists cry out that “all charity is pauperizing.” The answer is: if it is pauperizing, it is not charity.

In the *Times* of 25 January occurs as follows: “It has been officially reported that the resident population of Great Britain is increased by 240,000 persons annually, and it is calculated that these newcomers would require for their subsistence, in bread alone, the crops of 50,000 acres of land under skillful tillage.” Now it is clear that these 240,000 people must be fed. It is also clear that an area of ground of about ten miles long by eight miles broad must be put under cultivation to feed them with bread alone. Is it not also clear that all of them who cannot be profitably employed on productive industry, for which other people cultivating ground would be content to exchange part of their surplus produce, ought to be put to cultivating for themselves? Or that, if this is not done, they must live on other people’s labour? And this is really the only resource provided at present either by our legislature or, except in mere dribblets, by our private charity.

One would think a very obvious permanent arrangement in such a country as England, with such a limitless extent of colonial lands, would be to prepare areas for colonization, to put up, at a cost to be repaid by the colonists, some kind of shelter, to select the colonists, to brigade them and send them out to the land, seeing we cannot bring the land to them. But in England we don’t colonize: we only emigrate. And people left to themselves to learn how to emigrate successfully often die in the process. In the Roman sense of colonization, or even in the French sense, we do nothing.

Do the ratepayers ever think that the seven millions of annual Poor rate would, in one single year, place every recipient of Poor Law relief, old and young, man, woman and child, on the shores of America, would pay all expenses and leave them one or two pounds in their pockets to begin the world with? Suppose that to this sum were added the amount squandered on the same class by private (so-called) charity in one single year, would it not in all probability be sufficient to pay the outfit of every one of these poor people on the land?

Of course it is not intended that aged, sick and infirm should be dealt with in this way. But the fact ought to make us all think whether we cannot carry our rates and our charity to a better market than we have been in the habit of doing, to think, not that the remedy is to be sought in this exact way, but whether the annual rate is not to a large extent equivalent to an annual capital, which, once spent, would extinguish the rate altogether.

Supposing it were a more usual thing for younger sons to take their portion of the hereditary wealth and also the overflowing population of their fathers' estates to the colonies, as was formerly the case with the Spanish noble families who set out with some of each trade—in place of one America we should have twenty Englands. And what an outlet for our produce! Here in England unemployed poor are a negative quantity. They eat up what we raise. In Australia they are a positive quantity. They take our produce and pay for it.

Surely this matter of bringing the many lands in our colonies into direct relation with the multitude of strong arms, forcibly idle at home, must be one function of any good government administering a group of islands such as ours, where the population expands itself in so great a ratio, while there is no power of expansion in the soil. This is the end of the whole matter: it is a fact that our population exceeds the means of labour, either because the material for labour does not exist, or because there are no means of bringing labour and material together.

It is a fact that our poor rate is seven millions and that seven millions are spent every year between charity and Poor Law relief in London alone, in the metropolis of the greatest empire the world has ever seen and amongst the most practical people of the earth. It is a fact that, notwithstanding all this transfer of the produce of industrious hardworking people to non-workers, distress and hunger are more clamorous than ever. It is a fact that our trades' unions have increased the evil by interfering with the free course of the labour market, and have thereby driven away work to other countries. It is a fact that the present amount of pauperism exists notwithstanding free trade, trades' unions to raise the value of labour, Poor Law tests to compel people to find labour where there is little to be had, outdoor relief to supplement low wages and an unprecedented amount of private charity or almsgiving. It is a fact that all this exists notwithstanding an annual voluntary emigration.

It is a fact that, within the Queen's dominions, there are entire Europes waiting for settlement and ready to repay labour with such interest as no part of the old world can yield. It is a fact that a very large proportion of our foreign commerce is made up of trade with the very people who, if they had never left England, would probably long ere this have converted it into a desert. A great many of our present population live by those who have formed a home beyond the seas.

These are the facts with which legislation has to deal, for which benevolent effort has to find a remedy. Is it not time that some attempt

should be made to systematize and economize the rates and multifarious agencies, and almost imperial revenues with which private charity has failed to reach the evil—nay, has increased it? Legislation cannot do all. But it can do much of itself, and perhaps more by recognizing and giving a proper direction to the never-failing streams of private charity which at present end in a marsh. The evils are as sorrowful as they are great; the evils no one denies. On the contrary, they are acknowledged to be the most pressing question of the day, a question which *will* not put itself off. But surely among us we can cope with it. As Mr Bright¹³ has said: A people which could dip its arm into the depths of the Atlantic and pick up the electric wire to bind two continents together, can surely do this thing.

Postscript

The same problem applies to prisoners. It always appears the greatest *non sequitur* to give, for example, to a forger “five years’ penal servitude,” that is, provision and lodging in prison. What has that to do with his crime? But, if you sentence him to repay (say) twice the amount he had stolen, his sustenance to be repaid meanwhile to the state out of his earnings, and let him go whenever he had done so, that would be something like a reformatory.

The object is to teach a man that it is dearer to steal than to work. Hitherto the object of our laws seems to have been to teach that it is dearer to work than to steal, and not only this, but that it is dearer to work than to beg. Labour should be made to pay better than thieving. At present it pays worse. To jail governors it is well known that certain “excellent” prisoners, very good artisans, who work well at their trade in prison, will leave it as soon as they are out, because they have a better trade “to look to,” namely, professional thieving.

As for the common run of prisoners, we know what their educational imprisonments do for them. Take an example which appeared the other day. B, aged eight, entered the “professional dishonesty” trade in 1856; during the next twelve years up to the present date was in prison eleven times, some of these considerable terms, one for four years. In fact he merely came out of prison to perform the forty or fifty successful thefts, the “three months of safe and pleasant practice” which is the average *de rigueur* before going recaptured and to go

13 John Bright (1811-89), Quaker, Liberal MP, free trade advocate; the reference is the telegraph, on which more below.

in again. He is now twenty. We ask ourselves why we are put to the expense of keeping him in prison. Is it merely to prevent him from stealing during that time? Had he been made to work out the value (or twice the value) of his theft, he would have learnt that it is dearer to steal than to work. It certainly costs a great deal more at present to give him this prison provision and home than it does to provide permanent maintenance for honest starving people. And the remedy, we are told, for this increasing crime is to pay for more police, for more supervision of criminals out of prison, and we suppose for more imprisonments!

Correspondence on “Pauperism”

Editor: Nightingale discussed the preparation of the paper with her sister and brother-in-law, consulting them particularly as to what journal would be best for it. The letter to her sister, below, shows that advice was given and at least partially taken.¹⁴ Correspondence with the editor of *Fraser’s Magazine* (the third item following) shows that the article was unsolicited; she was paid £6.5.0 for it.¹⁵ A letter to a friend gives her broad purpose in writing the article.

It seems that in May 1868 her brother-in-law sought Nightingale’s advice for a speech on pauperism in the House of Commons (Mr Corrance’s motion).

Source: Letter, Wellcome Ms 7204 unnumbered and Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/69

[printed address] 35 South Street
Park Lane, W.
4 January 1869

My dear Sir Harry [Verney]

You have often suggested that I should write a little article on the Poor Law—I have written the enclosed. (If it is to be published at all, a good deal in it that is too familiar, a good deal in it that is *impudent*, will have to come out.) I am not intending to make it any longer. Would you be so good as to look at it? I would modify or alter it in any way, or what I should much prefer, I would put it in the fire. But, if it is to be published at all, I understand that it should be published at

14 There is a further letter, not included here, to Harry Verney 5 January 1869, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/74.

15 Receipt from Longmans for “her contribution to the 471st number of *Fraser’s Magazine*,” ADD MSS 45801 f205.

once. (If it is to be in any of the February magazines, I believe it ought to be sent by next Thursday.) I could write other papers, as the question develops itself, but I could not develop this paper.

As you know, it is not properly my own subject and I should never have thought of writing upon it at all, if you and others had not kindly urged me. I understand that the question is marching so fast that what appears too “advanced” now will next month be “in arrear.” You see how entirely the *Times* has changed its tone within a very few days. There is a discussion tonight at the Social Science. I have had no intercourse whatever with Dr Stallard,¹⁶ but I think he has done good service and will do more.

ever yours

F.N.

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/80

25 January 1869

Dearie [Parthenope Verney]

Many thanks for all the trouble which you and Sir Harry have taken about the article. I think I will rewrite it (I had not time to open it till today). If you recommend *Fraser*, will you tell me whom you write to and how and the address? If you recommend Mr Reeve, will you tell me *when* is the next *Edinburgh [Review]*?

I *had* been recommended to write a Poor Law article for one of the quarterlies, but my feeling was: (1) that I did not *ride heavy* enough for a quarterly; (2) that, though I really like Mr Reeve better than most do, I had not time for a correspondence which he would most certainly honour me with in modifying my article—as I am essentially *not* a periodical writer. But, as I *am* rewriting it, it will be quite heavy enough for the *Edinburgh*, if he will admit it.

Yes, I should certainly sign an article, containing facts and opinions on a subject of this kind, at least with my initials, because Sidney Herbert disapproved of writing on these subjects anonymously. He said that one ought to be called to account for and to stand to one’s facts and opinions in these things, as a man has to do in the House of Commons. (I have never published anonymously except newspaper articles on his work, a great many years ago, which were written by Dr Sutherland and me at Old Burlington St. and published in different newspapers. That was before his death.)

¹⁶ Dr J.H. Stallard, author of several books on workhouses.

N.B. If you refer to my letter to Sir Harry, you will find that what you take exception to about my having said that I had written so many hundreds of reports referred exclusively to what he said: "That the first thing to do was to make a copy of my paper" and my reply, that people who wrote so much as I do found a M.S. copy made from their own writing useless for reference. They write, revise, *print* and cut up the *printed* copy. (This is so much the case that, as you are aware, a formal remonstrance was addressed by government to their report writers for the printing expense entailed by this practice. *I* did it at my own expense.)

ever your

F.

Source: Unsigned draft or copy, ADD Mss 45801 ff191-92

[printed address] 35 South Street
Park Lane, W.
8 February 1869

Sir: [James A. Froude, editor of *Fraser's Magazine*]

Although unable to claim the honour of your acquaintance, I venture to send you a very unpretending M.S. paper on pauperism, wholly without any claims to authoritative doctrine and ask you whether you can do anything with it. I am afraid of being like the authors who write a preface full of excuses and reasons why they should *not* publish; otherwise I would say that my paper was "written in the intervals of overwhelming business," that it is not strictly my subject, but taken up at the instance of others and that I am an incurable invalid, entirely a prisoner to my room. But you will justly retort upon me, "then why did you write it?" as we do upon the preface writers. Such is not my motive however, but merely to explain to any kindness that you may possibly feel for me that I shall not be mortified if you say that you can do nothing with my poor little article.

Editor: Froude's reply, the same day, thanked her heartily for her "most useful and interesting paper." "Most thinking people" were beginning to see that political economy does not solve "social problems" and logically "it means that we must let people die."¹⁷

17 Letter 8 February [1869], ADD Mss 45801 ff193-94.

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/86

13 February 1869

I have never thanked you for your kindness in sending me the “Industrial Employment” paper. Of course we concur in *all* these things being done. Let *all* “wastelands” of Great Britain be reclaimed. But let people make a very simple calculation by which they will see: *A B* is the increase of our population every year, *X Y* is the number of acres additional required to feed them with bread alone. Upon this calculation, 2,400,000 additional acres will be required for the ten years’ increase *not* including the compound increase.

Now there is not that quantity of *waste* lands at this moment in the kingdom. Do not depend upon my figures, for I have not them before me. But it was a little calculation I made for my article (which has been accepted). But this is of course no reason against cultivating what wastelands there are. On the contrary.

Source: From a letter to Parthenope Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/91

12 March 1869

I don’t know that I have any “message,” thanks, for Mr Froude, except that as he “hoped,” to you, “to have another article” from me.¹⁸ I should be glad if he would indicate in what direction he wishes this second article to be. I am, of course, prepared to follow up that view of pauperism with another development of the same. But I had so much rather have heard first what people have to say on the other side.

You say, “I suppose you have seen from the reviews on your magazine articles what people say of,” etc. I have never seen *any* “reviews” *at all* of the only two “magazine articles” I ever wrote. (But then I never see anything) and should be most glad to see them. I never have time to look through any paper (nor eyes) except what I am *obliged* to read in the *Times* and I should be glad even if, when you send me in the *Pall Mall*, you would kindly mark what I am to read. Has there been anything in the *Pall Mall* about my “magazine articles”?

If Mr Froude would rather *tell* me what he has to say, I would make an appointment to see him some afternoon. I have sent my article to about twenty men, most of whom asked for it, because I wanted criticism. Of these but three or four are as busy as myself. Only three, and those the busiest of all: Sir John McNeill, Mr Jowett [and] Mr Rawlin-

18 There was no second article.

son,¹⁹ have sent me any criticism or indeed have acknowledged it. I send you Mr Rawlinson's letter, which I think a very powerful one. *Please return it.*

Source: From a letter to Mary Clarke Mohl, Woodward Biomedical Library A.10

26 March 1869

I wrote a little "Note on Pauperism" in *Fraser's Magazine* for March, which I sent to M Mohl (do you know whether he ever got it?) to show that, to raise the pauper *was* according to the strictest rules of political economy. I was only like the drummer boy, going round, by beat of drum, just to wake people up. You must sometimes trample on the toes of political economists, just to make them feel whether they are standing on firm ground. To do good useful work in this world, you must enlist the *interests* of everybody on your side. Christian effort won't do. You must show well-directed worthiness, that their interest is to help you, that it is cheaper to go out of their way a little to teach people to help themselves than to give money in charity, or in Poor Law to offer paupers the workhouse or to let them die.

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/101

4 May 1869

I have looked in vain for anything for you "to read for Mr Corrance's motion."²⁰ I am myself looking forward to it with great anxiety, but motions for inquiring into the existing state of pauperism and vagrancy and the principles upon which the Poor Laws are at present administered will not do much, unless it bring about a reconsideration of the whole question. For, if it is the Poor Law which makes pauperism, the Poor Law which makes vagrancy, we want an inquiry into the whole thing—the very application of the principles of political economy, the very operation of the Poor Law in generating paupers.

19 Robert Rawlinson (1810-98), later Sir, leading sanitary engineer and a close colleague from Crimea days on.

20 Frederick Snowdon Corrance (1822-1906), whose motion 10 May 1869 for a select committee to examine into pauperism and vagrancy in England was duly withdrawn after debate. He stressed the need for appropriate treatment of the sick, aged and children, different from that of "vagrants" who could work, as did Nightingale, but his speech gave no principles for reorganizing the Poor Law. See also his letter to the editor of the *Times* 12 May 1869.

As people said I was “oracular” in my paper in *Fraser*, I have written a paper on my paper which is so extremely bad that I think it will do very well. I do not offer it to you to read for I know you do not like those little lines. And it is quite in its rough state. But it is of course quite at your service if you like to look at it before Mr Corrance’s night. I shall dwell upon the advantages you offer for *emigration* in your Hudson’s Bay Co. Territory paper (which I liked very much) in *Fraser*. The very Turks are before *us* in providing for immigrants!

ever yours

F.N.

Editor: It is not clear to what Nightingale’s “paper on my paper” refers. The next (and last) item in this section refers to notes for her article. But by September 1869, she had given up her hope that she could do anything more on the broader issue of pauperism and similarly gave up on proposals for home ownership for workers (see below). A letter to Dr Sutherland asked him to write up this work and begged him to accept “due pecuniary compensation” for the editing work and offered all her collected materials.²¹

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/104

12 May 1869

So the practical result or rather the practical non-result of all the Poor Law discussion is simply this: the public are to be left to pauperize by private charity without let or hindrance and the Poor Law is to pauperize by rates as usual. It appears to me that what we ought to do now is to advocate a congress of delegates from all charitable institutions all over the country to meet in London for the purpose of forming an union to include and systematize all the objects and that one fundamental principle of this union must be that all establishment charges and salaries must be paid by the committees notably (charging a percentage to each, the object being to have a personal check) so that the contributions from the subscribers should reach the poor without a farthing of deduction.

(I do not see why, if we have a Congress of Delegates to emancipate the slaves, we should not have one to attend to our own poor. And there are charities already conducted on the principle that the committees pay all establishment charges.) This appears now to be necessary.

21 Letter 19 September 1869, ADD Mss 45753 f279.

I entirely agree in the latter paragraphs in the *Times* article of today 12 May. But, if those paragraphs be true, some such union as I have suggested between the different charities follows as a matter of course. If this cannot be done, then the next thing, bad as it is, should be to advocate stopping the supplies altogether, so that the rates may do everything and that a due economy over these rates should be exercised. But, if the government wants a proper ground for action, they ought to have a royal commission to cover all the ground.

Private. It is a cruel pity that Mr Corrance, who seems to be a good man, should have so little understood the subject as just to have played into the hands of the government. He said just what they wanted him to say in order to be defeated. And his letter in the *Times* of today 12 May is contradictory to the beginning of his speech of Monday night. He takes hold of the most offensive, the most impracticable, the most destructive and pauperizing of all conceivable agencies, and proposes it, viz., that government should supplement out of the rates the voluntary charities. Mr Goschen was perfectly right in negating that (although his speech was a speech of straw). (Our proposal was that government should have a certain control over the voluntary charities.) Mr Corrance advocates a system directly the reverse of the Paris one, and then praises that. He advocates the Paris system and then proposes a quite different one. He advocates just what the French don't do, then praises what they do do. The Paris system is that, up to a certain point the government allows private charity to exert itself to the full, keeping a direction over it.

We have twenty different agencies doing the same thing twenty times for one person. We want an agency so that the one thing needful should be done²² for the one person. This is what they have in Paris, but this is not supplementing out of the rates, which is the one perfect means for pauperizing people. In the debate, every one of the elements has been considered. And the non-result is want of capacity, want of capacity on the part of the government to deal with the question, or rather, I suppose I should say, on the part of the legislature. There seems to me such a terrible vein of what may be called the "aristocratical element" running through it. People are afraid to interfere. And if you ask them why, there seems to be no reason but "this is a good world" (for those who have got by capacity or inheritance the good things in it). And they are afraid that any inquiry (into the polit-

22 An allusion to Luke 10:42.

ical economy of those who have not) will interfere with their “good world.” I send you the notes for my article, as you are so good as to wish to take them to Embley. But, if Parthe would send them me back by Tuesday’s box, I should be glad. I wish to begin my article (if I do it) *with our gained ground*. For I think we *have* gained ground. And as I have only one hour a morning, 7:30-8:30 A.M. to work at these things, I could not afford to lose a month.

ever yours

F.N.

Miscellaneous Letters and Notes on the Poor Law

Editor: Nightingale’s lengthy and concerted efforts at Poor Law reform regarding the care of the sick poor are treated in the next volume, *Public Health Care*. The various items here give some background to that work, and relate it to her broader concern with Poor Law reform. Nightingale much respected the expertise of Sir John McNeill, whose work on relief in the potato famine in the Scottish highlands saved many. The note to Jowett dates from the period in which she was thoroughly involved in Poor Law reform, but deals rather with general principles than details. This latter material breaks off with a cursory mention of Jeremy Bentham’s utility theory, a subject she deals with in commenting on Jowett’s introductions to the *Dialogues of Plato* (see p 551 below). “The greatest good of the greatest number” did not go far enough for Nightingale, who believed that a perfect God would have in mind no less than the good *of all*.

Source: Note by A.H. Clough of a conversation by Nightingale with Sir John McNeill, Wellcome Ms 7204/8

[October 1860]

Walk to Romsey. Comparison of Poor Law in England, Scotland and Ireland (referred to last report), average of paupers in England (northern cities) and Scotland 1 in 18, in Ireland 1 in 218. Neither in England or Scotland at present would the Irish system of refusing outdoor relief be accepted. Yet it seems really the most humane. In Scotland there is (what in England does not exist) a means of enforcing relief: a claimant can go to a court and obtain an order which would be enforced. Dunlop’s Act so far as relates to Poor Law children is almost inoperative. It has been ruled that the parish stands in loco parentis and may make the engagement to provide otherwise for the education of the child.

I [McNeill] introduced the system of putting them out to families in the county at an allowance of 2s/ a week with the cost of their schooling. This is found to be quite satisfactory. Inspectors go round to see how the children are treated. (Only one *union* in Scotland, a parochial system, few workhouses.)

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45801 f170

[c1868]

It is always cheaper to pay labour its full value (see p 135 above). The other is the more expensive plan. Labour should be made to pay better than thieving. At present, it pays worse. What is the cause of pauperism in England? Unlimited liberty and the Poor Law.

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/7 [and see Note, ADD Mss 45787 ff50-53, and note, ADD Mss 45800 f206]

11 February 1868

Poor Law

My dear Sir Harry [Verney]

In order to do any good, it seems that you have to break new ground.

1. The principle of entire separation of sick, infirm, lunatics, children, etc., from paupers is admitted. It is admitted by Mr Hardy's act,²³ though imperfectly. All the sources of squabble in carrying out that act which were predicted have actually arisen. One cannot but expect that a more complete and judicious way of carrying it out will be found. But nobody, I believe, now denies the principle. Nobody, I believe, now asserts that to cure sickness is to attract pauperism.

2. But the real new pressing question nowadays is what to do with *pauperism* itself. Every day's advertisements in the *Times* show how urgent this question is and how unable everybody is to cope with it. Take the present state of (1) Poor Laws, (2) labour, (3) trades unions. What do the advertisements show? Poor Law completely broken down. Private charity worse than broken down, 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 this torture test is of no avail. For the workhouses are overflowing and the people are starving.) And *the least harm* of the overflowing workhouse is the burden on the rates. The [illeg] harm is withdrawing all these heads and arms from *produc-*

23 Gathorne Hardy (1814-1908), later Lord Cranbrook, whose Metropolitan Poor Law Bill is discussed in *Public Health Care*.

tion. It is the “workhouse test” (and the want of education) which saddles the country with pauperism.

Then look at trades unions. Take the answers given by these shipwrights themselves to the offer of employment on two ships. These men (knowing that shipbuilding is an irregular and fluctuating employment) pitch their expenditure at the *maximum* rate of their wages, and then won’t take less.

Is it really possible to believe that our legislators (who are to meet tomorrow) could not, if they laid their heads together, frame an act by which the individual workman might make and fulfill his bargain (as to wages) with his employer, with an appeal to county justices or other authorities (less tedious than the present appeal which is all they have against the tyranny of the trades unions)? As long as a man is deprived of the right over his own labour, his power of production, to labour where and how he likes, you can’t call him a free man. And 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 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.)

3. Is it possible to believe that the state could not give (at least in times of exceptional distress) productive work at remunerative prices, as in Lancashire (NOT as in the “Ateliers Nationaux” of France)? Unproductive work, as given now by [Poor Law] Guardians, is *quite* as great a blunder as trades unions ever made.

4. It is so easy to talk of the artisans going elsewhere to find work. That is a talent not possessed by one out of a hundred even of good workmen. (And certainly we have not attempted to give it them by education.) But where good and clever gentlemen have found work *for* them, they have always been ready to take it. All these things everybody is talking about. But, in the face of a Poor Law utterly broken down, no one seems to have considered what new Poor Law is to be build up.

Such things as these, coming before one day by day in the newspapers, indicate that we cannot go on as we are, that the whole subject of unemployed poor, i.e., of working faculty without the will or means of applying it productively, must be taken up by a special commission or committee, which will go into the entire question, without prejudice, *and tell us what is to be done.*

F.N.

Source: Note to Benjamin Jowett, ADD Mss 45783 ff139-40

[September 1868]

Could not you (no one but you could do it) give a lecture (you who command the attention of thinking men) as to the elemental moral faculties or elements of the moral nature of man, the motives which guide him. It seems that people approach this immense pauperism question without the most elementary notion of these. Home missionary: "It's all very well, but I never knew a man with the grace of God in his heart without a good coat on his back." His train of thought was: religious element \times moral feeling = moral action. Or, given the religious principle, cultivated into moral feeling, the practical action follows.

This is just what we *don't* cultivate or accomplish in pauper education. My missionary imitated exactly the line of thought in the Sermon on the Mount.²⁴ That sermon takes for granted a religious foundation in the hearers. It goes on to give or build up the moral conviction consequent, and then it points out the moral actions which will be the result. This is just what most, nay almost all, sermons do *not*. They begin about some religious doctrine which (among their hearers at least) no one thinks of disputing. And they go no farther. As some Edinburgh preacher said, "What would you think of an architect who was always laying foundations and never building his house?" That is just what sermons do. They never *build up*. This makes them so inexpressibly wearisome to the public. What a sermon might not be preached on this very question.

Is it not most extraordinary that, in this question of pauperism, even thinking minds do not appear to have the most elementary idea of what *are* the principles which form the motives of man? Why I find fault with education is that education does NOT include the training of these, not that it does include the three Rs, but that the three Rs are called "education."

St Paul says (in opposition to that most selfish of all maxims: Do unto others as you would be done by) look not only on your own things but also on the things of others.²⁵ Indeed he is always saying things to that effect. That is the difference between the Roman Catholic and you. The Roman Catholic says: "That beggar has no dinner. I should not like to be hungry. If I were hungry, I should like

²⁴ Matt 5-8.

²⁵ Allusions to Luke 6:31 and Phil 2:4.

somebody to give me part of his dinner. And so I will do to that beggar at my convent gate.” He never thinks, as you would do: “But the man would like much better to be put in the way of earning his own dinner, or at least it would be much better for him.” Do you not think it frightful how, in the minds of our greatest administrators, Poor Law, etc., these elemental notions find no place?, while the most vulgar Communism is gaining ground in England, trades unions endeavouring to raise wages by the means which ultimately destroy all wages.

My doctrine about education has no “bad moral.” It is the mistake of calling the three Rs “education,” though education should, of course, include the three Rs. If the teaching of the three Rs does not prevent pauperism and crime, as sad experience clearly shows it does *not*, surely the *good* “moral” is to show that the training of the moral faculties which leads to practical action (and let your friends the three Rs come in too) is the sole education which does prevent pauperism and crime. Also, about “contagion,” surely the “bad moral” is that of Simon Magus²⁶ and Co. which teaches there *is* “contagion” (no one is ever able to tell you what it is, where it is, how it is) and for a very good reason because *it is NOT*). There is “contagion” and all you can do is to cut it off, to stamp it out, to kill or to segregate.

Lord R. Montague was strictly logical. And the price of meat is to be doubled for the people, because, for why?—for a fancy which has absolutely as little foundation in fact as witchcraft has. Surely the good “moral” is ours (besides having the small advantage that it is founded in fact): There is no such thing as “contagion”—there *is* “infection,” but from perfectly well-known causes. Remove the causes, and you remove the “infection.” There is no such thing as inevitable “infection,” quarantine, segregating fever, etc., above all concentrating them in hospitals; these are all means expressly constructed to manufacture the best “infection.” Killing the cows is exactly the same as killing the witches. O my professor, are you a doctor in Plato and not know these things!

Depend upon it, if you can find out the facts in science, educational, physical or sanitary, *facts will* show a “moral” the best “moral,” i.e., show best the perfect God leading man to perfection. “Contagion” would show God a devil. “Infection” (facts and doctrine) leads man on to social improvement. So with educational facts.

26 Nightingale’s name for Sir John Simon (1816-1904), first medical officer of health for London, and with whom she had great differences of opinion. A “magus” was an ancient Persian magician, astrologer or sorcerer.

No one in their senses would think of putting out London pauper children in London. They must be put out in the country. There would be no more difficulty really in putting out 150,000 London children in all England than in doing the same for a country which has about the same population as London, namely, Scotland. But of course you would not begin by 150,000. You would begin by a dozen. Say that you advertised for persons to take children at (say) £12 a year, these children to go to the national school with the non-pauper children, boys to be brought up to farm labour. Persons who answer the advertisement to give proof of respectability, to submit to selection, registration and inspection—possibly the children to come up once a year to their respective parishes to be looked at. Clergy to be induced to make the advertisement known from the pulpit and to take some part in the local inspection of the little paupers, so farmed out. Of course Mr Goschen will answer that London Guardians wouldn't hear of it. The only answer to that is, I am afraid, that they must be *made* to hear of it. It has been necessary for them to be made to hear of a great many things that they never dreamt of.

It is easier to degrade man than to raise him. Central idea in dealing with pauperism should be to educate man upwards. Workhouse idea—to educate him downwards. I want to train the faculty which the workhouse is made to subordinate (in the pauper). . . . Sir J. Cox says (illogically) train the faculty but use the workhouse test.

Note on Bentham: Bentham has defined political economy to be the greatest happiness of the greatest number.²⁷

Source: Note, Add Mss 45801 f230

[c1869]

. . . Article [in the] *British Quarterly*: old political economy puts on its boxing gloves and fights, then when the writer comes to apply his own theories experience puts on its boxing gloves and knocks down poor old political economy. Entirely [the] fault not [of] political economy's but ours, who have never asked whether the Poor Law and the workhouse test (which shuts people up where they can't produce) *is* political economy after all, whether the true doctrines of political economy *are* applied in our present national polity and Poor Law.

²⁷ Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), author of the mature formulation of utility theory; see his *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*.

Source: Note in Dr Sutherland's hand, Add Mss 45802 ff94-95

[December 1869]

Mr Goschen: I have read with great interest the discussion at Sion College about pauperism and especially your own most able statement of the case between public charity and Poor Law. Will you permit me just to make a remark as to the bearing of the statutes of pauperism you addressed on the question as it appears to me?

You state that the present pauper class in London are 60,000 children, 60,000 women and 30,000 men, of whom altogether about 30,000 are able-bodied. Now it is clear that we must in some way support all these unless they can support themselves. The assumption is that all except 30,000 must be supported. This no doubt is the view justified by the Poor Law. But what I and a multitude of others are disposed to ask is whether there is no possible [illeg] in the new law which would enable a different answer to be given?

I believe there is, but I also believe that the time has not yet come when the answer, if acted on, will take its full effect, and this only from the nature of the problem. The Christian answer ought to be at least as Christian as the Jewish answer if Mr Alex is Christian. In short Mr Alex has given the answer and it is this. First, as to the 30,000 able-bodied: relieve their necessity and bring them in contact with the means of profitable work rather in London, in the provinces or in the colonies as speedily as possible. Second, as to the 60,000 women: help them and then help them to help themselves either at home or in the colonies. Every case might require separate treatment but still every case should be dealt with. Third, as to the 60,000 children, now is the greatest question of all. You have in them the coming pauper army. Educate them in useful employment either here or in the colonies and provide for them in this way. Fourth, the sick, imbeciles, aged and lunatics must be provided for. In short the object of my continued effort between the Poor Law and charity should be to convert unproductive consumers into productive workers and if we do not see to this most assuredly we shall have a day of reckoning.

Source: Note, Add Mss 45802 f271

[c1871]

Those who are reduced, whom you compel to find work by offering them the workhouse instead of outdoor relief, and who do *not* accept the workhouse, are just the persons to whom outdoor relief should *not* be given. But, suppose it, the "House" accepted as, e.g., who can do

some work by a poor widow with children, neither woman nor children will ever come out again. They are made paupers for life and these are just the persons (struggling to keep out of the “House” [workhouse]), to whom outdoor relief *should* be given. It should never be offered as a test to [those] . . . who should be helped to do productive work. Everybody can *produce* to some extent, i.e., everybody out of the “House.” Only *in* the workhouse can no (productive) work be done. That is why the workhouse is so pauperizing. (Young reformers should understand that the unproductive labour test is also demoralizing. To help everybody in his measure to *productive* work is the only real help.)

Bad generals give the blame to their men. Good generals give the praise to their men (“I had the honour to command these men but they really commanded themselves”). Had the House of Commons been better generalled, would the generals have so found fault with it? Was it bad generalship or was it not bad troops?

“Who Is the Savage?”

Editor: This published article in *Social Notes*, subtitled “Concerning Social Reforms, Social Requirements, Social Progress,” was an attempt of Nightingale in 1878 to promote reforms on a range of practical matters concerning the urban poor. The rural poor of India are favourably compared with England’s urban, working poor and unemployed. Thus she raised old issues like coffee houses instead of gin palaces (for women as well as men), the need for better housing (especially for single men and women), and now a new proposal, for co-operative stores to reduce dependence on pawnbrokers.

Source: “Who Is the Savage?” *Social Notes* 11 May 1878 (No. 10):145-47

A vast town of some hundreds of thousands of people—a splendid river, immense docks, fleets or merchant vessels to and from all parts of the world, rich “argosies” steaming to and fro, representing almost every port on the globe—this city lies like a colossal industrious spider in the heart of a web of railroads. Plenty of work, plenty of wealth, art, enterprise, patriotic monuments, merchant princes devoted to the good of their native place, a metropolis of trade and commerce—this is a true picture of that vast city.

Now, with the eyes of a nurse by the bedside of many among the “masses” in that great city, this will be a true picture of their condition: wages nearly as much *per day* as are earned per week in some of

the southern agricultural counties of England—10 shillings a day not an uncommon rate for unskilled labour. This is squandered in drink, as much by the women as by the men. One woman said what, being translated means: “She thought no more of her money than of a ‘flea in a churchyard.’” The first day that these people who are earning, say, their 10 shillings a day are out of work they are absolutely bare. They beg of what we may call the district visitors and nurses, beg to pawn.

If a mutton chop, say, worth 7 pence, is supplied by the nurse, unless she sees the patient eat it, it will be trucked by the family for a pennyworth of drink. A doctor prescribes stimulant for a child; the mother takes it herself as a matter of course. A doctor says to the lady nurse of his patients: “Oh, don’t wash them; feed them up; you can wash them when they’re dead.” Bedclothes lent, even when stamped right across, are pawned at once for drink. This with people in receipt of a yearly income equal to a government clerk’s in London or to that of many curates.

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

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

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

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

Street brawls are, of course, the rule of life and not the exception. The “corner men,” that is, the men standing at the corners of streets waiting for a fresh job, are hardly safe for any woman or child to pass.

("Oh, those are the scalp wounds," would be said by the infirmity doctor of a large class of his patients, street brawlers, in a similar town.) A gentleman, a magistrate, passing by saw one of these men strike first his wife and then his baby in her arms. He, the magistrate, instantly defended the weaker party with force and a stick. He was thrown down, the woman, the mob and the policeman all siding against him, and he scarcely escaped with his life.

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

But not only do they pawn all they have and all that is given them, not only do they run tick for all but drink, I was about to say, but this cannot be said. They do pay ready money, they pay it to have something to pawn beforehand, generally for drink. They have a frugal foresight for nothing but pawning. They have actually invented a new method of pawning. Thus they will buy, say, an article of clothing, paying for it at the rate of 1 shilling a week, giving 20 shillings for what would cost 10 shillings, and then pawn it beforehand for half the cost.

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

This town is in England. The time is the present. It is in order-loving, Christian England, the only country untouched by revolution and riot, the home of family ties, the home of a boasted free civilization. And this is civilization—Christian, settled progress and civilization. If this is to be civilized we could almost wish to be uncivilized. If this is civilization, what are we to the Hindu, the frugal, laborious, sober, poor Hindu who supports his whole family on 10 shillings a month, who never begs and who never has "parish relief," for there is no Poor Law, no union for his "superfluous relatives" who live with him? Must we speak of him as belonging to a higher civilization?

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

1. Can a lesson be taken of Octavia Hill²⁸ in London and others as regards improved dwellings, taking blocks of the present poor dwellings, letting them out and collecting the rents and improving the dwellings and the dwellers by degrees?

2. Can coffee public houses be extended so as to make them in time as plentiful as gin palaces? As plentiful, did I say? Rather to make the coffee palace cut out the gin palace. Can the coffee public house always supply meals both to men and women, and cooking for those who bring their own food, dining rooms, reading rooms, newspapers and games with no temptation to gambling, as has been so successfully done elsewhere?²⁹ Can decent lodgings for single men be added to the coffee tavern? Also a coffee room for women?

3. Can co-operative stores be multiplied? Co-operative stores begun, as once was done, by a counter displaying side by side a large heap of, say, sugar or tea: "This is what you buy with ready money," a small heap; "This is all you have for the same money if you run tick." And so with other articles: the large heap and the small heap, side by side, speaking to the eye—the large loaf and the small loaf. The co-operative store followed, where the child may put his penny into a bank and receive 5 percent.

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

4. Can some system be extended, as that described in *Work in Brighton*,³⁰ for bringing the poor vicious women out to "Homes," instead of waiting for them to bring themselves? Indeed the nurse here does the "Work in Brighton" herself. "These poor women are

28 Octavia Hill (1838-1912), philanthropist, founder of the Charity Organization Society.

29 In the Crimean War Nightingale organized cafes and reading rooms, which the soldiers greatly appreciated and used.

30 Jane Ellice Hopkins (1836-1904), organizer of a mission to women prostitutes in Brighton. Nightingale wrote a preface to her *Work in Brighton; or, Woman's Mission to Women*.

closed to scripture readers, closed to Bible women,³¹ closed to ministers of every denomination, not closed to us alone," said a lady nurse.

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

Relief of Distress

Editor: Nightingale was involved in various ways in attempts to relieve distress among workers in Lancashire in 1860. Only parts of the correspondence survive. There are also letters to her friend Selina Bracebridge, who was also involved, but again it is not clear what precisely she or the others did.³² There are two letters on the relief of distress in Sheffield.

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8998/22

28 May 1860

My dear [Parthenope Verney]

I have offers from ten of the largest houses in Lancashire for the Spitalfields weavers, capable of absorbing the whole population, if it will go. The mills at Blackburn alone would take from 500 to 1000 hands. If Mr James Marshall would kindly write to *me* any proposal, I should be very grateful.

Of course we want no charity. Unless the hands are *wanted* it would be no charity. The whole thing will be done, if at all, in the most businesslike way. And I have a man at Manchester, one of the leading men, who will make himself our honorary commissioner, as he says, for *Lancashire*. (Count [Paul Edmund de] Strzelecki knows nothing about the "hands." I wrote to him to ask him for emigration advice; that was all. And his answer was, like Punch, don't.)

Of course, whether the Spitalfields people go to Leeds or to Lancashire, all the owners who take them will require certificates as to

31 The women of Ellen Ranyard's mission were known as the "Bible women." After some training in the Bible and in nursing they visited poor people in their homes. Nightingale sent £20 for waterproof cloaks for the women (letter 28 February 1875, London Metropolitan Archives A/RNY/85).

32 Selina Bracebridge (1800-74), Nightingale's "spiritual mother." Typed copies of letters 6 and 7 June 1860, Add Mss 43397 ff193-94.

character and forms of agreement will be made. It will be done through agents. I learn from some of these Lancashire letters that “there has already been an importation of hands from Coventry and its neighbourhood.” I am very glad.

Of course I was only in joke in my message to Mrs Bracebridge. I don’t care for Spitalfields more than I do for Coventry. It is no comfort that there is an opening for Spitalfields if Coventry is starving. . . .

Source: Letter, Columbia University, Presbyterian Hospital School of Nursing C55

30 Old Burlington St.

12 June 1860

Dear William Coltman

I think you used to know Spitalfields very well, or, at least, Mr [Francis Henry] Vivian (the Rev) of St Bartholomew’s in Bethnal Green. Some weeks ago, the distress of the Spitalfields weavers, and their wish to seek labour elsewhere, was very urgently represented to me. In consequence of this, I opened a correspondence with the Lancashire masters, and I have offers of work enough to absorb the whole of the starving Spitalfields population. But (mainly as *I* think) in consequence of the want of business habits of the “Devonport Sisters of Mercy,” who were my first informants, nothing has been organized *at this end*, for the transference of this starving population, who, according to the “Sisters’” account (which I do not believe), prefer now silk and starvation to cotton and food. Now, if Mr Vivian is a businessman, and knows Spitalfields families who would like to go into Lancashire, and if he would furnish me with lists, I would furnish him with the demands of the Lancashire masters (at Blackburn, Bacup, Accrington and elsewhere) who are willing to pay the journeys of the families down, find them with lodgings, etc., *and work*.

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9001/20

31 March 1864

Dearest Mother

I have received (PM 87402) half of a £5 note for the Sheffield people, for which many thanks. I had written and sent them £10, when your answer was delayed, risking the chance of your contributing. But I cannot now refuse myself the pleasure of sending your £5 additional to my £10.

Meanwhile, the mayor has sent me the enclosed. Do pray ask Uncle Sam and Papa what I shall do, and ask one of them (the one best known in Sheffield) to write *by return of post, direct to Sheffield* what I shall do. To the best of my recollection, my note was to say that I felt for my dear fellow townspeople as I might almost call them—my earliest and dearest associations almost being with the place, that they had been particularly kind to me at the time of the Crimea besides—that I wrote from a busy sickbed (this to show that I could not collect money for them—they did not ask me), that if I could, I would give much more than this trifle. (I think I said I would “give all I had,” *if*, etc., or something to show that the £10 were not as big as my sympathy.)

If it will give the poor people any pleasure to see my letter, or if it will bring in subscriptions, it seems a churlish thing to refuse. But I certainly had no idea of its being published. Pray, if they (Uncle Sam and Papa) decide on answering *yes* to the mayor’s request, let *London* be the only date published to my letter (I gave my address in it). If my letter is to be published, it is less awkward for them to say, let it be published, than for me to say so.

Source: Draft letter, ADD Mss 45805 ff119-20

London

Christmas Day 1878

Sir

Grieved to the heart for the sufferings of my dear if not native place Sheffield—yet a place where my father’s father and mother, Shore, lived and died, may I send a poor little sum £25, wishing it were twenty times as much and hoping to be allowed to repeat it, for your Relief Fund?

Might I ask that it should be applied to providing work for the poor women, work which I know has been so well organized? And if I might breathe a hope as ardent as that which trusts that Sheffield will be tided over these sad, sad times, it would be that her men may learn from these a lesson of prudence, manliness and self-control, and when the good times come again, as pray God they may, may use their high wages so as to become capital instead of waste?

Though this is a dreary Christmas, that God may shower His best Christmas blessings upon Sheffield among which are thrift and self-help, is the earnest prayer, of, Sir, your and her,

ever faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

May I be allowed to admire the organizations of relief set on foot?

Income Security and Housing for Workers

Editor: Income security would become a central concern of social policy in the twentieth century, but was of interest to only a small number of social reformers in Nightingale's time. There were voluntary mechanisms, such as "friendly societies" or credit unions, from which unemployed workers could borrow money. The Post Office Savings' Bank facilitated savings by workers (when banks would have been inaccessible institutions). An act of Parliament was adopted in 1864 to make it easier for people to purchase small annuities, by permitting the purchase of annuities in small instalments.³³ Compulsory pension schemes would later become standard means for insuring some basic income to older workers, again a long way off for this period. Nightingale was interested in measures for home or land ownership for workers, both for the immediate effect of providing housing, and as a measure of security in difficult times. She wanted to see Gladstone's Insurance and Annuity Act extended to enable the purchase of small parcels of land. Her strong views on the effects of poor housing on health and morals, and the need for government action, appear as well in her *Notes from Devotional Authors of the Middle Ages*. There she argued that we labour "in vain" at the "moral progress of a population if we leave it festering in unhealthy dwellings. Probably there is no influence stronger than the buildings they live in, for bad or for good, upon the inhabitants" (in *Mysticism and Eastern Religions*).

The items below, ordered chronologically except for the last, more general, issue show Nightingale grappling with various aspects of these issues, including the particular situation of women and servants, with various interested persons. Two letters concern a more immediate crisis, a proposal to evict cottagers at Claydon on the discovery of an illegitimate pregnancy in the family.

Nightingale was obviously unhappy to leave off work towards making home ownership possible for ordinary people, with nothing effectively accomplished, but presumably felt that her efforts were better spent on India. In 1869 she put up three packets of papers addressed to Dr Sutherland with a note asking him to edit them for publication. As well as one for a further paper on pauperism (see p 150 above),

33 An Act to grant additional Facilities for the Purchase of small Government Annuities and for assuring Payments of Money on Death, 27 28 Victoriae.

and one on lying-in statistics, there were “materials for a paper on *selling land with houses* in towns.”³⁴

Source: From an unsigned letter to W.E. Nightingale, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8993/24

1 February [1849]

Mr Bracebridge agrees in all you say about the “Building Investment” thing. He says, first catch your hare, viz., your 2/6. Next, how buy your plot? Third, how build your house? Fourth how when all savings are thus exhausted, live in it in old age? He has seen it tried by 100 poor ribbon weavers on the enclosure of Nuneaton Common, where it has entirely failed. The ribbon weavers began with £30 to £50; the lawyers have them all. The people have been refused relief, *having property*, though mortgaged so as to produce a loss. The houses are execrable, cold, ill-built, small, ill-placed, too, sometimes. Just what you said.

If what Gibbon³⁵ calls the Demon of Property seize a man, Mr Bracebridge³⁶ says he will stint his poor children to satiate him. Mr B. is himself the president of a land society—they buy land in the block, let each subscribe for 1/8 of an acre; when so much is paid they get it with a mortgage on it. All their deeds are cheap, and a mass of gardens defend one another. If a man can sell his land by and bye for a house, or build one, well and good. In the meanwhile, what are bought as field worth £3 an acre (it is suburban) become as gardens worth £8 an acre and there is a bond of union among the men, too, each gets a county vote.

I am in a great fury with *May* at the Union girls’ school, where we went t’other day, but that will keep till you come, a meddling rascal. I shall be very curious to hear the upshot of the poor Storers. I can only account for the warp in the British mind, qua Austria, by thinking order always *seems* to be on the side of power. In England power is the handmaid of liberty, on the continent of autocracy. But, in the Englishman, love of order being always paramount, “else where would be our commerce?,” he juggles this small difference, and concludes order must be right.

34 Note 19 September, Add Mss 45753 f279.

35 Probably Edward Gibbon (1737-94), historian.

36 Charles Holte Bracebridge (1799-1872), family friend.

Source: From a partial draft/copy to W.E. Nightingale, ADD Mss 45790 ff111-16

Cromford Bridge
4 November [1850]

I believe I go still 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 selfpaying*. It is *because* I see my “good-doing, rich and potent fellow Christians” doing *for* “the cottagers,” instead of helping them to do for themselves, that I would *educate* benevolence. It is *because* I see two of the “best and 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 [the Duke of Devonshire].

I don’t want to do *anything for* the labourers; I only want to do exactly what *God* does with us, namely, 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 Rush³⁷ will to be a benevolent man, a kind and honourable husband, and 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,³⁸ 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 and in their discoveries. Would your argument, if pushed to a principle, go to having no schools at all?, that every mother should bring up her own children in her own cottage? That every hut should nurse its own sick? *If so, I [breaks off]*

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 and all the rest of it. Everybody 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, social-

³⁷ James Bloomfield Rush, murderer of an entire family, executed in 1849.

³⁸ An allusion to Phil 2:12.

ism, 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 will be by the principle of clubbing. Yes but, you will say, they must do it for themselves, not others for them. But you don't carry out this principle in other things. A man makes a discovery in chemistry and offers it to the world; you don't say, Oh but everybody 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, everybody must pay for the new chemical discovery. I would make people pay, too, for my institutions, that is, 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 and 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 and send them back more fit for domestic life. Everybody knows that there are mothers totally unfit to educate their children, except to vice, dirt and 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 and fathers are infants to the end of their lives and have never had the opportunity to develop themselves and are perfectly incapable either of teaching themselves or of teaching their children. Are they not to be helped? You say, Who but themselves have taught frugality to the German peasant? I say, circumstances, and that we see many people in such circumstances, that they may continue to the end of centuries unable to will to raise themselves out, were it not God's plan that mankind should help mankind into all truth and 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 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 nothing more to say. I infinitely prefer, of course, the Sunday School 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, and 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 analyze it (for fear it should “make you ascribe it to yourself.” “At all events, you have liberated your *own* conscience by speaking”) and that, if you see none, you are to rejoice and thank God that He has allowed you to “do your best.” Good gracious, is it possible that such ignorance can exist? Would 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?

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9000/18

2 April [1861 or 62]

I hope the American minister’s judgment will incline to employing the magnificent Peabody gift³⁹ (1) in model lodging houses, (2) the rents should be devoted to extending the class of accommodation.

England gives enormously (voluntarily and compulsorily) to every means of improving the poor man out of “home,” the workhouse, the reformatory, the school, the hospital, the church. She gives hardly at all to improving his condition *at* “home.” I wonder if all Poor rates had been devoted to improving poor dwellings, whether a workhouse would have been needed at all now, in all the breadth or length of the land. There is plenty of ground, especially in the East where the houses are all cottages with large useless unhealthy courts. The buildings should be in floors.

The American minister will have, I have no doubt, no lack of professional assistance offered him. But should it come to lodging houses and should it come to plans, I need hardly say that I should feel hon-

39 The Peabody gift provided public housing through initial financing and low rents.

oured in obtaining for him every kind of such assistance, free of cost, in perfecting the plans, as to all sanitary requirements. We have been so long engaged on these subjects.

For my part, I believe that, in all European countries, more sickness, poverty, mortality and crime is due to the state of our poor men's dwellings than to any other cause. And I would rather devote money to remedying this than to any institution. For I believe that the "home" is the main source of practical improvement (moral and physical) and that this, the centre of all national civilization, is what is least cared for in national efforts.

Source: Letter, London Metropolitan Archives H1/ST/NC1/64/24

27 Norfolk St.

Park Lane W.

Wednesday morning [1864]

Private

Dearest Friend⁴⁰

I am so overwhelmed with work and illness and so ashamed of myself for being so overwhelmed, but I will try to help (as you have so often helped me in similar things) though I am afraid what I have to say will not help much.

I think that in our race (I set aside Roman Catholic races and institutions for the moment) all working people ought to be helped in both ways, viz., savings' banks and deferred annuities, to obtain an independence—I think neither way complete without the other. (And I believe that, in time and with a wise government, Poor Laws might be dispensed with under such a regime. But this does not concern you and me now.) All that Mr Gladstone is now doing in this line I think is dictated by the wisest policy.

In such an institution as yours, the details may be settled in many different ways. But I should always, in all institutions, aim at these two things, viz., (1) that the nurse should have a store in savings' bank, to enable her to help a relative temporarily, to help herself in an emergency and also to pay the premium to the deferred annuity when she is incapacitated by sickness from earning wages (this would not apply to you); (2) that she should have a deferred annuity in expectation.

Suppose every worthy nurse could have an annuity of (say) £50 at the age of fifty-five—this would be affluence. (St Thomas' grants such.)

40 Mary Jones (1812-87), nurse, Anglican nun, superintendent of nursing at King's College Hospital.

There are various ways of doing this: you might make the nurse pay to both, savings' bank and deferred annuity, gratuities for good conduct from the authorities going to both. Or you might devote subscriptions to the deferred annuity, and let her own savings go to the savings' bank, with or without any gratuities for good service from yourselves, the authorities. Whichever way you adopt, I think, to give an English woman that proper feeling of independence and self-help, which you so wisely encourage, she should have *both* (savings' bank deposits and deferred annuity) to look forward to.

It would take much more time than either you or I have, if I were to tell the mischiefs I have seen in Roman Catholic orders, arising from a want of acknowledging the principle of individual independence in their dependents. The miserable old ages of their nurses in the Salpêtrière, where they are entirely provided for, the absolute helplessness of big girls of twenty and upwards, brought up in their orphan asylums (in which I have lived and served). It is not, as is generally supposed, that the orders themselves are destitute of the principles of political economy—*quite the reverse*. All over France orders actually make money by the work of their dependents, and quite right too. But these dependents are *perfectly* INCAPABLE, when they leave the institution, whether educational, penitential, or what not, of governing themselves, so as to earn a single sixpence even at the very work they have been used to do for the nuns, or so as to keep themselves from falling into the arms of the first man who tempts them. Pardon the crudity of my expressions.

I therefore entirely conclude for the English principle, which you have carried out so well, of helping people to help themselves. I would do this both ways, both by savings' banks and deferred annuities. I think all experience teaches *your* principles, viz., of definite engagements, three-five-seven years, to be renewed, if desirable, not of indefinite engagements, to be broken off, if undesirable. I send you what I am afraid will be of little use:

1. the principles which guided us as to the Army nurses, both in regard to wages and pensions (please burn the detached sheets and send me back the "Regulations");
2. a sketch by Mrs S. Stewart⁴¹ which please burn, when read. It is an old thing; and she would be "mad" with me for sending it you;

41 Jane E. Shaw Stewart (d. 1905), superintendent of nursing at Netley Hospital, a Crimea colleague.

3. a book of Dr Farr's, which you will have neither time nor inclination to go into, and which please return to me.

Though, of course, I would not tie down institutions and private families and societies to the strict principles of the value of money and life of life insurances and government annuities, yet I incline to think that, the nearer we keep to money- and life-values in our private transactions, the safer we shall be in doing good and not doing harm.

If, as you cannot possibly be expected to study Dr Farr's thick book, you would like to write to him (our Army nurses pension rates, etc., were all calculated by him) or would wish me to write to him, to ask some such question as follows: whether, seeing that government has provided both for savings and deferred annuities, it would not be best to adopt both plans, say, a deferred annuity accruing at fifty-five (or sixty?) and the remainder to be placed in a savings' bank. Or the nurse might place all her savings in the savings' bank, and the subscriptions might go to a deferred annuity. (The chief difficulty in any scheme is in the want of security that the nurse will continue in her work till she is fifty-five.) . . .

ever yours

F.N.

Source: From a letter to Dr Farr, Wellcome Ms 5474/90

9 June 1864

Private

As you and I have gone together about the insurance workingman question, what do you think of the enclosed? You know how isolated I have been from House of Commons men since Sidney Herbert's death. Yet this is a thing which could only be pressed through House of Commons men. The whole has been suggested by your own work.

Could you give me a competent opinion on whether it is feasible? Could you suggest any means or man by which or whom it might be pressed and carried forward? (I do not mean Social Science meetings) and not in my name. . . .

ever yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Please not to mention the enclosed to anyone, till I have heard what Mr Gladstone says of it. (Mr Villiers⁴² approves.)

42 Charles Pelham Villiers (1802-98), MP, president of the Poor Law Board.

Source: Note, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9001/106

[printed address] 27 Norfolk Street
Park Lane, W.
[January 1865?]

I send Sir H. [Verney] the first instalment of what I have received from Paris about the Poor Relief system. More is promised. What I send are the general *règlement* and two reports of a *mairie* [city hall], which will show the real working. But this shows only a small part of the real charities, and would be quite insufficient.

There are many associations who visit the poor and provide more effectually than the *Bureaux de Charité* can do. There is a *Bureau de Charité* in every commune. In the *Dictionnaire de l'administration française par block*, containing all the branches of French administration, consequently not sufficient detail on each one, is to be found the general system of Poor Laws, and under the different heads a reasonable quantity of information on *Bureaux de Charité*, on *Dépôts de Mendicité*, etc.

The French system would not reach the mass of constant or casual distribution in England, because there are in France five millions of landed proprietors, who may be partly very poor, but are not poor in the legal sense of the word. And the number of legally poor is very much smaller than in England, *at least* IN THE COUNTRY. In the large towns, there is, of course, the same proportion of poor as everywhere else.

I wish I could condense these rapports for Sir H., which are much more in my line than his. But it is totally impossible for me. I still think the only way to bring this matter before the House of Commons would be to have over M [Armand] Husson, "Director of the Assistance Public" and others as witnesses. But for this there is no time.

For my part, I think there is six to one Mr Villiers' side and half a dozen to the others, the opposition. My own conviction is that *nothing* will diminish pauperism but the steady increase of means of insurance, annuities, etc. I send what we have done.

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9001/192
[1865?]

Could you, if I were to send you a copy of my scrap about the facilitation of purchasing, etc., of freeholds by workingmen, get the opinions of competent men about it? I have not been able to come downstairs for some days.

I saw the "Poor Law Board" last week. We are going to get a power for compelling Guardians (in the "Omnibus" Bill next week).

Source: From a letter to Dr Farr, Wellcome Ms 5474/81, typed copy ADD Mss 43400 f18

22 February 1865

A friend of mine sends me the following query with regard to government annuity schemes for the poor: "Might not the government use their security for the benefit of the poor, farming them out to bankers and money dealers so as to obtain a higher rate of interest than is given in the Funds, the government, in short, to become a dealer in money for the benefit of the poor?"

ever yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Source: From a letter to Dr Farr, Wellcome Ms 5474/82

23 February 1865

I am delighted with your tables and paper on government life insurance. I predict that you and Mr Gladstone will do away with the (public house) societies. Would it not be advisable now to write a VERY *popular* tract (annexing to it the tables) such as the working classes can easily understand and circulate it among all the parishes in England so as to inform the workingmen of the benefits they may secure to themselves?

I look at p 15 and I think that any man with ordinary industry and who can keep out of the public house may be able to purchase an annuity of £30, and so by degrees Poor rates will diminish and become "beautifully less."

ever yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Source: From a letter to Dr Farr, Wellcome Ms 5474/86

5 April 1865

À propos of your "Plain Rules" for annuities and insurances, would it not be better *to page* your last page about "Post Office Savings' Banks"? It is referred to in the text as p 20, but there is no p 20 on it.

You have no idea how stupid some people, particularly servants, are. I doubt whether many mistresses take the same pains that I do with the education of their servants. And yet I am afraid few would understand "Plain Rules."

ever yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9001/135

[June 1865]

I am well pleased about Unions Chargability [Bill]. I think it the greatest step since James I abolished villeinage.⁴³ But I wish that everything might be done to give facility to the workingman for purchasing, registering and transferring freeholds, for subscribing at the Post Office to purchase a small freehold: This *would* be “freeing” him.

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9001/159

28 September 1865

About the enclosed and your kind offer to go to Sheffield: I have no paper to read there. But there is to be a discussion on the freehold land scheme, I find today, which you were so kind as to bring before Mr Gladstone last session. The chairman of Cobden’s Freehold Land Society⁴⁴ in Southampton Street (for political purposes) brings forward a paper, so does Mr Thomas Hare,⁴⁵ on the law amendment side of the question. Neither takes exactly my view, which I believe is yours.

If you really thought of going to Sheffield, I would draw up just a rough note, in case you thought of taking part in the discussion, which I think would be really important. But I should not do it as from myself, because whatever I can do must be done through ministers in private. The solicitor of Cobden’s Freehold Land Society takes up my view and might be of use to us ultimately in giving his law knowledge.

ever yours

F. Nightingale

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9001/161

29 September 1865

I have this morning seen Mr Beggs’s⁴⁶ paper to be read (on the town freehold scheme) at Sheffield. It will do us much good, though it is too diffuse, too exclusive on the side of the freehold land societies, and not from our point of view.

43 Serfdom entailing the complete subjection of the peasant to the lord.

44 Named for Richard Cobden (1804-65), MP and advocate for land ownership measures.

45 Thomas Hare (1806-91), Conservative MP, advocate of proportional representation in Parliament.

46 Director of Cobden’s Freehold Land Society. Nightingale was herself elected to the Cobden Club in 1886.

He shows the increase of disease, pauperism and crime from bad dwelling houses, the benefits already accruing from freehold land societies; he argues for increasing by all means the possibilities of obtaining freeholds in towns, and *for house and land* going always *together*. He argues for facilities of registration, and transfer of small freehold titles of workingmen, so that a man, going from one town to another for work, might transfer his freehold and buy another where he is going. His solicitor says that Lord Westbury's Act, with a few additions, is all that is necessary for this.

He limits the measure to towns. The paper is one of general principles, and is to be followed up in the jurisprudence department in London in the winter. They talk of bringing forward a bill next session.

Do not you think it possible that, if there were a good discussion *supported by* MPs, at Sheffield, Mr Gladstone might take it into his head to anticipate them, and ask us to consult solicitors and prepare a draft for *him* to bring forward?

If you go to Sheffield and would support the application of the principle to areas within municipal boundaries, and to a certain distance beyond them to provide for increase of population?

The manner in which Mr Beggs proposes at present to apply the principle is to grant powers to municipal authorities to purchase any land, within their boundary, which they may require for any purpose, under sanction of the Home Office. This power would enable them to buy entailed land in towns, and leasehold land, to convert it into freehold and dispose of it for building, or to build themselves.

I would suggest to you to support nothing but the general principle, because everything will depend on the details. After the discussion, we might determine our own course. There is nothing revolutionary in Beggs's plan. (Bright's plan *was* revolutionary.) Beggs's is only the extension of a power already existing, but in a more beneficial direction. (That is the beauty of it.)

He goes on about suburban villages, which has been a favourite scheme, with some, for carrying away the poor from sanitary defects in towns. (But such defects ought not to *and need not* exist. F.N.) Town dwellings ought to be and might be quite healthy. These villages might become nests of pestilence, unless placed under local authorities with specific powers, and then they would become towns under the Local Government Act, and so would cease to be villages. F.N.

(In London there is plenty of unoccupied or badly built land, which would afford space for building for a vast working population

on healthy principles, if only it were to be bought. But it is not to be bought under the present law.) *Our* scheme, which you have, and a part of which was sent to Mr Beggs, goes more into detail and rests on different legislative principles. But his will do good, though it is not all we want. In haste.

ever yours

F. Nightingale

Mr Beggs sells sanitary appliances in Southampton St., Strand, and is an active Director of Cobden's Freehold Land Society.

Source: Note to Dr Farr, Wellcome Ms 5474/77

[1865]

1. The Post Office Savings' Bank allows of the accumulation of capital by workingmen.

2. Mr Gladstone's Insurance and Annuity Act enables this accumulated capital to be vested periodically in two ways: (a) as annuity, (b) as insurance.

3. It would apparently be very advisable to add to this facilities for purchasing small freeholds.

4. The first step to enable this to be done is to remove every legal obstacle at present existing to title, purchase, registration, transfer of land, within the specified limits, so that land could be as freely dealt in and as easily identified as any other commodity.

5. A limit must however be fixed, so that the existing law of primogeniture and entail should exist as at present, subject only to the exceptions to be mentioned.

6. In these exceptional cases, women must inherit freehold, even without will.

7. It would be unadvisable to apply the enabling law to the whole surface of the country. It should be limited to cities, towns, populous places, villages, indeed to all groups of population and to a certain distance beyond the outskirts or defined legal boundaries of these groups, in order to provide for increase of population.

8. Within the limits, the law should declare that the leaseholds of all lands and of houses built on them shall, in future, go together, i.e., that the lease of the land and the lease of the house must never be held by two different people, an existing abuse which has had a fatal influence on the interests of working classes in towns, as well as on town and house architecture, so that English houses are about the worst built in the world.

9. Having then abolished by law separate leaseholds and introduced perfect freedom of trade in land within the prescribed limits, leave the price of freeholds to settle itself on the principle of supply and demand, granting every legal facility as already stated.

10. You will thus have land where it is wanted, as an investment by the workingman for house or cottage building, brought into immediate relation with his savings in the Post Office Savings' Bank and an investment offered which of all others the workingman most covets.

11. In all places where there are constituted authorities, the existing law provides that houses must be built after the plans are approved by the authority. In villages this would hardly be necessary.

12. The objects gained would be: (a) a new outlet for savings; (b) improved social position and independence (by giving the man an object in life); (c) all such men would have votes. N.B. Rest assured that *none* of them would vote for a "Radical" to take their property from them, and no man of this class would believe he was a "slave" because he was told so from the hustings.

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9002/4

10 February 1866

I am so very sorry not to be able to say a word about Alderman Waterlow's⁴⁷ dwellings. Of all things, they interest me most. And his report has given me a new idea. May I keep it?

ever yours

F.N.

Source: Unsigned, incomplete letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9002/82

[printed address] 35 South Street

Park Lane

London, W.

22 December 1866

Dear Papa

Anent [regarding] your cottages: You are quite right, but I deny that you ought to call them "hospitals." I don't believe that, in Wellcome, a "cottage hospital" would find enough of custom to keep itself alive. I am going to write about your village diphtheria.

⁴⁷ Sydney Waterlow (1822-1906), MP, later lord mayor of London, philanthropist and advocate of better housing for the poor. He left his estate in Highgate as a garden "for the gardenless."

As you are about the cottage subject, I send you a letter of Mr Chadwick's, which please return to me. But I have answered him that I don't agree with him about cheap construction (this refers mainly or entirely to *town* cottages) though I have no doubt that his "concrete," if cheapness is to be the object, is the best thing. But what we really want is *not* cheap construction but facilities for every work[ing] and other man to have his own freehold house.

It is a shame for us to be building with brick, while our cousins in New York are building with polished white marble. Nothing would raise our civilization more than *beautiful* and *healthy* dwellings for rich and poor. And, if the rich would eat but half the beef they do, and if the poor would drink but half the drink they do, and put the other half into their building, both their stomachs and their houses would be all the better.

But then our laws must be such as [to] enable good houses to be built, which now they don't. The cheapness of construction would then be a secondary consideration. Health and civilization would be the primary ones.

I say nothing about the "contagion" part of Mr Chadwick's letter, because you don't care about it. I never could think why, but even the best of men look to charms and not to common-sense management.

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9002/195

17 December 1867

Poor Law Inquiry

I was quite unable to write to you sooner. I have thought most carefully over your kind offer (of Saturday) about Lord Carnarvon⁴⁸ and a Parliamentary inquiry and my conclusion is this: perhaps the best course would be for you to see Lord Carnarvon and to talk over with him the "Farnham" case, as affording a ground for a general Parliamentary inquiry into the present administration of the Poor Law, including not only sick and disabled but also, possibly, in the present alarming state of ever-increasing distress, able-bodied, and the means of checking pauperism by supplying *work*. (The policy, however, of including the distress question in one inquiry can only be judged of by Parliamentary men.) It is possible that Lord Carnarvon might go at once to Lord Devon,⁴⁹ that Lord Devon might at once consult his col-

48 Henry Carnarvon (1831-90), 4th Earl of Carnarvon.

49 Henry Hugh Courtenay Devonport (1811-1904), 13th Earl of Devon.

leagues, and that they might be too glad to accede to such an inquiry. In that case, I do not see why *I* need to be dragged into the matter at all, which I would gladly avoid—I mean that there would be no occasion then for Lord Carnarvon to write to me, and for our letters to be published in the *Times*, unless Lord C., himself suggested such a course, as necessary to hasten the ministers steps.

The first thing seems to me to be to ascertain how the land lies with Lord Carnarvon and Lord Devon, if you would kindly do so. Then, if I could do any good, I would not shrink from it. Lord Carnarvon has a most trustworthy adviser in Mr Farnall, whom he knows and esteems (and to whom he made a promise) which, however, he never kept. Mr Farnall knows more about the practical working of the Poor Law than any man in England. With many thanks,

ever yours gratefully

F. Nightingale

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/1

Dr Johnson's, Malvern

Monday afternoon [12 January 1868]

My dear father's main interest now is in his cottages. And I don't think he does too much. I believe that more moral and physical good is done by improving the *dwelling*s of mankind than in almost any other way. And if all the money that is spent on hospitals were spent on improving the habitations of those who go to hospitals, and (on prisons) of those who go to prison, we should want neither prisons nor hospitals.

Source: From an incomplete letter to Frances Nightingale, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/62

3 December 1868

There is so much in the grinding London poverty which cannot be realized in the country. It is so hard for gentlefolks, who have never seen anything but agricultural life, to speak of "East End pauperism" as a thing of blame. In all trade and great mercantile and manufacturing enterprise, there is, and must be, an element of uncertainty, an irregular element, which does not exist in land and agriculture. There are and always must be times when labour has a great deal too much to do and times when it has a great deal too little to do.

The wicked element in it is this: that, whenever emigration on a very large scale has been proposed, the country has stepped in and

has said No, we won't have this drain upon our population. Because then we can't undersell every other country (which we do now, by having a much larger population than we want). The wicked element in the Poor Law is that it prevents private enterprise from finding work for those who have not got it and who would do it, if they had. It says No: we will tax the whole country to support these, in the necessary fluctuations of [breaks off]

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9007/251

9 August 1879

Would you thank Mr Fred [Verney] if he is at Claydon for a very kind and useful letter about the women's unions and also ask him whether in *these unions* the *women* are prevented from paying in, as I fear the *mill girls* would be at *Lea*, for future benefits by the *hope of being married?*

They expect to "get married" (and they do "get married") and that they will be supported by their husbands. I think this would not tell for much among *trained nurses* but it would, I fear, among *mill girls*, against contributing, if we set up a female club. In haste.

ever affectionately yours

F. Nightingale

Source: From a letter to Dr C.B.N. Dunn, Derbyshire Record Office

9 November 1879

I am trying hard to get these village people here, whose money all goes in dress and drink, to SAVE. I hope my "converts" may be "enthusiasts." Last night *Mrs Shardlow* (the widow, a most industrious woman, whose daughters are making a comfortable weekly income at the mill) promised me that her eldest, *Sarah Ellen*, should become a member of the Women's Club, if *you* will "pass" her. The mother told me that the father, having died of asthma(?), she did not think you would admit the daughter into the club, and that "it would hurt her feelings so," if you were "to examine her and *not* pass her." This was, *I suppose*, a mere excuse. But I only congratulated her on her willingness, and said that *I would ask you for her*.

Lizzy and Lyddy (who is almost a dwarf) Shardlow were, at school, little friends of mine. And I would give a great deal if they could be brought up with other notions than dress. Pray help me.

Source: From a letter to Frederick Verney, Add Mss 68882 ff159-63

28 April 1880

Do you know anything of the Liverpool Penny Banks' Association, supposed to have been extraordinarily successful? I have just procured an introduction to the actuary, Mr Newton, at Liverpool, and propose to follow it up by correspondence. The questions I wanted principally to ask him (he is an enthusiast) are:

1. Whether they can possibly be made to answer in a business point of view, and if so on how small a scale? (The Liverpool Penny Banks, I believe, number upwards of 100, of which thirty in *elementary schools*.) And what is their machinery?, especially in schools? (Mr Gladstone told me last year that no Penny Bank could answer whose machinery was not unpaid and that every shilling put into the Post Office Savings' Banks did cost, or might cost, the government *elevenpence*.)

2. Whether there could be a Penny Banks' Association in a *rural* district, as, e.g., that about Lea, Holloway, Crich and Cromford, thickly peopled.

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9009/184

22 June 1883

As for the "servants' savings," I am afraid I have no new mode of "investment" to recommend. I think what I said was that we were always considering the best modes of investment for the *nurses'* savings, but that hitherto we had found nothing so good as the P.O. Savings' Bank. What I do with my small household (you ask) is: when I pay the wages I ask everybody, "Now, how much of this can you put by?" If it is a young new girl, she probably says "Nothing." (N.B. I have never once found a young maid who *either* kept accounts *or* had anything in the savings' bank.) Then I give her 10/ or £1 provided she will put 5/ into the P.O.S.B. with it, and afterwards I go on adding to what she puts in. (In this way I have now at Lea Hurst numerous families who put into the P.O. Savings' Bank.)

With regard to the older maids, Fanny [Dowding] has now a good sum in the P.O. Savings' Bank and I make up the *interest* to her to 5 percent, that is, I double the interest, provided she lets it stay in and shows me her "book." But, of course if they show me their "book" I keep them secret. I only wish I had done this more regularly and generally.

Source: Copy of a letter probably to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9013/2, and dictated letter, Add Mss 45809 ff248-51

Claydon House
Winslow, Bucks
4 January 1890

You ask *me* upon one of the most difficult subjects of the present day, namely, “Is the rule inexorable by which families where an unmarried daughter has had what they call a ‘misfortune’ should be turned themselves (with her) out of their cottages?” *I* should rather ask of *you*, in these days the subject is so much more complicated. Besides, the sin is *not* in having the illegitimate child, but in the sin which preceded it. And the new doctrine about the connection of the sexes is now, I am told, so widespread among the lower classes that it is quite an open secret. Thus, the great danger is that man and woman do learn how to commit the sin without the consequences.

A public schoolmaster of gentle boys, I mean who has particularly studied the subject, and has succeeded in maintaining purity among his boys, to a degree, I believe that no other public school does, though many do a great deal, has obtained the most varied information from ministers, Anglican and Dissenting, and from Roman Catholic priests, who commonly know more about this than any other ministers, and he declares that this open secret is more and more extensively practised among the poor. (You probably know that quite respectable socialists have printed this; and on one occasion, a very superior bookseller was prosecuted for publishing a book of this kind, and condemned). This appears to me greatly to alter the whole question.

2. The danger of increasing child murder is so obvious that it is scarcely necessary to mention it.

3. Again, it makes the case so different if the woman marries the man. We may charitably suppose that they intended to follow God’s law, of one woman to one man, and it is quite different if a woman has had two or three children by different men. And it is so dangerous if a woman for her first offence is condemned to disgrace. (In all institutions now a difference is made between primiparae and women who have fallen two or three times. Indeed there are institutions, as I think so wisely, which take in only primiparae then help the woman to service and to maintain her child herself instead of sending it to the workhouse, otherwise its fate. These women are generally recovered. One of our cousins is actually a prime mover in a division of one of our vast London workhouses for this object.)

4. I need scarcely allude to the nonsense which is talked among the very poor, about the honour of being married at sixteen, which I know leads, almost unconsciously on the young woman's part, to sin with this purpose. But this is very different from the coarse brutish sensuality which leads men and women to behave like animals.

You know that very superior upper servants even will talk this sort of jingo among themselves: "I think it is time for Miss (mentioning one of their mistress's friends) to go off." This means to be married, of course you know. All this sort of thing, like the publications of perfectly respectable socialists, leads to mischief, without the poor young thing knowing it is mischief. And now, when so many know that the mischief can be done without the consequences, this is a very serious consideration. I am far from thinking that these considerations are final.

I know how much may be said about maintaining a high standard of morality by the landowner in his villages, but I think that, considering the almost promiscuous mixing up of young men and women in the cottage bedroom, and the London one room, this sin is almost inevitable, and I think the chief hope, which it will take two or three generations to fulfill, is in the better moral education which we may hope to see, and which will prevent fathers and mothers from jesting openly before their young children on the most delicate and sacred subjects in the rooms of the poor.

5. The man is not punished, and the more villainous the man, the more he escapes.

Source: Unsigned letter probably to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9013/7

10 S. Street
20 January 1890

Private

Most certainly this "most painful subject" cannot be settled by regard of whether one "will be considered weak" or not.

Dean Fremantle⁵⁰ is at once a man of religion and a man of the world and the proposed clause in the cottage leases is very good. But then comes the consideration: How *can* parents preserve their children from immorality? The temptation to conceal will be tenfold if the children know that their sin will turn themselves and family out of their cottage. I am glad that you yourself will "talk seriously" to the four cottages offending. That will do more good than anything. . . .

50 William R. Fremantle (1807-95), dean of Ripon.

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45845 f197

[1895]

Mrs Green:⁵¹ County councils have found out that they cannot rebuild the dwellings of the poor because they must raise the rates. Don't know their best man yet, don't know how to use them or to organize them.

Social-Class Issues

Editor: Nightingale was a left-leaning liberal, not a socialist, and her politics did not change throughout her life. Her instincts were profoundly democratic, however, and she called people of all social classes her *friends*. Her own direct involvement with urban working-class people began in the 1840s with visits to a radical bookshop, the Literary and Scientific Institution, John Street, Fitzroy Square, where she met members of the co-operative movement. That is where she first thought of writing on religion for the “atheist operatives,” the work that eventually became *Suggestions for Thought*.⁵² The first volume indeed had “for Searchers after Truth among the Artizans of England” in the title, a qualification dropped at Mill’s advice in the succeeding two volumes. A letter to her brother-in-law in 1881 shows Nightingale “very glad to see so many publicans on your list” and “labourers” as chairmen of meetings.⁵³ The following short items reflect Nightingale’s views on social class from different periods of her life.

Source: Note, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8993/58

[1851]

Great Exhibition: Many saw nothing more in the opening than they would in a coronation or any other pageant. To me it was like the opening of a new era in the world. The great characteristic difference between the French and English seems to be that the English do some great thing without knowing why they do it, nor what it is they have done—with them the fact comes first, the idea afterwards. The French,

51 Charlotte Symonds Green (1842-1929), friend of Jowett and wife of philosopher T.H. Green at Oxford.

52 Letter to Sir John McNeill 17 May 1860, London Metropolitan Archives H1/ST/NC3/SV/30. See E.T. Cook, *Life of Florence Nightingale* 1:119-20.

53 Letter to Harry Verney 21 September 1881, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/177.

on the contrary, have always some great idea, afterwards comes the fact, or sometimes not at all.

No other nation could have produced the Crystal Palace and yet no nation sees the gist of it less. Prince Albert has two ideas, a great thing to say, most men having but half a one. These two ideas, incorporated in the Crystal Palace are: one, the greatness of *work*, and not of rank or wealth or blood; the other, the unity of human race. It was the first time that workingmen and a Queen ever walked in procession together, that a Queen's husband ever appeared as a workingman, i.e., an industrial commissioner, that working hands were put before white hands. Idea the second, unity of human race: we have forever done with thanking God that we are not as other men are.⁵⁴ While one individual of the human race remains vicious or ignorant we acknowledge the whole race must be less wise and less virtuous than it otherwise would be. *We* are affected by the degradation of the less civilized nations of the earth; we begin to learn, not only in sermons, that we are all brethren and must suffer for our brother's sufferings⁵⁵—we leave off being grateful that we are not as the savages are.

Two ideas, however, fail of their full meaning in the Crystal Palace: no co-operation, no look of unity in the interior, each booth advertises no connection with establishment over the way. Wanting to the very spirit of the thing, exhibitors not to be the spectators of the pageant. Those who did the work should see the show.

Still there was the true spirit of *representation*. Clergy least represented, as not being workingmen. Pageant as the expression of our pride and joy in so good a thing, Queen, of the idea of centralization in this sense admirable.

Source: Unsigned letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8994/66

1 Upper Harley St.

22-23 December 1853

Dear Papa

The question which you start is the most interesting one of the day, and is not undiscussed by the great men who watch, not interfere in, the labour market. I imagine that S. Herbert, Quekett⁵⁶ and many

⁵⁴ An allusion to Luke 18:11.

⁵⁵ An allusion to 1 Cor 12:26.

⁵⁶ A model priest, Rev William Quekett, at St George in the East, London, whose work was described in Charles Dickens' journal: "What a London Curate Can Do if He Tries," *Household Words* November 16:172-76.

others (my “Lady Bountifuls,” I acknowledge, are only influenced by their own kind impulses) are fully incensed with it and S. Herbert, whatever his faults, great in my eyes, as a statesman, is a thorough political economist. The opinion which is, I believe, spreading among these is that the trade and manufactures of England will be gradually transferred to her colonies, that this is scarcely to be deplored in any point of view, that, for the labourer to go where he can get 5/ per day is the soundest political economy and upon the true principle of supply and demand. The gold is in Australia, the corn is in Tasmania.

Those who watch the signs of the laws of God say that there, in a few years, will be the Anglo-Saxon population, commerce and manufacture. You say that wages are rising in England. So they are, but with them the price of everything raised by labour. I could not feed my family with bread now under 25/ per week, if I had not laid in flour and baked at home. Flour is now 70/ per sack. Coals are 40/ per ton, nearly twice the price they were four months ago when I laid in 56 tons at 23/. Our butcher came to me only yesterday and said that he could not go on supplying us at contract prices. And my belief is that meat and bread will be higher still after Christmas. 12/ per week will hardly go now as far as 9/ this time last year.

My conviction is that the labourer’s wages, though nominally higher, are really lower. And this by accurate calculation. I, too, think that the old world is going to be transferred to the new, not perhaps on such accurate politico-economic grounds as the great men do, but because all history tells me that when a nation’s religion is divorced from its practice, its cult from its real belief, that nation becomes extinct. The events which have lately taken place in the church are, I think, truly alarming. . . .⁵⁷

Source: Copy of note, Add Mss 45791 ff275-76

Scutari

March 1856

I have never been able to join in the popular cry about the recklessness, sensuality, helplessness of the soldier. On the contrary I should say (and perhaps few women have ever seen more of the manufacturing *and* agricultural classes of England than I have before I came out

⁵⁷ For Nightingale’s views on the failings of the Church of England see *Theology* (3:73, 86, 245, 248-49, 258, 330, 332, 356, 361).

here) that I have never seen so teachable and helpful a class as the Army generally.

Give them opportunity promptly and securely to send money home and they will use it. Give them schools and lectures and they will come to them. Give them books and games and amusements and they will leave off drinking. Give them suffering and they will bear it. Give them work and they will do it.

I had rather have to do with the Army generally than with any other class I have ever attempted to serve. And, when I compare them with the Medical Staff Corps, the Land Transport Corps, the Army Works Corps, I am struck with the soldier's superiority as a moral and even an intellectual being.

F.N.

Source: Note, Add Mss 45845 f11

[1866]

The workingman is not Conservative because he has nothing to conserve. Make equal laws for the poor man and the rich man, and the poor man will have something to conserve. Parliamentary reform will not do this for him, because, if he elects an MP, the MP as soon as he gets into Parliament will do just like the others. Parliamentary men care for nothing but to let Parliamentary men live at peace and to ride out there in the park or to drive in carriages with servants behind them. Let each poor man be able to earn his freehold house and he will become Conservative.

The railway laws of Parliament, turning the poor men out of their houses and making them *compensation*, are exactly as if Parliament were to make a law that anybody might snatch my watch out of my pocket as I walked along Oxford Street, provided he made me *compensation* for it. . . .

If all the well-to-do and well-educated men in London were to put their heads together to mend the condition of the workingman (which brings about the strikes), would it not be too easy? . . . Reform will only give workingmen a share in political, not the very least share in social life. England had better be nowhere then, as far as she herself is concerned by where she is. . . . Poor Law scheme—a cost and a mischief, a trial and a failure. And because it will fail it will lead to better ways, but don't you be drawn in to help other people with their schemes. If they choose to make a scheme and to submit it to you, we will help.

Source: Undated note, ADD Mss 45845 f13

[1866]

Liberalism = free development of individual man. I, a thief, have not opportunity to develop myself. [I] “protest that [the] workingman is not a child, to be taken care of by a paternal government.” That means, every man for himself—God for us all. But you mustn’t expect me to be the instrument of God for any others than myself. City of London—richest place in the world—look at its Poor rates. There is absolutely no organization of any kind whatever to prevent this misery. Local self-government: Certain parishes can keep down pauperism. Certain parishes can’t keep down sickness.

Source: Note to Dr Sutherland, ADD Mss 45753 f118

[ca. November 1868]

Sir C. Trevelyan. “With all the cry about it, there is *no* real equality” in England; there *is* in France. In England, wealth covers blackguardism, aristocracy. The only blackguard⁵⁸ is the poor man. (This is the real obstacle to Sir C.T.’s scheme; the aristocratic blackguard will be obliged and even loved by his men. The deserving non-commissioned officer raised from their own ranks to command them will not.)

Source: Undated note, ADD Mss 45845 f139

I do not believe that you can have perfect service except from a lady. *It is not education that unfits for service; it is the want of it.* “Well, I know that the reading girls I have had, have as a rule served me worse than the rest.” Would you have called one of those girls educated? x x They had *never been taught service*, the highest accomplishment of all. What was the higher honour?—that of knighthood. Wherein did this knighthood consist? The very word means simply *service*. And for what was the knight thus waited upon by his squire? That he might be free to do as he pleased? No, but *that he might be free to be the servant of all*. By being a squire first, the servant of one, he learned to rise to the higher rank, that of being the servant of all.⁵⁹

“Be ye therefore *perfect*, even as,” etc.⁶⁰ *We ought always to act upon the ideal; it is the only safe ground of action.* When that which contradicts and resists, and would ruin our ideal, opposes us then we must take

58 A derogatory term for criminal, low life.

59 An allusion to 1 Cor 9:19.

60 An allusion to Matt 5:48.

measures, but not till then can we take measures or know what measures it may be necessary to take.

Source: Undated note, Add Mss 45845 f22

[1869?]

Plasterers [?] This organization is part of our capital. We have expended effort, time, money upon it. We have raised wages by it from — to — in such a time, just as money is part of a capitalist's capital. Now the people who remain outside us we are obliged to combine against, not because we want to interfere with them, but because they are clandestinely using our organization capital without paying in their shares to it. They are profiting by the improved wages which *we* have raised, without contributing anything (as we contribute) towards this result. All great powers of organization are gone down among the artisans.

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9010/28

10 South St., W.

22 July 1884

My dear Sir Harry and Parthe [Verney]

Yesterday was the franchise versus Lords "demonstration" and of course we saw the whole passing up from Hyde Park Corner to Marble Arch, about 30,000 of them, besides people at large, perhaps 100,000 more.

It is always a touching, inspiring sight to see men walking in serried ranks, shoulder to shoulder, in silent steady strength, possessed with their object, and gives one more the idea of strength than a battery of artillery. From this point of view, the procession was a sorry sight—I was quite mortified. If it was to be done at all, it should have been done well; I don't like the Lords to make a mock of us.

There was no formation at all, at least not in the park; the men did not march at all—scurried and stopped—great gaps, then a rush—no walking abreast—nothing impressive, quite as many dirty little boys in the procession, if procession it could be called, and even women with smart babies, and men in dirty shirt sleeves, as proper men.

I was in hopes that the proper men had turned aside to their respective platforms, but am told this was not the case. They looked like weary tramps. The bands would have disgraced a child's penny trumpeting. One big drum kept time and round it a few men did march. The procession was just an hour passing this house, with a good deal of running. The flags and banners would have been impressive floating above the dark green foliage, had there been the least order kept. But

they might just as well have been in donkey carts. There were a good many open vans, drawn by one skeleton of a horse. As a procession, indeed, it was beneath contempt.

But now comes the pathetic, the admirable part of it: not a policeman was in sight; not a policeman was wanted. Though the people poured in and spoilt the so-called march, if ever march there was, there was not a bit of horseplay, or even of pushing. Babies walked about unmolested, in pink frocks, on their black pins. There was the most extreme order in disorder, the utmost good humour throughout this long, weary afternoon of crowds, and no drink. The head of the procession did not *enter* the park till the hour mentioned for the speaking to begin (5:00); the tail of the procession had not entered when the hour struck for the speaking to close (6:00). There was not a struggle or a push during the whole demonstration.

They did “demonstrate,” but it was their own good humour, and though there was strong language used against the peers on the platforms, a peer would have been as safe as a baby among the 130,000 we saw. Some of the emblems of the trades were good, and the composers as they went by were printing off the resolutions in their van and throwing them among the people, as the march passed. One thing was conspicuous: is the standard of English height lowered? The procession was of the most undersized men I ever saw. Conspicuous by its *absence* was order on the other side. [In] the streets, opposite your public house was drunken singing and dancing the whole afternoon—the drinking was simply disgusting, the row, the uproar. Then a mock sermon was delivered by one of them and applauded to the echo. This went on for hours. The police did not interfere. Perhaps they were right. I was glad you were not at home, for I certainly should have asked you to inform against the public house.

I wondered the gentle folks could keep quiet. Indeed I often wonder. But at last the drinkers moved off, *where* I know not, *not* to the park. Nothing of drinking was visible or audible just across the lane (Park Lane) in the park. It was as if the park and the demonstration were sacred to the highest feelings. I scrambled out of bed upstairs to see all I could. All the maids were on the drawing-room balcony. All the leads cats ran shrieking into your garden (that was the effect of the catcall bands). Only one little bulldog pup with a tail curled so tight as to lift him off his legs stood his ground manfully on the leads. My cats disappeared under the bed, whether from dislike of the

demonstration, or the Lords, or because they disapprove of household suffrage, I don't know. We had hardly a drop of rain.

Do you remember nineteen or eighteen years ago the pulling down the park railings? This is the march of education, though it was not the march of demonstration.

ever dear people
yours affectionately
F.N.

Source: Note to Benjamin Jowett, ADD Mss 45785 f128

5 August 1889

To Jowett: Oxford undergraduates: Mr Lionel Smith: "All thinking men [are] *collectivists*" (Mr Johnson and [t]he best tutors of Oxford, Mrs Johnson for women's education). All "new" men Tories. Lectures on political science and history, which teach Christianity without the name of it, and how to behave ourselves, and that we must not use a word beginning with ph, because *philanthropy* is a wicked thing, but to be all brothers and sisters is the right thing. (How much of this is true!) Volume 3 of T.H. Green. Liberal legislation for hares and rabbits.

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45845 f196

9 October 1889

Artisans—how *not thinking of political* things. They are looking into the *conditions of labour*, and considering what *legislation* will be required, and *know* that it will take some time *to know*.

Source: Undated note, ADD Mss 45845 f285

[1894?]

Workmen's Clubs and Workwomen's: the principle is a right one of admitting the members to the greatest share possible in the management, but they must be trained to this by the "lady," and she must always *keep her hand* on it. The failure of so many clubs to do a real work is due to the want of this higher influence.

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45845 f270

[May] 1895

May Day Meeting in Hyde Park 1895. Gathering of socialists, passed off with small numbers, much rain and no row. Their celebrated war dance (in *words*) was danced, varied by a woman's address in *French*. Their subjects: manhood suffrage and the eight hours' day. But all the

speeches might just as well have been in French (or Hebrew) for any light they threw on how the *eight hours' day* was to be attained; they might just as well have passed a resolution that the sun should always rise at 8:00 and set at 4:00.

One is forever reminded of Mr Lowe's few words which gave us Forster's Elementary Education Act: "If there is to be household suffrage our masters may as well know how to read and write." So one would say of these people: "They might as well have an elementary knowledge of figures."

Source: Unsigned letter/draft/copy, ADD Mss 45791 ff397-98

18 August 1895

My dear Fred [Verney]

To know what the workingman *is* thinking of, what he needs to raise himself, what he knows, how he can use responsibility is surely a much deeper inquiry and more pressing at the same time than mere party mechanism.

One of your ablest radical MPs came to me the other day and, after discussing the ordinary battle cries of the workingman, began to propound the real thing as shown by miners in a Scotch county. These people say: "They don't want England to be rich; they want a better distribution of wealth—now it all goes to the 'royalty,' which is the 'first charge,' the manager and lastly only to the miners. They want themselves to be the 'first charge.'" I was so aghast to find that my man seemed to think it all right, the real remedy, and the easiest thing in the world, that I did not ask the most obvious questions. (But I shall see him again) such as is this a sort of land nationalization of mines, etc.

It appears, however, *not* from this man, that all English workmen prefer *high wages* to any kind of co-operation or profit sharing. Above all none will consent to share in the *loss*. This is characteristic. Things might do in Scotland, where there has been education so long, which would never do in England, where there is still no education at all in the sense we mean. Is there any doubt that where wages are the highest, there the statistics of drunkenness are the highest?, for example, Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham, Yorkshire.

Co-operatives versus Trade Unions

Editor: Nightingale's young cousin Rosalind Shore Smith, who had studied at Girton College, Cambridge, worked in the co-operative movement with her husband, Vaughan Nash. The several letters that

follow show Nightingale taking an interest, now late in life, in this movement, offering books for a reference library for “co-operators.” In a letter to Fred Verney in which she also discussed the “poor match girls” on strike, she explained that she had been instructed, by her “youthful co-operative prophet,” Rosalind Nash, “that trades’ unions divide classes still more and set capital against labour more, whereas co-operative societies bring together capital and labour, make the labourer a capitalist and heal the divisions between classes.”⁶¹

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 45795 ff165-66

10 South St.

14 July 1888

Dearest Rosalind [Nash]

Your co-operative usefulness is delightful. I have not forgotten the list of books. I am going to send you a small list at once and hope to send a more considerable one by and bye. I suppose one may always add to it. It is never final. If it is not in the lowest degree vulgar, I would ask if I might give them some books, but I suppose this is contrary to all co-operative principle.

Lady Ashburton⁶² is gone to Marienbad, to distribute Bibles and tracts in Czechish. There is a very large co-operative estate about twenty miles distant on the borders of the forest, which she has seen and believes to be entirely successful. I have charged her to send me home (for you) details and of course to prove its success.

My dear, we must set up co-operative farming. You see how my manners and principles have been corrupted by you, the youthful prophet. If you observe aberration, do not lay it at my door. It is sad how youth corrupts old age.

your faithful and loving old
(co-operative) aunt

Florence Nightingale

I am going to send you a delightful little book “Elementary Politics.” Also your own *Two Lay Sermons*.⁶³

61 Letter 15 July 1888, ADD Mss 68886 ff15-16.

62 Wife of the second baron and a Nightingale family friend.

63 Presumably Coleridge’s *Two Lay Sermons*.

Source: Letter, Woodward Biomedical Library A.62

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane, W.
25 July 1888

Dearest Rosalind [Nash],

Nothing but time has been wanting to me to write down what generally, if I am asked, I give, for example, to South Africa, India, etc. I now enclose a little list and hope to send another. Good speed to your "Reference Library for Co-operators." May I send them some books some day? I hope I am not too late. . . .

What do you say to match girls' strike? Could they have "co-operated"? Men trades unionists have interfered with good effect; Bryant and May's Co.,⁶⁴ hearing them with courtesy and kindness and accepting some things as not previously known to them and girls have resumed work, I understand, on terms agreed on by themselves and the men trades' unionists. Success, my Rosy, to all your good undertakings. Love to Papa.

ever your loving
Aunt Florence

Have you been "co-operating" in furrin parts in England?

Source: Letter to Rosalind Nash, Add Mss 45795 ff167-68

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane, W.
5 August 1888

I send for the dear co-ops F.A. Walker's *Money, Wages, Political Economy*⁶⁵ and I add the "Brief Handbook of Political Economy" because it is neither "brief" nor clear and will require at least ten strong lecturers to handle it. (I expected a delightful little book like *Elementary Politics*.) May your co-ops flourish.

What a beautiful ode is Morris's. (I like your idea that co-operation is Christianity adapted to these times.) I hope you have really got a good singer for the ode. I was so sorry about Margaret Verney.

Do you want a lecture given *now* on "co-operation" as applicable to "provident dispensaries"? Write to Harry Bonham Carter at Woodside, and say I prompted you and ask him about provident dispensaries now, and say what you said that it is such a good field for co-

64 The company the match girls went on strike against.

65 Francis A. Walker, *Political Economy* and *The Wages Question, Money, Trade and Investment*.

operation. I think so indeed. And it is such an important subject (the out-patient departments of hospitals are a crying evil). I send a paper on registration of nurses by H.B.C. which touches on some points we were talking about in relation to Philadelphia Hospital.

I send your dilapidated little table ('twasn't our fault). My very best love to Mama and Barbarina. If anyone should be passing this way today—this afternoon!!?

ever your loving
Aunt Florence

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 45795 ff169-70

Claydon House
Winslow, Bucks
2 September 1888

Dearest Rosalind [Nash]

I have thought of you every day and every night and I hope the day at the Crystal Palace—which you had done so much to bring about—went off to your satisfaction as it did, I was glad to see, to the satisfaction of the newspapers. Is there any printed account or résumé of the actual position of co-operation now, *without too many figures*, but giving the distributive and productive prospects apart, and the shareholding and selling interest as regards its aims, etc.? I want to get something of the kind to show Aunt Parthe who is very recalcitrant and “buses me about and knocks my cap off,” as the navy said. . . .

I hope the prima donna did well after all in Morris's ode.

Please send me two or three of your flyleaf (revised) on co-operation. You see how much use I made of the old one. But this is for Aunt Parthe and others. No time for more. . . . I think of your future career, dearest, with more interest than almost anything else, except India and the nurses.

ever your loving
Aunt Florence

Source: Unsigned letter, Woodward Biomedical A.71

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane, W.
9 May 1890

Private

My very dear young woman [Rosalind Nash]

The co-operative anxieties are very grievous and disappointing, but the thing is that disappointment is often growth, and failure victory.

Don't you remember the old Easter carol? I am so old-fashioned and, never having been at Girton where I suppose you learnt arithmetic, I am trying to learn, too, and to understand that Co-operative Congress + 2 1/2 weeks = 2 months' rest for health. But I fail being old. Now two months' rest is the time that working young women ought to have every year—not a bit too much—to keep them in working health. And two months is after all soon past. It is a bad arrangement that we can't do anything without our body. But, after all, it *is*. We can't alter it.

Source: From a letter to Fred Verney, Add Mss 68888 f103

23 September 1895

Nationalization. Mrs Rosalind [Nash] is at this moment at Beauvais (in France). She will not return from a little tour in France with her mother and sister till quite the end of the month. So, meanwhile, I asked the best educated I know of the Radical MPs. He says: "By nationalization of minerals they mean that individual landowners should not monopolize them but that they should be made available for the enterprise of the whole nation under proper regulations. Practically they are nationalized in all European countries and the owner of the surface is not allowed to claim exclusive right to all below the surface. The result would probably be to cheapen coal." (I think I ought to receive a small pension for translating for Radicals.) Best love to all.

"Jack O'Darmstadt"

Editor: These folios are identified in the British Library note as having been copied from a letter of "Sir Robert Stories," or "Jack O'Darmstadt," to Benjamin Jowett, Christmas Eve 1870. But "Stories" was a pseudonym for Sir Robert Morier (1826-93), a great friend of Jowett and a diplomat who served in Darmstadt 1866-71.⁶⁶ The excerpts, all in Nightingale's hand, are mainly on matters of foreign and colonial policy, so that this seems very plausible. Some of the language and content of these excerpts is different from Nightingale's views and mode of expression, but there are some passages that sound extraordinarily like her, notably those on the pressures of work, responsibility for actions rather than mere opinions and politicians

⁶⁶ Letter from Penelope A. Bulloch, Librarian, Balliol College Library, 23 July 1997.

being more concerned about managing Parliament and getting good press than running the country. It seems that, as she had with the novel *Robert Falconer*, excerpted in *Theology* (3:625-32), she noted down the parts that spoke to her personally. It seems also that she acquired some vocabulary from Stories/Morier, for his “greasing a bill through Parliament” shows up in other political comments she made.

Source: Note apparently copied from a letter of Sir Robert Morier to Benjamin Jowett, ADD Mss 45845 ff82-87

Christmas Eve 1870

Before this *miserable year* is out and another *miserable year* begins. It is impossible for me to write—I have hardly five minutes a day at my disposal, being hemmed in on all sides by every kind of work. Moreover I am *completely demoralized* by the peculiar kind of position I am placed in. The most disagreeable kind of responsibility: *that for opinions and not acts*. Placed in this out-of-the-way nest, I cannot command *all* the data necessary to form an opinion *such as I would myself implicitly trust to*, though I have means of getting at *many data* which others have not. I know enough to see the utter imbecility which characterizes the action of --. I feel like a man *in a bog with a good compass* in his pocket. I know the direction I want to go in accurately, but when I try to move on, down I go into the black mud.

The fact is that the like of what our -- is in upper quarters was never I suppose seen before. Pompous assishness at a moment when the very ablest men would find the work cut out for them *straining their energies* to the utmost.

Lord Granville's⁶⁷ talent as an agreeable man of the world, his oratorical virtuosity with which he greases radical measures so as to make them go through the Lords. As the virtue of a baker is to bake bread, so the virtue of a *statesman* is to know how to transact the affairs of the *state*. The men now called upon to exercise it x x may understand *the art of managing Parliament* and of getting themselves praised by newspapers, but *the art of managing England* so that she will come out of their hands in a nobler, greater position than when they took the rudder into their hands they have NOT got. What is the τέλος [end] *which an English statesman* of modern manufacture has before his eyes? Is it to do the duty which *England* (that grand old ideal which used to

67 George Leveson-Gower (1815-91), 2nd Earl Granville, diplomat and sometime foreign minister and colonial secretary.

inflame men's hearts at one time) expects of him, *or is it to steer clear of the animadversions of Mr Levi of the Telegraph?*

What attitude ought England to assume in the midst of the *greatest historical drama which has been played since the existence of civilized nations?* Honest, that is *intellectually honest*, not honest in the way of not taking bribes. How to eat their leek so that people should fancy they were eating something they liked, and *how exactly to say enough to make the penny-a-liners fancy they had said a great deal* and write leading articles to prove that the British lion had roared.

To us behind the scenes who see all the opportunities of taking up the right attitude missed and all serious study pooh-poohed, the secret is well known that our knives are made not to cut but to sell. An English statesman's reward after his day's toil is not the improved position of England in the world's drama, but the approving leading article and the favourable reports brought in by the whip from the purlieux of the Reform Club. *The public in front of the scenes*, who know nothing of what is going on behind, merely sees *the scenic effect* carefully prepared to hit the sight of persons sitting where they sit; they see nothing of the *monstrous perspective and misshape* of the objects as they exist in themselves.

To me, behind the scenes, Mr Cardwell [is] not an ass nor an idiot. [It] cannot but seem as if his Army Regulation Act [were] merely for the penny-a-liners or the House of Commons.⁶⁸ Crass ignorance of the *Times* paragraph control.

England at one of the most *doing* crises of the world has no body of men within the realm capable of possessing a policy as the road *along which they intend themselves to walk and make others walk, as one great whole to be submitted to the country* and accepted or rejected by the country. They are all *open questions*. (Mr Cardwell's policy—merely to meet a “panic” does not pretend to any other, does not pretend to constitute what *he* thinks a safe Army.) *These* men are absolutely destitute of the idea that it is the duty they owe to their country to have one [policy], like a log on the water, *heaving with every wave of public opinion* or hurled at any kind of pace down a stream to destruction. A huge water-logged ironclad, crammed with wealth, strength, sinew and power to do good

68 As secretary for war under Gladstone, Cardwell brought in such important reforms as the abolition of purchase for Army commissions, provisions for retirement, short terms of service, a veteran reserve army and improved military education.

or evil, yet utterly incapable because we have no engineers to start the engines—a laughingstock to our enemies.

[The] half-dozen men once in power rule us as absolutely as the Russian czar rules the Russian muzhiks [peasants]. I spend day and night in thinking over these things yet seeking the folly of doing so as nobody else does.

To prepare by every means in our power for cutting Canada adrift, putting her well on her legs first. As regards the rest of our colonial empire, I would endeavour to draw together much closer the bonds which at present exist between them and the mother country. Our folly in never asking ourselves on what *general* principle our colonial policy should be built up has prevented our insisting that every colony which chooses to keep up its connection with us shall adopt free trade. The least we can ask in return for the duty of protecting a colony is that it shall not enhance by local legislation the cost of the colonial produce consumed by the mother country. Canada would probably do everything rather than give up her protective tariff, but if she did give it up half our worries with America would probably cease.

If I embodied some such program in the House of Commons, 150 Englishmen out of every 100 would scream at me and hoot me down, and you would probably be the first to cast a stone at me.⁶⁹ Does Mr Gladstone put out boldly that “England must cease having a ‘colonial’ policy and be content with her position in her island home”?

Assisted Emigration

Editor: Nightingale’s support of measures to assist unemployed people to emigrate to the colonies appears in many places. She took up the issue with her colleague, Sir John McNeill, who was not only a doctor and colleague but highly knowledgeable about Poor Law provisions, especially in Scotland, and an advocate of emigration as a means of preventing widescale destitution.

⁶⁹ An allusion to John 8:7.

Source: Typed copy of letter to unknown recipient, State Library of South Australia

London

7 January 1869

Dear Sir

I have now the pleasure of informing you what I have done with the £5 which you wished me to employ for you. Believing, as I do, that the only real charity is to put persons in the way of productive and remunerative work who, from physical defects, intellectual defects, moral defects, are incapable of finding it for themselves, and this the Poor Law might do for them, at least to a considerable extent, but declares it impossible. I have given in your name £2.10 to the East End Emigration Fund which has, by migration and emigration, provided permanent employment for about 1750 poor persons, of the most unpromising material, nearly all of whom are doing well, and this at a cost of less than £4 per head. And I have given in your name £2.10 to the Adult Industrial Home, which is a private institution issuing no reports, set on foot by three poor ladies, who have, under their own supervision, enabled poor women, deficient in intellect, deficient in habits of temperance, who would be otherwise picking oakum in the workhouse or doing worse, to do laundry and other work, by which they earn considerable wages and have besides a share in the concern, according to the productiveness of their labour and their good conduct.

But these ladies, who furnished the original plant themselves, are now desirous of building a laundry and making the institution otherwise independent, which they continue to supervise. I trust that you will approve of the use made of the two sums, both of which have been acknowledged with many thanks, and beg that you will believe me, dear Sir,

ever your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

Source: From an incomplete letter to Frances Nightingale, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/126

29 November 1869

I do not share the feeling at all which you attribute to me against the collection of art treasures. In London, I think, one main business of such colossal fortunes as the Westminster's, the Sutherland's, the Ellesmere's, the Burdett Coutts'⁷⁰ is to be the gatherers and deposito-

⁷⁰ Baroness Burdett Coutts (1814-1906) inherited the vast Coutts banking fortune and herself became a generous benefactor.

ries of art treasures for the people—but then they must really throw open their galleries to the people.

“Man does not live by bread alone”⁷¹ and our life would become sordid indeed, if it were only busied in keeping people out of work-houses. “Panem et Circenses” [bread and circuses], though put to a horrible meaning by the old Romans, nevertheless is much what I think the great London nobles, who have time and money, ought to do, i.e., emigration schemes and model dwellings and art galleries. Else, in a country like England, art would almost depart out of the world. Only I would have painted chapels like Michelangelo’s and the like and church art maintained by the great nobles.

ever your loving child

F.

Source: Letter, London Metropolitan Archives (Florence Nightingale Museum) H1/ST/NC3/SU161

[printed address] 35 South Street

Park Lane, W.

8 February 1870

My dear Sir John McNeill

Your great kindness encourages me to ask you to help me as no one else can. I will refer to some points in your conversation:

1. If there are (as you say and as I entirely agree) great objections to government interfering directly in emigration, would there be the same objection to the following? Poor Law Guardians in England have moved surplus labour out of their parishes into the manufacturing districts with great benefit to all. Instead of paying land conveyance, might they not pay ship passages? Could not a scheme, in which Guardians and private persons in the parish might co-operate, be framed whereby, through the medium of the Colonial Office and the colonial governments—emigrants, children and others, might be conveyed and be trained in the colonies for colonial life and so take their place as agriculturalists, stock-keepers, etc., and the girls, as they grow up, as women where they are so much wanted.

I confess, though I have always tried to help as far as I could, those fine fellows among the unemployed workmen who will pinch and pawn to help themselves out, and afterwards their families, to the colonies, that I think these are the men whom we should the least wish to part with. If emigration is only practicable in this way, it may

⁷¹ Luke 4:4.

almost be said that it is only practicable as far as it is unnecessary. It is the orphan and deserted children who *can't* help themselves, the young girls, not yet vicious, who are as it were predestined to sin and pauperism in the old country, who might be good and industrious and happy in the new. It is these who want our help, but then they must have industrial training in the colonies to make them do well there.

Would it be impossible, as Glasgow sends its children to Arran, for any scheme to be devised by which London might send its children to Canada? (Melbourne once offered to our government to form industrial schools for our pauper children, "not yet confirmed in pauper habits.")

Source: Undated note, ADD Mss 47744 f177

[ca. 15 January 1870]

All honour to those noble workmen, the unemployed, who will pinch and pawn to help themselves out and afterwards their families to the colonies. But these are the men who would do well anywhere. If emigration is only practicable in this way, it may almost be said that it is only practicable as far as it is unnecessary.

It is the children who *can't* help themselves—the young girls, not yet vicious, who can't emigrate *virtuously* without matronship, the hundreds of thousands of young recruits ever waiting to swell the ever-rising tide of pauperism and vice, who might be happy and industrious and virtuous and good in a new country, who are as it were predestined to sin and misery in the old; it is these who want our help. But then they want industrial training, as distinguished from reading and writing (though not without reading and writing) to make them do well in the colonies.

Editor: Nightingale seems to have regretted the lack of immigration possibilities for Canada. A deputation from the Whatstandwell coffee room told her that the young stonemasons and their families were going to "O-hi-o . . . because . . . the sort of work they want is not to be found in Canada. And they get work such as they are used to instantly in O-hi-o generally before they arrive—often relations who have gone before them find it for them and they settle down without a day's delay to high wages. My mouth watered: all these fine young fellows are lost to our country who might be saved to her in Canada, and the drunkards are left to us in Derbyshire."⁷²

⁷² Letter to Maude Verney 18 September 1887, ADD Mss 68885 ff50-51.

Coffee Houses, Workingmen's Institutes and Temperance

Editor: Throughout her life Nightingale took an interest in leisure activities for ordinary workingmen, especially the need for facilities other than pubs for relaxation. She supported the temperance movement and frequently contributed small sums to temperance organizations. She gave more money and much practical assistance to the establishment of coffee rooms, workingmen's institutes and reading rooms, especially in the Lea, Holloway area, where she was long familiar with men spending their earnings immediately at the pub (pubs were traditionally used as places to pay workers). She met with organizers of coffee rooms, subscribed herself and sent books for many years to workingmen's institutes.

A letter to her brother-in-law asked him: "Would you think well to further the opening of museums, etc., for working classes at night, a matter in which I am much interested?, as enclosed."⁷³ In 1867 she complained to him that education in England was backward compared with that in France, that it was "so absurd to hear people inveighing against the absence of saving habits, against the ignorance of their own interests, in our workingmen, shown by their trades unions, etc., when how can it be otherwise if we give them so little and such poor education?" It was "nonsense" to say that they did not appreciate education: "How *can* they appreciate what so few of them ever see?"⁷⁴

Source: Letter, Columbia University, Presbyterian Hospital School of Nursing C120

London

3 April 1878

Sir [John C. Barnard, Honorary Secretary of the Coffee Tavern Company]

I wish success with all my heart to *every* effort made to furnish our workingmen, and if possible women too, by means of coffee houses and lodgings, etc., with the comforts, decencies and true interests of life, for want of which so many young men and women and our race, too, as a consequence, are degenerating body, mind and soul and spirit. They know no interest but drink, no comfort but the public house and "gin palace," no decency at all in lodging or resort. And who can say it is their fault?

⁷³ Letter to Harry Verney 28 April 1865, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9001/126.

⁷⁴ Letter to Harry Verney 16 January 1867, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9002/98.

I should be much obliged to you to inscribe me for £10 worth of shares in the “Coffee Tavern Co.,” for which I beg to enclose a cheque for £10. And I earnestly wish you success. I hope that there will be coffee taverns, that is, coffee public houses with eating and lodging rooms, all over London and in every town in England. Pray believe me, Sir,

your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

N.B. I reopen my letter to ask if people are generally aware to what an extent in less than the last quarter of a century *German* lodging homes, for unmarried (travelling) workingmen have been founded, of an excellent description, superseding the vile old lodging houses? I see an account of them in the *Times* of this morning, 4 April 1878.

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9007/156

35 South St.

10 June 1878

My dear Captain [Edmund] Verney

Sir Harry had bid me hope that you would kindly give me some information as to who would be the best working gentlemen to go to at *Liverpool*, especially for *coffee public houses*.

My case is this: we have a most sterling woman, a youngish lady, trained at St Thomas', at the head of a division of Mr Rathbone's District Nurses at Liverpool. She is appalled at the drunkenness and worse of her patients. She came up to London—I gave her a letter to Miss Octavia Hill—and to improve the dwelling houses is the first thing she will try.

Now could you, from your experience at Liverpool, tell me, and perhaps also have the great kindness to give her a letter to those whom she might apply to at Liverpool re coffee houses? If you could do this more easily viva voce or by Mrs Verney viva voce some day this week, that you would fix about 5:00 or 6:00 P.M. I would gladly see you if it is possible. . . .

yours ever affectionately (and Margaret's too)

F. Nightingale

Source: Letter, Columbia University, Presbyterian Hospital School of Nursing C124

London

12 February 1879

Sir [John C. Barnard, Honorary Secretary, Coffee Tavern Company]

I scarcely know an undertaking whose success I more ardently hope for than that of your coffee taverns. And I give you joy. You are making good progress.

With regard to your kind request that I should be one of your vice-presidents, I wish I could accede, as you are good enough to wish it. But, under the severe pressure of overwork and illness, I have unwillingly to decline so many such requests, from various quarters, because I would fain not give my poor name without giving my work, and *this* is impossible—that I am afraid I must limit myself to sending my very best wishes that this movement, the best hope against intemperance and degradation, may become every year firmer and larger throughout the country.

The objections I hear urged by the workingmen, but not at all against the “Coffee Tavern Company,” are (1) that “coffee palaces” (in a large and very drunken town in England) give only “coffee and a bun.” (2) That where meals *are* given, these are not solid enough, *not* “solid beef and potatoes.” This complaint is frequent, almost everywhere. (3) That the *quality* of the food and drinks given is not so good as it used to be. (4) That they want not only to eat, and have a place where they can eat a comfortable meal, but they want to sleep and have a place where there is decent sleeping room.

(5) I have sometimes heard them say that they wished there was a place to take their money, that money they used to spend in drink, “handy.” I suppose to be paid afterwards in the Post Office Savings’ Banks. I trust that you will forgive my great interest in this subject for these remarks. We nurses hear a good deal from the workingmen. And the “Coffee Tavern Company” has it in its power to spread sound principles.

Thanking you for my certificate for ten shares in your company, pray believe me,

ever your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9007/255

Lea Hurst

Cromford, Derby

8 October 1879

6:00 A.M.

My dear Sir Harry [Verney]

I cannot say that your presence here is necessary, though it would be very welcome. And I think that it is too much for you or for anyone to make a long day on Saturday, as you kindly propose, and go back to Claydon that night. If you do kindly intend to come, please let me

know, that I may have Mr Wildgoose⁷⁵ here to lunch with you (he is often away at Liverpool) and Haywood, the schoolmaster, to speak with you. He wants a little encouragement—these Methodist quarrels try him—and that I may put off a quarryman who was coming to see me.

I am thankful that there is a prospect of our getting the reading room directly into our own hands, i.e., into Wildgoose's and the committee's, of getting rid of the present tenant and manager, Hughes, a "poor tool," in which case Mr Wildgoose and the committee would appoint their own manager. God grant they do this wisely and well. I would gladly guarantee a part of his salary, but I have not dared to propose writing to Lady Hope to recommend one as I suppose they wish for their own nominee.

But everything depends on the manager, on his taking a wise and earnest interest in the men and *fishing* them out of drink. It is also proposed, I am glad to say, to make the present shop into a *third* room for members, which is much wanted. I pray that these things may succeed. There is such drinking here. There *is* a Women's Provident Club here but not well supported. All these things require the pushing of a gentleman or a gentleman's wife. . . .

ever yours affectionately

F.N.

Source: Letter, Columbia University, Presbyterian Hospital School of Nursing C132

24 February 1881

Dear Charles

I hear from Mrs Shore Smith that you are going to keep a coffee house at Brecon. And I heartily give you joy and wish you well. And if you like to write to me, I should be exceedingly interested to hear any particulars of your coffee house, and how it succeeds, and what drinks succeed best.

We are going to have a coffee room, please God, as I daresay Mr Shore Smith has told you, at Whatstandwell. I am always interested in all particulars about coffee rooms and in what directions and in what ways they succeed and what attracts people most, and whether your men call for dinners and early breakfasts. I wish you well, and your wife and child, too. And I hope you will accept a little present from me (enclosed).

yours in good hope

Florence Nightingale

75 Robert Wildgoose (d. 1900), mill manager and influential dissenter.

Source: Note, Auckland Public Library

24 November 1881

With Florence Nightingale's most earnest good wishes for the truest success of the Lea and Holloway Temperance Society, £2.2.

Source: From a letter to Margaret Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9010/125

24 December 1885

Could you be so very good as to tell me where, or rather whether, a "grant of books" is to be had for workingmen's libraries by the "deserving poor," like me, who have to supply more than one. Or is that only a Welsh munificence? Or only attainable by a MP? Do not trouble about telling me if, as I suppose, it is not attainable for workingmen's libraries in general. (You speak of Captain Verney having taught the workingmen to open a library of their own, and then have procured them a "grant of books.")

Source: Typed draft of letter with handwritten corrections, Add Mss 45809 f75

14 December 1888

Dear Madam [Millicent Fawcett⁷⁶]

You asked me to write a few words with reference to the fund/desired scheme for the acquisition of the "Lawn" and the surrounding eight acres at which the never-to-be-forgotten Mr Fawcett⁷⁷ lived and did so much of his good great work, to be made into a playground and place for rest for the people of Vauxhall. Indeed it is a work worthy of him. When we think how well-to-do people sigh for the open air, if from any cause they are confined to their comfortable dwellings, and when we know what the one room of the London poor means and how much this crowding of living space has to do with filling the public house and gin palace, when we know the streets are the children's only playground, can a little realize how to body, heart and mind and spirits of these poor people the playground and resting ground is not merely a refreshment, it is a necessity; to save illness, to prevent⁷⁸ fever and degeneration of a population's physique.

Among "circumstances," it is a very great circumstance in the life of all, for body and mind, whether they can have a frequent half hour in the fresh air or not. There must be thousands, if not millions, who

⁷⁶ Millicent Garrett Fawcett (1847-1929), suffrage leader.

⁷⁷ Henry Fawcett (1833-84), MP, political economist, known as the Member for India.

⁷⁸ "Depression" struck out.

say like the poor washerwoman with many children: “Oh, if I could but sit down one hour any fine day in the fresh air, that would be heaven.” It is curious how green grass and flowers and the open sky are almost always the English townsman’s and townswoman’s and townschild’s idea of heaven. How constantly change of air, open-air exercise are order[ed] for them, absolutely out of the reach of the poor.

Unlike the Eastern, whose heavenly idea is of gold and precious stones. “God made the country and man made the town,” only means, as it has been remarked, the Englishman’s intense love of the country. And indeed his towns and streets are ugly, the ugliest in the world. Even the model dwellings, the improved dwellings in London, are but poor places for human beings with their various needs to live in. God speed then the acquisition of a people’s park for Vauxhall in the “Lawn” and its neighbouring acres. It is of all kindly charities the one that can least be abused. It has no pauperizing element; on the contrary it de-pauperizes. I send my tiny mite; would it could be a hundred times as much. With all good wishes from
your ever faithful servant

Source: Dictated letter/draft/copy, Add Mss 45813 ff102-03

London

4 October 1895

Dear Sir

. . . The political or rather administrative “slides” in Messrs Newton’s program are most interesting and I am glad to see St Thomas’ and his ward there. But may I be allowed to say that what I find wanted in these times to instruct a “citizen” or a workingman in the “duties of a citizen” is *English history* of the LAST SIXTY YEARS. And if there could be lantern slides for this, some of the terrible ignorance (which seems yearly increasing) about elementary political or social economy might be prevented, might it not? . . .

Fred Verney’s Clubs for Workingmen

Editor: Correspondence with Fred Verney occurs in several parts of this volume, with regard to income security and savings’ banks above, and his unsuccessful election campaigns below. There is also material on income security for women in *Women*. Fred Verney was the youngest son of Harry Verney and his first wife, and was married to Maude Hay Williams, sister of Edmund Verney’s wife. The friendship with Nightin-

gale began in his childhood and lasted through the raising of his children until her death. There is correspondence with Maude Verney in *Women* (Nightingale was godmother of one daughter) and on the education of the son (see p 717 below).

The material here comes from an intermediate stage in Fred Verney's life. He became a priest, but found much to frustrate and discourage him and left to become a lawyer. Indeed it seems he stayed in Middlesborough only a matter of months after his curacy in Sheffield. He became private secretary and chaplain to the Archbishop of York, again also for only a matter of months, and then resigned holy orders. He was secretary for the Siamese Legation, later became a city councillor and was finally elected to Parliament. Nightingale, who gave advice and help throughout these various struggles, shared his political and religious sensibilities, especially the union of faith and social action. She advised on professional opportunities and hindrances, especially those arising from church politics. She was enormously enthusiastic about his workingmen's club at Sheffield and plans to start one at Middlesborough-on-Tees, an industrial city in Yorkshire. Indeed there is the charming statement that she would like to be his curate in Middlesborough, precisely so that she could work with northern industrial workers (see p 220 below). Fred Verney reported on the progress of the clubs in letters to her.⁷⁹

The correspondence then takes us back to Nightingale's early concerns about the unchurched working class which led to her *Suggestions for Thought among the Artizans of England* and the need for action rather than criticism that appears so often in her essays in *Theology*. It also shows her continuing to identify with Yorkshire: Lea Hurst in north Derbyshire was nearby and the Shore family came from the Sheffield area. Nightingale's reflections are very personal indeed, as the subject raised recollections of her own life's work and confession of how imperfectly she had fulfilled her own mission (see p 221 below).

79 For Sheffield letters 24 February and 27 April 1871, Add Mss 68882 ff22-27 and ff57-58; for Middlesborough 10 February 1872, Add Mss 68882 ff67-70.

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 68882 ff15-21

Embley

Romsey

23 February 1871

My dear boy (if the dear lady Maude will allow me to call you so)

You will remember that you wrote to me five or six weeks ago that you were thinking of trying for the clerkship of the Oxford School Board. I felt then rather aghast. But, as I am quite sure my mission in this world is not to give advice, and as it is an employment to which I have never devoted myself, I held my tongue. I sympathize too warmly however in your and Maude's life not to be always anxious to know how it is likely to go. And I asked privately the very few friends I have left at Oxford, not mentioning or mentioning (once) your name, what chance there was. They were not encouraging. Those, to whom no name was mentioned, said that they did not think a clergyman would be taken as clerk, because the high and low church parties run so very high in Oxford, that they are less likely to agree on a clergyman than even on a layman. They said also that a man must be living on the spot and work hard for himself to be chosen.

Of course you have better information for yourself than this. You have doubtless personal friends on the Oxford School Board. And I only mention it to show at once that it was not from want of interest in your plan that I did not write. I own to a very strong feeling that, on the one hand, the quality of clergyman will not at Oxford contribute to the good working of a school board clerkship and, on the other, that the quality of Oxford will not contribute to the good working of a future clergyman's life.

I think it is not "opinions" which a clergyman wants so much nowadays to form as to work out habits of hard and wise actions and knowledge of the ways to work. (You tell me that you don't like to have only "opinions received secondhand and not worked out.") To win souls to God and not to discuss opinions seems to be the great, the crying want for the young clergy nowadays, to "proclaim the name of the Lord,"⁸⁰ not merely by preaching, but by studying the modes of elementary education, of criminal reformation, of raising people's habits sanitarily and in their dwellings and streets. For it is nonsense to talk of preaching "the name of the Lord" to creatures who have not the faintest elements of education, who live in indecency and filth and

80 Exod 33:19.

degradation. They can as little receive “the name of the Lord” as the brute beasts.

All this I think you were doing at Sheffield. And I very much applauded you and Maude for taking the hardest curacy you could find—the hardest opportunity for becoming acquainted with a very stiff-necked race, very unlike the peasantry of the South. I thought you wise too for taking it for two years. At a place like Sheffield, no doubt the clerkship to a school board, if it were to be had, would be the finest initiation for a young clergyman, just because it brings him into contact with dissent of all kinds, on subjects which are not the discussion of speculative opinions but which are the first elements of our fellow creatures: education and welfare.

“To proclaim the name of the Lord” seems what is wanted, not to know that this or that verse is interpolated, that the four first councils say this and not that, etc. No doubt that there are great and masterly spirits whose very calling is to shake the human spirit loose from superstition, from blind authority, “assimilation, ignorant or bigoted sympathies and antipathies,” like Luther, Huss and Wycliffe,⁸¹ to whom this *is* “proclaiming the name of the Lord.” And I, for one, believe that we want and shall have many more Luthers, and St Bernards and reformers of all kinds. For I believe that there is now in and *out* of the churches proportionally just as much error and superstition and slavish bowing to authority and indifferent flippancy for Luthers to break us out of as there was in Martin Luther’s time.

But *that* spirit is as far from the puny magazine kind of criticism of what are called the “liberals” of the present day as the awful mental struggles, hand-to-hand conflicts “with the devil,” as they truly call them, of St Augustine⁸² and Luther and Savonarola⁸³ and Whitfield⁸⁴ were from the “cold goose” longings of a Hurrell Froude.⁸⁵ There is nothing very inspiring in examining the “evidences.” There is nothing very inspiring in denying (or in defending) the miracles. There is nothing very inspiring in having “opinions” upon this or that transla-

81 Protestant reformers: Martin Luther (1483-1546); Jan Huss (c1369-1415); John Wycliffe (1330-84).

82 Augustine (354-430), bishop of Hippo and theologian.

83 Girolamo Savonarola (1452-98), Florentine friar, political reformer and martyr.

84 George Whitfield (1714-70), evangelist in Methodist revival.

85 Richard Hurrell Froude (1803-36), Tractarian, whose posthumous diaries, *Remains*, published in two volumes 1838-39, caused a great storm.

tion, text, article, council or father. If a man feels in himself an overmastering calling and power for theological research or for ecclesiastical reform, then, in God's name, let him follow it. Let him be an Ewald or a Vico⁸⁶ or a Luther or a Wesley.⁸⁷ But don't let him higglegaggle at superficial criticism like the "liberal" magazine writers of the day, which criticism is the very reverse of the spirit which animated the great Reformers. Neither the church nor the world can be reformed or even improved by discussing or criticizing "opinions."

"To proclaim the name of the Lord" or the character of the Lord (as in modern tongue we should call it) may be done in two ways:

1. By the great theological reformers who find out the "ways of the Lord" for us and create churches and doctrines and systems.

2. And by those who seek to win souls to God. But no approach to finding out the ways of God or the character of God is ever made by verbal criticism or technical or literary discussion.

The making the clergyman's a mere literary business is the end of all religion, and indeed of all theology or study of the character of God. But how much is included in the business of those who seek to win souls to God? Not only education, criminal reformation, sanitary improvement, but politics, political economy, de-pauperizing, etc. And, if for the next thirty years, people would bestow as much painstaking in making discoveries how to de-pauperize England, how to raise the pauper and educate the pauper child, how to give industrial and elementary education which shall really make a man a man, how to reform thieves, discovering the ways of God about *these* things, as they have during the last thirty years in making discoveries about steam, telegraphy, communications by sea and land, chemistry, mechanics, etc., it is probable that we should make as much progress in the former as we have done in the latter.

My dear boy, pardon your old aunt for giving you her experience, which of course you need not mind. I have no time to put it into form, indeed have been interrupted twenty times in this incoherent scrawl. Pardon me. I feel sorry that you should be leaving Sheffield before your two years are out, where I think is much valuable experience to be gained more than at Oxford. But you will tell me that, if you did not try for Oxford now, later it would not be to be had. Of this I am no judge.

86 German biblical scholar Heinrich von Ewald (1803-75); Giambattista Vico (1668-1744), Italian philosopher.

87 John Wesley (1703-91), leader of the religious revival in the eighteenth century that led to Methodism.

I am afraid I cannot do you any good at Oxford. All my old Oxford friends are dead and a new generation has arisen that “knows not Joseph.”⁸⁸ They would look upon me as a “strange woman.” And I very much advise you not to send the Lilly Scrap I enclose. (I have but one or two friends there now.) I am quite reluctant to send this letter as it is but have no time or strength to reread or rewrite it. I am afraid you will not sympathize with it. At least you will see in it how much I sympathize with your and Maude’s life, present and future. God bless you both and direct this matter for the best.

ever your affectionate old aunt

Florence Nightingale

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 68882 ff31-38

Embley

12 March 1871

My dear boy Mr Fred [Verney]

As you well know, I am truly sorry that you have not the appointment to the Oxford Board, first because you wished it and next because I am sure you would have done it very well. But you were in an *honourable* minority and *that* I am glad of.

I cannot say that I am sorry when a rising young clergyman does not spend his early ministerial years at Oxford or such like place. I think he should always spend them in the hardest, most practical work of his profession, just as you are doing at Sheffield. Oxford does little else in such a case but encourage all that magazine-y, critical, verbal, literary examination of texts, versions, opinions, evidences—which never brought one human being nearer to the *character of God*—and never taught one clergyman to win souls to God.

(You will bite me for saying this, but I can’t help that—and at all events you will quite acquit me of wishing to “give advice.”) I must say that I feel the very deepest interest to know that you will be able to finish your two years at Sheffield. *That* seems to me the real place to gain experience in really valuable things now.

You say that the spirit of your profession is against your going into such things as we have talked about: education, sanitary improvements, political economy and the like. I don’t see that at all. The “spirit” of your incumbent and the circumstances of your position of curate may be, but some of the very best things in the above lines that have been

⁸⁸ An allusion to Exod 1:8.

done have been done by clergymen. And, my dear boy, you are still *under sixty, I believe*. (I think, with you, that, while you are with your incumbent, you should not run against his views and wishes. But two years will not put you upon crutches and meanwhile you are gaining valuable experience—the most valuable perhaps you will think in afterlife you ever have had—which cannot be gained in books or conversation.)

Yes, I think the very best things, it may be said, that have been done in *unprofessional* clerical duties have been done by clergy, e.g., Dean Dawes' school, at King's Sombourne.⁸⁹ He must have been forty when he began that school, as clergyman of the place. Much of the most valuable information and help received by the (first) London Boards of Health came from young "Puseyite" curates, etc. I do not think the worse of Mr Lamb for staring when you said the club was "religious." Nor do I think you can expect much from governessing your incumbent, even in the truth.

Great reformers, my beloved friend, "educate their public." And only Disraelis⁹⁰ tell their "public," while they are educating it, that they *are* "educating their public." And only animals pounce the moment they take a thing into their heads.

I read with the deepest interest all the letters which you were so good as to send me and will return them whenever you tell me. You say: "keep them for me." I like your friend Mr Warren's letters extremely. With regard to the deeper question of taking priest's orders, it is one, of all others, on which I should not venture to *have* an opinion even, as applying to a particular individual. There are only two or three things, quite general, which often strike me in these days of superficial discussion, when everybody, even the Cabinet, is like a periodical and a magazine, that is, getting up a subject from a little reading, whether a pauper or an ironclad, whether a soldier or a colony, it does not matter, as people get up leading articles, or periodicals and calling *that* administration. (Ten years ago, we *did* the things people now prate about, write about, speechify, debate, report about.)

These two or three things are:

1. There is such a thing as truth of *feeling*, truth of *mind*, a far higher thing, a far higher truth than truth of *words*. People are such

89 Richard Dawes (1793-1867), whose school at King's Sombourne was a model, later Dean of Hereford.

90 Benjamin Disraeli (1805-81), on whom more below.

martinets about the truth of their *words*, words which (in spite of all the Johnsons [dictionaries], all the académies, all the lexicons, all the *della Cruscas*⁹¹) everybody has a different meaning for. And they think little of the great convictions, the great feelings and purposes, in which, though everybody has different words to express them, everybody who thinks at all thinks alike. For example (it is an extreme example), a very large proportion of the devout of our race call the *goodness* of God the Virgin Mary, while many of the orthodox in another portion of the race, while loudly asserting the “goodness of God” practically deny it.

Which of these two is nearest the truth of feeling? (There are words in the ordination service which we must deeply deplore as being a stumbling-block, said to a young man at the most solemn moment of his life. But is not this the case with all services?, any, we may almost say with all institutions, all societies? Are we to live alone, because of this?)

2. I agree with your friend Mr Warren entirely when he says that people who separate themselves from others on the ground of opinion, who try to do good alone seldom succeed in doing good at all. To me such lives as Travers Madge⁹² (whom I knew in early life, a boy of uncommon mental power, of unique moral power) or as le Père Hyacinthe⁹³ are a great mistake. I mean that *negative* and solitary dissent is a mistake. Every great reformer began by being a solitary dissenter, that is true. Our great Master Himself was a solitary dissenter, to begin with. But in every case it was a *positive* dissent ending in a great reform, not in a protest. I do not understand people just separating themselves from their church, party, institution negatively as a mere protest. For example, Père Hyacinthe does not intend—I believe he does not *wish*—to make a schism. Then I think he had much better have stayed where he was and preached the truth, the truth of *feeling* in his own church, where his great powers of preaching would have been useful.

The only other road that was open to him was, I think, to follow in the track of the armies, succouring the wounded as many Bene-

91 Dictionary of the Accademie della Crusca, the official body to protect the purity of the Italian language.

92 Travers Madge (1823-63), Unitarian co-minister, with William Gaskell, at Cross St. Chapel, Manchester, later an Anglican; Nightingale heard his father preach in Essex Chapel, London in 1837 (Wellcome, Claydon copy Ms 8991/55).

93 Père Hyacinthe (1827-1912), Carmelite priest excommunicated for protesting against the infallibility doctrine and denouncing abuses.

dictines did. But what use is this maundering and wandering of his about England?

3. Though I entirely agree with the words “one holy season lasting all the year, one temple including all the habitable world, one priesthood coextensive with mankind,” I do not see why that should prevent a man from taking priest’s orders. He might as well say it prevents him from going to church because he must wait till the church “includes all the habitable world.”

“Holy seasons,” churches (or “temples”), clergy (or “priests”) are on purpose to bring about, are they not? in practical reality what those beautiful words express as a far-off idea. My dear Mr Fred, I will leave off here partly because I have no time, partly because I really have no advice—nothing but sympathy to give in these great subjects, especially when they concern your and Maudie’s future life.

I do not think the critical, what are called the “liberal” discussions of the present day, contribute one iota to our knowledge, which ought to be ever increasing, of the character of God (which *is* theology), nor to our knowledge, which ought to be ever increasing, of the ways to win souls to God, which *is* the work of the ministry. And, in both, there are still immense discoveries to be made. And Christ never could have supposed (I speak as a fool⁹⁴) that we should have stopped short.

As to Renan’s *Life of Jesus*,⁹⁵ I read it with a little pleasure—not much—without the shock the orthodox feel in it, at least not much. It is an attempt to turn Christ into the hero of a novel—a very good novel—which may arouse a real (not fictitious) feeling, in some. But I don’t think he has *in fact* contributed to our knowledge of Christ’s character, mission, ways of “doing good.”

I agree extremely with some of your friend Mr Warren’s views as to some doctrines, e.g., about the atonement, that “to lead a Godlike life” is what “it is destined to introduce us to.” And is there one word, taking *the scriptures themselves*, in them, about the “atonement” which could arouse *practical* opposition in any Christian the most unorthodox?

I agree with you that the clergy would be quite as well (or much better) in the House of Commons as the bishops in the House of Lords, *ceteris paribus* [things being equal]. But that is rather beside the mark. I do not think that “faith” means “the enthusiasm of human-

94 2 Cor 11:23.

95 Ernest Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, 1863 (see *Theology* 3:366-70, 374).

ity” but the “enthusiasm” of *God*. And that is what it was in Christ (and includes the other). And everybody who, like Him, “loves” God with all his heart and soul and mind and strength⁹⁶ and contributes to others’ knowing God’s character better, so that they too may be *able* to “love God” (how *can* paupers and prostitutes and inhabitants of fever dens and the like love or know God at all?) Everybody, I think, whose object of life is to do that may enter or join the society, church or institution which enables him best to follow that path, without regarding differences of words (though they were best away) or distinctions in metaphysics, not religion. I am afraid you will think this sounds like advising, but indeed it is not. It is only sympathy (and perhaps a little experience, which you need not mind) for all those who are treading that path, as I am sure you and Maude are. God bless you both.

ever your affectionate old aunt

Florence Nightingale

If you write please write to 35 South St.

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 68882 ff53-56

16 April 1871

Well, my dear boy Mr Fred [Verney], you *have* “gone in” for responsibility “with a vengeance,” a responsibility which implies love of the largest kind, as where does it not? As it was not I, but people whose judgments were to be depended upon, who advised you to accept Middlesborough, I may say that I rejoice “with unfeigned joy” at your having done so and admire your determination. I bid you “God-speed” with all my soul and strength. Behold, He sends you out as a missionary “among wolves”⁹⁷ indeed! You have to begin everything from the very beginning! You will find fine scope for your activities in schools and clubs! 5000 is quite a town (I do not know what there may be in the way of a school board at Middlesborough), in our southern notions, a two-membered borough. You will find your year’s experience at Sheffield very useful.

I agree with you that it is very difficult to enter all at once on what is called “spiritual” conversation with intelligent, thinking artisans, some of whom, we know, have thought more on some subjects than we have, who think themselves (and perhaps are) quite on a par with ourselves in intelligence and some kind of education and who per-

96 An allusion to Matt 22:37.

97 An allusion to Luke 10:3.

haps may think, however unjustly, that such conversation is “shop.” Nor am I sure that it is desirable.

To become intimate with them, as you do, on political, on moral, on educational, on sanitary, on working subjects, is the way to begin. Then, when they are sick, or unhappy, or in difficulties, above all when they have a sick or dying child, is the time when “spiritual” conversation, as it is called, comes of itself—not that I allow that the *other* subjects are *unspiritual*.

Working people, above all things, I think, dislike that we should seem to be using a different tone and language of conversation for them to what we do among each other, that we should seem to be suiting or bringing down our style, even altering the tone of the voice, to them. They are so quick, like children, to perceive this. If we talk about what interests *us* as well as them, that is the way to their hearts.

Indeed no talk has any effect (but that of weariness) which does not spring naturally out of a man’s own thoughts and feelings or character and is not verified by his own life. *Such* talk is never “shop.” I do not know what sprinkling of Wesleyanism there is at Middlesborough. Where do you mean to have service? You say there is no church.

I feel very sorry for the trouble that moving will be to you and Maude, but I know that is but a slight thing for your courage. You have taken the hard in early life and we may eventually trust that you will see of the travail of your soul and be satisfied. My dear boy, instead of being a curate you will want a curate. I wish *I* could be your curate.

And now I will not chatter any more (at present) for you must have enough to think of and to do. I hope you will take a holiday between Sheffield and Middlesborough. God bless you and He *will* bless you, you and Maude, and give you all things.

ever your affectionate

F. Nightingale

There is nothing in my youth that I wished for so much as such a position as the one you are going to have at Middlesborough, in a northern town or in the East of London, beginning from the beginning. God has turned my path another way. But I have an everlasting sympathy—still the strongest of all—with such a task, i.e., taking the thing from the very first and constructing in it as God leads the way, like a missionary in fact.

F.N.

No man can do much good to others who is not constantly thinking about them, who does not consider their characters and temptations

and thoughts and wants, as another man considers his own interests, with all the minute thought which a man would take in making money, who does not pass them often in review before his own mind, as they and he himself are in the sight of God, who does not pray that he may be able to say “of them that Thou gavest me I have lost none.”⁹⁸ I give you that thought as my life’s experience—how imperfectly I have fulfilled it! but the substance of the thought was given me by another who nobly fulfilled it in the heavy charge of his own life.⁹⁹

F.N.

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 68882 ff64-65

Embley

Romsey

9 February 1872

My dear boy Mr Fred [Verney]

I make an opportunity (of restoring to you a letter, which I think you told me “to keep till called for”) to congratulate Middlesboro’ and the Lady Maude upon your great doings there. I knew you would be successful, in the higher success.

A clergyman without real thought about any kind of knowledge—human or divine, or personal interest in his fellow creatures—is sure to fail and ought to fail, however many bishop’s hands he may have had on his head. For a clergyman may call himself a clergyman, but he will never really be anything unless he has a knowledge of business and of human nature and has worked out in his own mind some lessons or truths which he is able to impart to others (such as clubs and the like). But if he *is* a real clergyman, what glorious opportunities he has—call them secular, if you please—and the less he is bound to conventionalism the better, whether, like Bishop Patterson he gives his life for the “little naked wretches” *he* was so fond of,¹⁰⁰ whether he works nearer home, as you do, putting in light in our dark overgrown towns. However, I’m not going to preach. And as an atonement, I send you two letters about your belongings, which please return to

⁹⁸ John 18:9.

⁹⁹ Likely a reference to Pastor Theodor Fliedner of Kaiserswerth, who prayed with Nightingale in some kind of consecration or commissioning service before she left it in 1851.

¹⁰⁰ John Coleridge Patterson (1827-71), Missionary Bishop of the Melanesian Islands.

F.N. here. . . . My writing days are over and I will ask your leave to finish by being now as ever, your and Maude's,

loving and admiring old aunt

Florence Nightingale

I must add, though I scarcely need to add, that I entirely agree with your Keble College friend that the "secular" duties must really be inspired by love of God and man, or they will be "drowned in bustle," but that the "reality" of that love is best shown and known among the "unconventional" and in all kinds of methods for raising them morally, "secularly" and spiritually, I also think.

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 68882 ff95-96

35 South St.

16 April 1878

My dear boy Mr Fred [Verney]

I feel very much interested in your Mr Headlam's¹⁰¹ advocacy of good stage and music entertainments for the working people. Good coffee, public houses and lodgings for the body, good drama, music and literature for the mind, really interesting discourse, prayer and hymns for the soul, would go far to moralize and spiritualize our working people. And of the two, I believe a man less likely to get drunk after Shakespeare than after a Methodist meeting.

I am grieved and distressed that some of our working young men at Lea Hurst have adjourned from Sunday afternoon meetings in the reading room, held by an excellent Mr Myers, to the public house. As to saying that there cannot be good theatres because there are bad theatres, it is surely as ludicrous as to say that there cannot be good coffee houses because there are bad public houses or good music halls because there are bad ones. In our humble way, we try to give Shakespeare and other recitations and lectures at the Lea Hurst reading rooms and other entertainments.

I enclose very meekly £1 for Mr Headlam's fund, if you will be so very good as to give it, but not with my name. This is not any nonsense about "losing influence," but because I really do not agree with some things, e.g., I daresay it is as disagreeable to us to hear them "shout 'Safe in the arms of Jesus' as 'Whoa Emma,' " but it is certainly better for them.

ever affectionately

your old Aunt Florence

101 Christian socialist priest, Stewart Headlam.

Crime, Crime-ology, Juvenile Offenders and Prisons

Editor: Reform of the criminal law and prisons was an ongoing preoccupation of Nightingale's, although never a major part of her "business." The longer three items are of published letters, lamenting the use of prison sentences (free room and board) for property offenders who ought to be made to work and pay restitution, and calling for reforms to be based on careful, quantitative research. (The postscript to Nightingale's "Note on Pauperism," above, also deals with this theme.) Her concern about the high mortality rate of prisons appears in her comments on Quetelet's *Physique sociale* (see p 29 above).

Several of the points Nightingale discussed in the 1890 printed letter have already emerged as questions to be studied by the holder of the chair or readership in social physics (see correspondence with Galton, p 115 above). Nothing came of that endeavour but Nightingale is here at least recycling the idea in the press. Indeed she used the "social physics" term, which Galton had watered down to "applied statistics." Several short notes on crime and criminals follow the published letters.

Yet the liberal Nightingale was also aware that criminal sanctions were used for crass political purposes. In a discussion of an Egyptian political issue she stated: "Surely the government have many poor men in prison now, have they not?, not for crime, like the maimers of cattle, the murderers of men, the boycotters, etc., but for what may be called their political opinions."¹⁰²

Source: From an undated note, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9020/8

[1853?]

Lady Byron¹⁰³ was in town on Sunday only for a day—Miss Blackwell¹⁰⁴ saw her. She had had a most distressing case of infanticide in her house—one link of the evidence was wanting she could have supplied it. She wavered long, but as the girl would certainly have been hung, she decided not, that it was *not* right to give it.

¹⁰² Letter to Fred and Maude Verney 26 January 1888, ADD Mss 68885 f132.

¹⁰³ "Annabella," Lady Byron (1792-1860), widow of Lord Byron.

¹⁰⁴ Elizabeth Blackwell (1821-1910), early woman doctor and friend.

Source: "From Florence Nightingale," *Transactions of the National Congress on Penitentiary and Reformatory Discipline*

London

12 November 1870

Sir [Rev E.C. Wines, D.D.]

I am deeply indebted to your kind remembrance. Alas! how frightful has been the war interruption to our correspondence!

You will well believe that the present most terrible struggle of all the struggles in this world's history intensifies and trebles my preceding occupations and illness, and prevents my writing more than a bare acknowledgment of the great importance of your objects.

The point on which you did me the honour of asking my opinion is one which I trust your able association will not let drop, viz., the total inefficiency of our present laws and punishments for repressing theft, and the expediency of making thieves pay for what they steal. I open the day's paper and see the following taken quite at random: "A woman has for thirteen years, 1857 to 1870, obtained 'goods under false pretences' in various places, and considerable amounts, besides committing other robberies."

What have been the means taken for arresting this career of plunder of honest folk? These have been to support her in prison during those years (at the expense of honest folk) where, according to her own statement, she "was more comfortable than anywhere else." One is not surprised, therefore, at finding that she further states that, "for seven years" she had never been "more than one week" "out of prison." Had our laws been destined expressly for the encouragement of theft, could they have been more successful?

Pray believe me, Sir (with many apologies for this hurried note, so unworthy of your great subject),

ever your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

Source: Note to Benjamin Jowett, ADD Mss 45784 ff61-62

14 March [1872?]

I am afraid, as said before, that the whole "Habitual Criminals Act" entirely contradicts this assumption that men "would rather not be dishonest," etc., and the whole Poor Law besides contradicts that "those on the wrong road," etc. I thought we had admitted this. "Flogging" [has] *very* much gone out for boys.

Source: "Miss Nightingale on Prison Discipline," *Times* 11 October 1873:11
[Letter to the *Hartford Courant*]

London

1 September 1872

Dear Sir [Rev Dr Wines]

I have to thank you for your kind note and very interesting address, written to be read at Brussels. I do not feel myself competent to express any opinion on its point, excepting that each should speak in his own language, unless that language should be, e.g., Hungarian, i.e., one rarely spoken out of its own country, in which the educated inhabitants almost always speak some language besides their own.

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

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

Now the United States, which are foremost in the field in these good matters, ought they not to show us some new system in these things? The important subject of "how to reform prostitutes, how to teach

them to earn an honest livelihood, with all the means absolutely essential, moral and religious, for strengthening the wills of these poor creatures, equally far from pelting [?] and from revolting cheerlessness," this, too, is a thing on which we seem to have made little progress, and in which we might well exchange international experience.

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

ever your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

Editor: Nightingale gave an example in a printed letter to nursing students and former students of the harm caused by neglect of a (pauper) child and the cost to society of that child's unfortunate descendants.

Source: From a printed letter to Probationer Nurses at the Nightingale Fund School, Florence Nightingale Museum 1/0727.2

26 May 1875

There were at the close of last year (1874) 623 people, of one family, so to speak, of whom 201 were criminals: of the other 422, a number were prostitutes, a greater number drunkards, a very large number (nearly the whole) in idiot or lunatic asylums, or in the workhouse. All these 623 sprang from one poor woman, named M. What was this terrible likeness in guilt? Eighty-five years ago she was a poor little sick pauper child, who never received one word of kindness or one mark of care, or had one good example set her. The gentleman who told me this frightful story, and had himself traced it, calculated that at least £23,000 was the cost to the country of this one neglected little child. But the cost in wretchedness, the evil she has done to thousands of innocent people, the degradation and misery of 623 people, that one child unrescued has thus caused—who can calculate it? And to whom does this miserably memorable history speak home as it does to us hospital and infirmary nurses?

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9011/179

1 October 1887

Anent [regarding] the Chinese opium smokers, poor Princess Narès¹⁰⁵ was anxious to do something for the *Bangkok* opium smokers, and I tried to get for her information about the opium “home” opened at a place in China by one of those six young Cambridge graduates who, a few years ago, went and gave their lives to China—only one was a clergyman. How I wish we had such in India! But now Princess Narès can do nothing.

Source: From a letter to Edmund Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9012/22

24 April 1888

Godspeed. Many, many thanks for sending me the programs of your conference during this week of the National Association on “Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools,” a subject so deeply interesting to me. I wish I could hear all the papers or at least read them all when published. But, as you know, I am entirely now a prisoner from illness and I have no eyes. The Red Hill *Farm* School, query “penal”) is, I see, a prominent subject. Is there any system of *emigrating agriculturally* trained, instructed boys to our colonies? Or of training waifs and strays (not “penal” boys) in agriculture and then emigrating them to the colonies?

The Qu’Apelle “Church Farm,” Bishop Anson,¹⁰⁶ in Assiniboine, Canada, cannot pay its own way, but the climate is so bad. South Africa has an admirable climate, but the colonizing attempts have been small. (N.B. We have consented to send one of our lady nurses, trained at St Thomas’, out with one of the twenty-five agricultural families from Hampshire.)

I was an interested spectator (from my window, and from feeding the police) of the painfully absurd riots for three weeks in October/November in Hyde Park, the rioters being principally boys of eighteen or so, who worked in the markets from 2:00-6:00 A.M., and rioted the rest of the day. We did nothing but drive them about from street to street by mounted police. Could they not have been trained agriculturally and emigrated? Or some of them?

I am merely a distressed amateur, having a great deal more to do in other ways than I can do. So I merely ask *you* who have fathomed the

105 Fred Verney, secretary to the Siam legation in London, introduced Prince Damrong and Princess Narès to Nightingale.

106 Adelbert John Robert Anson, Bishop of Qu’Appelle (formerly Assiniboia).

subject, *so* important, whether this part of it has been mooted. Have France, Germany, Holland any system of “*settling*” the boys, so admirably trained in some of their agricultural institutions? What is the highest *age* in reformatory and industrial schools, what the proportion of *agricultural* schools? What becomes of the boys afterwards? Godspeed again to your great work!

ever your affectionate

Florence Nightingale

Editor: There is further reference to Alex Devine, head of the Gordon Boys’ Home, Cornbrook Abbey, Chester Road, Manchester in the section on the Gordon Boys’ Home below. Nightingale, with Harry Verney, Nightingale befriended Alex Devine, invited him to visit her, encouraged an invitation to Claydon House for his recuperation, contributed money for the Home and generally followed the related issue of finding employment for the “lads” after their release.¹⁰⁷

Source: Typed copy of letter, Add Mss 45810 ff64-67; copy Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9013/73; published slightly abridged as “Juvenile Offenders,” *Times* 4 September 1890:10

10 South Street

Park Lane, W.

28 August 1890

Sir [Alex Devine, Gordon Boys’ Home]

I trust to your kindness to forgive an overworked invalid for not having answered you sooner. The work you are doing at Manchester in rescuing boys “had up” for their first offence from jail is one of overwhelming importance. And yours is, as far as I know, the first or the only one of its kind.

Forty years ago Sir John Herschel, in his review of Quetelet on probabilities, propounded to us that the *results* of punishments was a subject we ought to study with careful statistics before legislating. It is astounding that a practical nation like the English should have done this so little. We have a vague idea that 75 percent of the boys committed to reformatories for a first offence—is it? are reformed and do well.

We have a vague idea that 75 percent? (say) of those committed to jail return there again and again, alas! some ending by being hung.

107 Letters to Harry Verney 2, 10 and 23 September 1890, 18 March 1891, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Mss 9013/74, 76, 81 and 138.

But as far as I know yours is the only machinery in England which, profiting by the First Offenders' Act, attends at the Police Court, the fountainhead, and offers the magistrate the means of carrying out the Act successfully. May every blessing attend your work!

I pointed out, in a P.S., I think, to an article of mine in *Fraser*, I forget how many years ago,¹⁰⁸ that it was a complete *non-sequitur*, that, because a boy stole your watch, he should be supported on your rates in jail perhaps for life, and suggested that he might be made to work out the price of what he stole. This was answered, *not* by pointing out the too-obvious practical difficulties, but by saying that the "punishment" would bear so unevenly on different cases. That the "punishment" of jail is not deterrent, experience too sadly proves. But "punishment" is, perhaps, not a word in God's vocabulary at all, and if so ought not to be in ours.

It would be of immense importance if you would again, and yet again, keep placing before the public the statistics, well worked out (not the ordinary superficial ones) of the influence of punishments on crime, of that of jails versus reformatories on juvenile offenders.

It has been truly said that *crimeology* is much less studied than *insectology*, that the age, the charge, the sentence of all our convicts at their *first* conviction were nowhere known, or at least not easy of access. (Criminal statistics could only be of use if supplemented by what might be called criminal "social physics" and their practical application.) Might I ask if these data are now known or easily procured? Might I ask what sort of proportion of magistrates make use of the First Offenders' Act, or of the reformatories where the case to be tried comes within that scope?

You do not perhaps find that your boys come from the workhouses? It is another subject of statistical research: do paupers return again and again to the workhouse? In what proportion do the *same* names appear generation after generation on the books, even from those (separate) excellent union schools? Is it to be feared that the girls especially are so little prepared for good domestic service, that they do not keep their places but fall into sin, return to the workhouse and there they are ruined by a first fall?

Do you know a little (not new) unpretending book, called *The Gaol Cradle*?¹⁰⁹ Would you kindly send a copy of your "Brief for the Boys"

108 Nightingale's "Pauperism" article, 1869, above.

109 Benjamin Waugh, *The Gaol Cradle: Who Rocks It? A Plea for the Abolition of Juvenile Imprisonment*.

(Police Court Mission) to Captain Verney RN, MP, Plas Rhoscholyn, Holyhead (if you like it, putting a mention of my name in the corner) and two or three copies to *me*?²

There is, I think, a congress in Belgium next month on reformatories, is there not? I could write much more, but I must cry you mercy. I have no power of following up this subject, though that of social physics has interested me all my life. But for the last (nearly) forty years I have been immersed in two objects and have undertaken what might well occupy twenty vigorous young people. And *I* am an old and overworked invalid. I beg your acceptance of a mite of a sum, asking you kindly *not* to give my address. God bless you and your work and multiply it 1000-fold.

your faithful servant

(signed) Florence Nightingale

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9013/91

Claydon

6 October 1890

My dear Captain [Edmund] Verney

Very many thanks for your yesterday's talk and this morning's note. I should like to know Mr Trevarthen, of Red Hill, of all things.

I hark back to a most interesting subject—Mr *Barwick Baker*,¹¹⁰ a great authority if ever there were one—thought a *first* imprisonment a good *deterrent*, the suffering of plank beds, etc. I suppose. Mr *Devine* of Manchester who knows boys (as Sir John Lubbock¹¹¹ knows ants), says that the deterrent character of prisons is taken away *by being there*. They are grateful to him for *saving* them from prison, which is terrible *on the horizon*, but when they have once been there they no longer wish to be *saved*. (Plank beds, etc., are more comfortable than railway arches and starvation.)

He has sons of solicitors, etc., who take a railway journey without a ticket to be put in prison. *Where are our statistics?* Where are those of criminal careers? Sir John Lubbock knows the moral characters of ants and wasps so intimately that one is doubtful whether he is talking of insects or of men and women; he knows even when “she” (the ant) likes her afternoon tea. Cannot we know a little more of criminals' careers instead of ants'? You kindly told me some of the difficulties.

110 *War with Crime: Being a Selection of Reprinted Papers on Crime, Reformatories etc.*, ed. Herbert Philips and Edmund Verney.

111 Sir John Lubbock (1834-1913), entymologist.

Mr Devine has agents all over England, by whom he sifts the truth of criminal boys' stories. What a subject of national interest Crimelogy. God bless you.

ever your loving

Aunt Florence (if I may say so)

Gender and the Family

Editor: The oppression of women in the family, especially of young daughters, was a subject Nightingale addressed in her writing from her youth to old age. It is a major theme of "Cassandra," in *Suggestions for Thought*, and in the essay on the family (*Theology* 3:140-56). There are poignant observations about the disappointment of marriage for women in correspondence to her Swedish friend, made at the time Nightingale's friend Anne Dutton was marrying, about "her high-strung hopes and expectations," from "gleaning here and there a small harvest of pleasures and pains, while there is no fortune so high but that her desires are far higher."¹¹² The first item here, of notes on the family, was written roughly at the same time as "Cassandra," 1854. The second relates the impressions of novelist Mrs Gaskell, a family friend (on whom more below) who visited Lea Hurst. An item from 1867 consists of notes for Jowett and is still anguished, although less so. J.S. Mill had his publisher send Nightingale a copy of his *Subjection of Women* in 1869, which she underlined and highlighted in the margins (now in the Girton College Archives). She bracketed and wrote "bravo" in the margin at Mill's statement: "Marriage is the only actual bondage known to our law. There remain no legal slaves, except the mistress of every house" (p 147). For a more favourable view of the family, even an idealistic view of marriage, see Nightingale's comments on the *Dialogues of Plato*, below.

Source: Notes on the family, ADD Mss 43402 ff178-87 [archivist's date: 1854]

[1857]

Two things the Anglo-Saxon cares for: (1) to be just, (2) that, whatever he suffers (*that* he does not care for) the world should benefit by it. But, if he thinks there is no record of it by which mankind can

112 Letter to Selma Björkenstam 30 September 1846, in Henning Wieslander, "Florence Nightingale och Hennes Svenska Ungdomsväninna" 65 (in *European Travels*).

learn something from his experience, then his sufferings are intolerable to him.

Moses said, "Honour thy father and thy mother, etc.," a sentence which contains three lies. Christ said, "My mother and my brethren are those which hear the word of God and do it."¹¹³ How much farther advanced this was than that. Words, words, words, says Hamlet,¹¹⁴ and truly all this generation is Words, words, words. And while I write I am under the empire myself of words. I don't like to *think* what I say of the "family," because I have all my life heard *words* quite different and dear to me from association.

What have mother and sister ever done for me? They like my glory; they like my pretty things. Is there anything else they like in me? I was the same person who went to Harley St. and who went to the Crimea. There was nothing different, except my popularity. Yet the person who went to Harley St. was to be cursed and the other was to be blessed. The popularity does not signify much one way or other. It has hurt me less in the Crimea and vantaged me less at home than I expected. Good public! It knew nothing of what I was really doing in the Crimea. Good public! It has known nothing of what I wanted to do and have done since I came home. The "accident" (?) of my acquaintance with Mr Herbert has done it all.

Yet this adventitious, this false popularity, based on ignorance, has made all the difference in the feeling of my "family" towards me. There has been nothing really learnt by them from experience. But *the world* thinks of me differently, i.e., I have won, but by an accident. That there has been nothing really learnt from experience is proved by their talking of Hilary Carter now in the same strain they used to talk of me.

When we consider what a mother's feeling really is for her child, how flimsy, how unsubstantial it is, when compared with that of some "*virgin* mothers" we see the truth. A pretty girl meets a rich man and they are married. Is there any thought of the children? The children come without their consent ever having been asked, because it can't be helped—sometimes they are not wanted. Sometimes there is need of an heir. But in reality, for every one of my 18,000 children, for every one of those poor tiresome Harley St. creatures, I have expended more

113 A paraphrase of Matt 12:50 or Mark 3:33.

114 The disturbed Hamlet in Act 2, scene 2, answering Polonius's question as to what he was reading.

motherly feeling and action in a week than my mother has expended for me in thirty-seven years.

Oh poor John Bull,¹¹⁵ don't think, as you are (and will be) told every day, that "nowhere are there such homes and such mothers as in England." Nowhere are there such mothers indeed, but in what sense? We have seen what mothers do for their children. And what are children, at least daughters, expected to do in return? To be the property of their parents, till they become the property of their husbands. I was expected to be not only the property of my parents, but the property of my sister, because she had the world's opinion with her then. I had not. Since I was twenty-four (probably long before, but certainly since then), there never was any vagueness in my plans and ideas as to what God's work was for me. I could have taken different kinds of work: education, hospitals, etc., but each was definitely mapped out in my mind after a plan. I cannot, after having had the largest hospital experience man or woman has ever had, perceive that the plan I formed, at twenty-four, for learning in hospitals was imprudent or ill-advised. It was much what Mrs S. Stewart is carrying out now under my suggestions. Upon what principle my "family" opposed this inexorably, overbearingly, I do not know, other than the "principle" of following the world's *words* and opinion. In fact, I know they take credit now for having promoted that which they called me unprincipled for proposing. (My mother even taxed me with having "an attachment I was ashamed of.") When I was thirty, I had an adult evening school for factory girls, which was, on the whole, the most satisfactory thing I ever did. My sister went into hysterics because I attended this. My mother requested me to abstain for six months from doing *anything* my sister disliked and to give up for that time entirely to her. To this I acceded. And when I committed this act of insanity, had there been any sane person in the house, he should have sent Conolly¹¹⁶ to me.

The rest of the story follows from such a fact as this of itself. When I went to Kaiserswerth the second time for three months, being then thirty-one, my sister threw my bracelets, which I offered her to wear, in my face. The scene which followed was so violent that I fainted.¹¹⁷

115 John Bull, or Englishness personified.

116 Dr John Conolly (1794-1866), superintendent of Middlesex County Lunatic Asylum at Hanwell, advocate of humane treatment of the insane.

117 Struck out: "then first felt the symptom of the disease which is now bringing me to my grave."

And, generally, I can remember that I never in all my life went to the village school (that school which they professed to wish me to go to) except by stealing out of the house unseen because I was sure to be stopped.

To Harley Street,¹¹⁸ with which they now believe themselves to have “associations” dear to them, I was all but “taboo”ed for going. My sister said something to the effect that she could never pass the threshold. And though she did pass the threshold, more than once, the first time she ever came was to go almost into hysterics. She hated the place and treated me like a criminal for taking it. And I felt like one, *then and all my life* till within the last four years. . . . Now, what do I tell all this for?

1. Chiefly to do justice. In all this, I have had a “spiritual” mother, one without whom I could have done nothing,¹¹⁹ who has been always a Holy Ghost to me and lately has lived the life of a “porter’s wife” for me, who left her own people to come out to Scutari to me, to take care of a parcel of unruly servants, while I was six months out of the twelve in the Crimea.

2. To show how fatally untrue the idea of having property in human beings is. Some things are called “dreadful” and others, twin facts, which (if there be any difference, are, if possible, more “dreadful”) are called “proofs of affection of family love,” etc. Slavery, as to the body, is “dreadful” slavery; if it includes the mind, is nothing. Yet we are not man’s property but God’s property. And even He schemes His whole plan to make us into Gods not slaves, so far from having this “treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God and not of us,”¹²⁰ it would seem that the whole purpose of His laws and theodikè is to work out the “excellency of the power,” so that it shall be “of us” and not “of Him.” In human life after the Genesis comes the Exodus.¹²¹ There is joy that a man is born into the *world*, not a “family.”¹²²

118 Nightingale’s first appointment as a nurse, in 1853, was as superintendent of the Establishment for Gentlewomen during Illness, 1 Upper Harley St.

119 Aunt Mai Shore Smith; Nightingale also called Selina Bracebridge her “spiritual mother.”

120 2 Cor 4:7.

121 The exodus of the Israelites from Egypt was a flight from slavery to freedom.

122 An allusion to John 16:21.

3. To show how words have really come to take the place of things, to be *instead of* feelings. According to this plan, people may come to have and to enjoy emotions, entirely contradictory. They may have both, the satisfaction of feeling that they have made the sacrifice, provided they can *say* so, and the satisfaction of having their own way. They may enjoy the emotion that you are dying, that you are living, that you will undertake some great work, that you will never do anything again. They may have the satisfaction that they have prevented you from doing anything and they may have the glory of your having done something. And, how clever is this kind of *talking* folly!, how it can contrive to throw dust not only into its own eyes but into those of other people! How it will pass a fact which there is no controverting, in order clamorously to assert another which was never denied.

On the other hand, it must be said that there is no need for it to throw dust as to some things. For it is totally blind already. For example, what blindness can there be similar to that implied in the constant speech of *society* to *family*. "How good you were to give him or her up!" and in the reciprocal self-gratulation of *family* that it has given him (or her) up. What! some man (or more generally some woman) has been trying to "finish the work which God gave him (or her) to do."¹²³ And the *family*—after hindering in every way, after wearing out half his (or her) life by hindrances, after refusing, withholding or being unable to give any help—dares to say that it has "given up" him (or her) to *do God's work*, as if he (or she) were its bond slave and not God's child and fellow worker! Why! even God will no longer call us servants, far less slaves, but joint heirs,¹²⁴ children, co-operators. Thus much have we at least arrived at knowing of the will of God.¹²⁵

Oh world! oh life! Oh time!

On whose last steps I climb

Trembling at that where I have stood before.¹²⁶

If you did but know how you have worn out my life, and not mine only but that of far better men—we who were trying to do your (the world's) work and God's work before we had reached the middle of our course with your petty hindrances, and chains and the galling and palsying opposition of *disabilities*! so that we have no life now left to do

123 An allusion to John 4:34.

124 An allusion to Rom 8:17.

125 Struck out was: "We are not the family's children. We are God's children."

126 Percy Bysshe Shelley, "A Lament."

your work. If you did but know this, you might change (too late for me, but not for others). Even this summer, had I had but ordinary peace and quiet, not to say help, I could have waded through.

“Weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and your children.”¹²⁷ There are some, I know, who can learn no experience from this life. These are they who can take credit to themselves for having prevented a thing and for having accomplished a thing which was done in spite of them. These must wait for another life to learn. But there are others to whom it is worthwhile to tell one’s own experience, in order that they may save others from the same.

4. I wish to show how false and cruel it is to make success the test of right. While I was struggling through the very steps (I am obliged to take again my own experience as illustrative of that of many others), the very steps necessary to accomplish that for which I am now praised, for want of which same steps others have failed in the self-same thing—all men forsook me,¹²⁸ and chiefly my own family. Now, because I have succeeded by an accident which never might have happened (I speak as men speak, for we know that nothing is an “accident”), all men praise me. What is such praise worth?

But let me say whose support *has* been of “worth.” (1) My spiritual mother’s, (2) that of one who has been a mother to me, too, in another way, Mrs Bracebridge, and (3) singularly enough, that of Mr and Mrs Herbert. They did not wait to send me to the Crimea in order to support me, as far as they could, in doing God’s work.

I wish to show how twenty years of doing nothing, of living without occupation and by excitement, may cause to deteriorate the human brain to such an extent that I solemnly declare (after some experience in lunatics) I consider the people in Hanwell who conceive themselves to be teapots, or to have 30,000 men fighting in their insides, to be not more the subject of delusions than the class which thus lives by excitement and not by occupation. These not only persuade themselves but others of their delusion. And I have seen scenes among them quite worthy of Molière, where two people, in tolerable and even perfect health, lying on the sofa all day long and doing absolutely nothing, have persuaded themselves and others that they are the victims of their self-devotion for another who, perhaps, is really dying from overwork. Of these persons, some simulate (in all good

127 Luke 23:28.

128 2 Tim 4:16.

faith) the character for which nature had really intended them, but for which the unfortunate education of absolute idleness had incapacitated them. Some simulate the character, whether of feeling, of imagination, of philanthropy, for which nature had so entirely incapacitated them as to make them unconscious even of their want of the quality they were personating (also with all naïveté).

I believe these delusions, bred of idleness, to be absolutely incurable (in this world). The commonest minor form which this kind of weakness (in heads of families) takes is to spare the impertinent and knock about the submissive. Of this we see instances in almost every family. The strongest character is generally the most submissive, because the affections are also in proportionate strength, and by these it is led, so that the more powerful the character is the more likely it is to be in subjection to the weaker.

I end as I began. If we are permitted to finish the work which He gave us to do,¹²⁹ it matters little how much we suffer in doing it. In fact, the suffering is part of the work and contingent upon the time or period of the world at which we were sent into it to do its work. But surely it is also part of that work to tell the world what we have suffered and how we have been hindered, in order that the world may be able to spare others. To act otherwise is to treat the world as an incorrigible child which *cannot* listen or as a criminal which *will not* listen to right.

Source: From a letter of E.C. Gaskell to Emily Shaen, *Letters of Mrs Gaskell* #2170-21

27 October 1857

She [Nightingale] and I had a grand quarrel one day. She is, I think, too much for institutions, sisterhoods and associations, and she said if she had influence enough not a mother should bring up a child herself; there should be crèches for the rich as well as the poor. If she had twenty children she would send them all to a crèche, seeing, of course, that it was a well-managed crèche.

Source: Note to Benjamin Jowett on gender relations, ADD Mss 45783 ff181-82

[1867]

Men *and especially* women “should never suffer themselves to be diverted from forming a real estimate of a man’s character by what is

129 An allusion to John 4:34.

termed ‘respect for his office.’” (This, which is said of the clergy and their bishop, *I* say of everybody, especially everybody stationed in families. I really was not aware that anybody still did this above bishops.) It certainly requires great strength of mind for a woman to “form a real estimate” of her husband’s “character” and to behave the better, instead of the worse, for it. Most women prefer to remain in an amiable fog, through which they can see what they like about their husband’s character. But I believe half the misery in families would be done away with, if women could really rise to “forming a true estimate” of their husband’s or their father’s and mother’s characters, as the case may be.

There is none of the reverence left of the patriarchal times, and which certainly existed in the last century in England. On the contrary, there is scarcely a person in the world so much criticized as a husband by his wife, a father by his son, a mother by her daughter. And yet there is a constant effort to act a lie, if not to say one, about them. It is all a “muz” and a maze, the eternal vagueness of the present day. It is just like review-writing and reading. People make no effort to “form a real estimate of” the book, but they criticize it all the more severely and admire it all the more indiscreetly because they know nothing of it but the review. Now, it is not *criticism* that is here recommended of the husband’s and parents’ character. It *is* a *true estimate*. Nothing else will ever make the life of families endurable. Nothing else will ever prevent that willing martyrdom which does no good to the person who accepts it but only harm. The martyr sacrifices *herself* (*himself* in a few instances) entirely in vain. Or rather not in vain for she or he makes the selfish more selfish, the lazy more lazy, the narrow narrower. Now all this would be saved if the martyrs could but see that it was right, it was a duty, to form a “real estimate” of the characters of those they live with. The martyrs are often paralyzed by those they sacrifice to. Almost always they deteriorate and are deteriorated. Often their martyrdom is only “acting a lie.” They have a kind of dim conviction somewhere that the others would be much better without them. (I should be sorry to say in how many instances this has been openly expressed to me.) Now this always deteriorates, because nothing ennobles martyrdom but a strong conviction that it is for some noble purpose.

The other is only like the poor little weak fag who allows the big boys to run pins into him because he can’t help himself. No less would the devourers be saved than the devoured, if they did but form

a “real estimate” of character. For it was often not through selfishness, it is from a lack of knowledge of the true value of a human being, that they accept the sacrifice, which “*profiteth them nothing*.”¹³⁰ To how many of these martyrs will the persecutor say, in the next world, “you knew it and you let me do this.” It is really a wrong done to the persecutor.

I see no improvement or reform likely to arise in this matter at all. Calas’s death opened the eyes of thousands.¹³¹ His death was worth dying, but death in this matter shuts people’s eyes. If they had some small inkling of the truth before, after death it is all to be hushed up—everybody is to be perfect, not the slightest remorse is to be felt. So men’s eyes are to be blinded for ever and ever.

Source: Note to Dr Sutherland, ADD Mss 45753 f219

[mid-March 1869]

You know that Sir John McNeill went to Goschen last week to try and persuade him to put children out to cottagers in England. I said to Sir John that I felt doubtful whether in England it would work as well as in Scotland. I said that in France, with all their sentimentality, it had not worked well. . . .

Source: From a letter to Parthenope Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9010/109

25 September 1885

[Jessie Lennox, matron of Belfast Children’s Hospital] disapproves of the great training ship with 300 boys and no mothers as against God’s laws. The patients who come to her from it die so depressed. She got a lady to go and live in the hold for three months to nurse them up a bit. To one of the boys who seemed terribly depressed she the lady said, “Come, I don’t think there’s much the matter with you” and gave him a pat. She was passing out when a boy moaned up, “Oh Ma’am, if you would but gie me one pat like his’n.” This was not a patient, a rough cabin boy.

Miss Lennox says “don’t let the Gordon schools have no mothers; the boys don’t grow up good men.”

¹³⁰ John 6:63.

¹³¹ Jean Calas, a Protestant from Toulouse, was tortured and killed, supposedly for the crime of murdering his son to prevent his converting to Roman Catholicism. Voltaire worked for the rehabilitation of his name after his death.

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45818 ff249-52

[1889]

If we could say, Thy kingdom is come¹³² in every family, it would go far to bring it upon earth. The kingdom of heaven does not come by departments nor by institutions, though these are a necessary part of our training, education. The kingdom of heaven is within¹³³ but we must make it without. The family is the only thing which follows us from the cradle to the grave. We may and I hope do improve the inmates, well and sick, in hospital institutions, especially the children. And they will teach others the good words they have learnt. . . .

But in the family the nurse meets the poor on their own ground. In hospitals and infirmaries they may say, where everything is provided it is easy to be clean and airy, orderly and godly, but look at us in our one room and a sick person in it into the bargain, and with no appliances. Here the district nurse meets them on their own ground. Here she shows them how they can be clean and to a degree comfortable and healthy even with their one room and there no appliances. It would be too much to say she makes the wilderness blossom as the rose,¹³⁴ but it is something like it.

It makes us sad to think how in the last decade of the nineteenth century how little progress we have made to fixed principles in our struggle with poverty, even with all our best endeavours. Sometimes we make enormous subscriptions and we find we have pauperized instead of de-pauperizing. Then we swing back the other way to co-operation. But we do not touch the black sheep—trade unions and strikes—and we ruin millions and above all we ruin the trade and commerce, which is to make the prosperity of millions, of a whole nation. Then we think that legislating about labour is the thing. Perhaps we shall legislate too that the quarter loaf shall be four pence.

Now the district nurse is a very little thing—but a cloud on the horizon—but the little cloud heralded rain on the thirsty earth. The district nurse under the doctor nurses the child or breadwinner back to health without breaking up the home. We may make health contagious as sickness was. The drinking father, the dawdling mother—their improvement becomes contagious too.

132 An allusion to the Lord's Prayer, Matt 6:10.

133 An allusion to Luke 17:21.

134 An allusion to Isa 35:1.

The tendency becomes upward, under the divine law of salvation or moral progress. We all know how the tendency in a bad neighbourhood is downward both as to health and morality. May not the tendency now be upward? The sovereign,¹³⁵ the mother of His people, has laid her finger on the district nurse to be her representative with her sick poor, the servant of her beloved poor. Now let each district nurse in quietness and in confidence¹³⁶—in humility, always striving forward to greater efficiency find her strength.

It is said pioneers are always best before they become the fashion. Now let each nurse be the pioneer and none the fashion. She may work for her Queen and her God, this servant of the poor. But let her remember efficiency: efficiency *practical* efficiency, always increasing with every day, moral efficiency too. If no man can be great without humility, how much more can no nurse be good.

Source: Note from interview with Jessie Lennox, ADD MSS 47751 ff235-36

2 February 1892

There should be something *natural* about it—something motherly. God creates *mothers*. Every good man has something womanly in him. A boy can never grow up to be a good man without good womanly influence. The orderlies at Netley were as different as possible: some were quite motherly, some quite harsh and indifferent. You must know each individual boy, know and love him. The commandant should know every boy in the place and pat his shoulder. Every boy has two natures. You must call out the higher—a little bit of praise, a tap on the shoulder (Miss Collins).

I keep the elder boys to amuse the younger ones. They do it so well—carry the toys and books about from bed to bed (three years to twelve). Girls, too, but some girls never have the knack or the wish to do it. My children never cry. Or if they do, I say: Tomorrow if you don't cry [breaks off].

My boys from the training ship were so surprised to receive individual care. They came in so depressed in body and mind. The G.B.H. authorities do not remember that freedom is the first love of the young Arab boy. Drill may do for the body but you will never put anything into the soul by drill. It is not the drill or what you do. It is the life of the head which impresses the boy.

135 Queen Victoria established an organization for district nursing in celebration of her fifty years on the throne.

136 An allusion to Isa 30:15.

Gordon Boys' Home

Editor: Nightingale had extensive dealings over several years regarding the establishment of the Gordon Boys' Home as a memorial to Charles Gordon in Woking, Surrey. She was thoroughly involved at the outset in the selection of a matron and the description of her duties. She was concerned with the quality of ventilation, insisting on consultations with expert Sir Douglas Galton (who decreed that boys needed as much air space as men). There is detailed correspondence over what kind of clothing the boys needed, especially underwear, and arrangements for washing and mending (they were supposed to learn to mend). Nightingale's dealings with the military hierarchy led her to question the whole philosophy as well as the particulars of a military-type institution for boys. She who had so criticized the traditional nuclear family for its tendency to narrow and dampen children's ideals came to promote a more family-type atmosphere for the boys. When Lydia Constable was being considered for the position she inquired if she had "animal spirits for all this?," noting that some very quiet women had more "cheerful tolerance" than the tremendous ones, and "more power." Would she "*mother*" the boys?¹³⁷ A note describes General Tyndall as "too much of a general—Gordon mealed and lived with them."¹³⁸ Another note complained that there was no "sympathy" in relationships, only "authority," "nothing like a home or family."¹³⁹

The issue of appointment of a chaplain led to reflections on Gordon's own faith and direct style of expressing it.

Getting a woman to be appointed as matron itself was not easy. Nightingale wrote Harry Verney about a suitable resolution to be passed at a meeting of the committee: "About the resolution you propose, would it not be better to have simply 'that with a view to the health and welfare of the boys there should be matron to the Home' "? If the questions of "underclothing" and "housekeeping" are started, would you not certainly be answered that, this being a military establishment, these are otherwise provided for? I will write again about this. Query: *is there a laundry?* Query: What is settled about a *hospital?* Of all expedients, that of a sergeant and his wife is the worst!¹⁴⁰ Nightingale met a

137 Letter to Henry Bonham Carter [end May 1888], ADD Mss 47721 f85.

138 Note 1 February 1892, ADD Mss 47751 f240.

139 Note 11 February 1892, ADD Mss 47751 f240.

140 Letter 30 October 1887, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9011/186.

number of times with General (later Sir) George Higginson, an acquaintance from Crimean days.¹⁴¹ In one interview she noted that the matron was “not to be a lady,” that there was “no accommodation for a lady,” who would have to live on the hospital ground floor with a bedroom and kitchen and “no sitting room.” The institution was put under the direction of General Tyndall, at £250 a year.¹⁴²

Nightingale gave money herself to the subscription and assisted in fundraising.¹⁴³ She contributed books and graphics to it over the years,¹⁴⁴ a clock,¹⁴⁵ and a “little sum” for a prize for games.¹⁴⁶ She was concerned with competing fundraising.¹⁴⁷ There is much further correspondence between Nightingale and Fred Verney about the home, especially on tactics of dealing with the committee.¹⁴⁸

The letters and notes below, in chronological order, deal with the establishment of the Gordon Boys’ Home at Woking, near Claydon House, in 1888. She met with applicants for the position of matron: Miss Shalders (whom Fred Verney considered to be unsuitable but Nightingale liked),¹⁴⁹ and reviewed testimonials on other candidates.¹⁵⁰ She met frequently with the successful candidate, Lydia Constable, who consulted her for years after.¹⁵¹ When Constable was dismissed in 1897 Nightingale again sprang into action, writing, by then “Sir George” Higginson, to inquire into the grounds for dismissal.¹⁵² Throughout the process Nightingale kept Gordon’s cousin, Mrs Hawthorn, in touch with the project.¹⁵³

141 Letter to General Higginson 13 May 1888, Boston 2/22 and letter 10 June 1888, Clendening History of Medicine Library, Kansas University Medical Center.

142 Notes 15 May 1888, ADD Mss 47761 ff40, 47.

143 Letter to Harry Verney 26 June 1886, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9011/34.

144 Letters of Lydia Constable 22 November 1888, ADD Mss 45809 f53 and 1890, ADD Mss 45809 f314.

145 Letter to Fred Verney 20 November 1888, ADD Mss 68886 f27.

146 Letter to Fred Verney 7 April 1889, ADD Mss 68886 f52.

147 Letter to Fred Verney 24 January 1887, ADD Mss 68885 f10.

148 Letters 20 November 1888, 25 July and 25 August 1889, ADD Mss 68886 ff27-28, ff66-69 and f70.

149 Letter to Harry Verney 28 May 1888 Ms 9012/28.

150 Note 29 March 1888, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9012/13.

151 Letters August, 13 August 1888 and 24 September, ADD Mss 45808 f158, f200 and f241.

152 Letter August 1897, Clendening History of Medicine Library, Kansas University Medical Center.

153 Letters to Hawthorn 18 May, 10 June 1886 and 24 October 1887, ADD Mss 45776 ff192, 207 and f243; to Fred Verney 24 January 1887, ADD Mss 68885 f1.

Nightingale was so exasperated by the delays and reversals on decisions regarding the Gordon Boys' Home in 1888 that she joked that she had "engaged a bed" at a psychiatric hospital: "I am on my way to Hanwell. . . . Friends may come and see me there, for I am a harmless lunatic."¹⁵⁴

It is not clear what relationship there was to the "Gordon Boys' Home" in Manchester geared to delinquent boys. See Nightingale's correspondence in 1890-91 with the head of the school, Alex Devine, on juvenile offenders (see p 228 above).

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 68884 ff140-43

Claydon

9 September 1886

My dear Mr Fred [Verney]

Many thanks for your two letters about Gordon Boys' Home, which much engageth our attention. But the Gordon Boys' Home itself has been in jeopardy. "Field Marshal" Lord Napier, without consultation with his committee, wrote to the home secretary accepting *on their behalf* the grant of the "permanent use" of the "Woking Male Prison" for the Gordon Boys!!! Had this been allowed to pass, most of the committee would have resigned and—a small matter—I could have done nothing to engage the Army to subscribe to what Gordon would so have disliked.

All the experience we have gained during the last thirty years proves that health, morals, discipline, have to be obtained in huts or small pavilions, not in a huge edifice containing 500 cells, however rearranged.

The gallant father [Harry Verney] went up to London yesterday by the first train without his sandwiches or telling anyone but the pony attended the meeting, where he was chairman, and a copy of Lord Napier's letter was read and then on to Woking to see the prison!!!

But I forestall. He told the meeting roundly that Lord Napier had done what he had no right to do. The Tory [?] Colonel, I mean M. General, backed him. "Hig" was not there, but a letter on the wrong side was read from him. However the Noes had it and Hallam Tennyson offered to go off at once to Lord Napier and ask him by word of mouth to withdraw his letter, which offer was accepted. We have not of course heard the result, but the "mutiny" was successful so far.

154 Letter to Harry Verney 14 July 1888, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9012/42.

Arrived at Woking, the gallant father called a cab, but perched himself on the box by the cabman, in order to “see better.” The cabman turned out to be a soldier, a R.H.A. man, who was side by side with the Shannon Brigade in all its work in India. “They tossed their guns about as *we* could not do,” says he. He also told Sir Harry a good deal about Woking Prison.

I am writing in haste just to account for my silence. I will return all the (most interesting) letters. I have not had time even to think of your stirring proposal to write a sketch of Gordon and an “appeal” to “chivalry” (for the pamphlet). You would do it much better than I. Would we could do it together.

Could you tell me from your leaflets what is the scheme, whether to give one or two years’ training, or what?, whether then the committee intend to “place the boys out,” as Gordon did, according to the bias of each? I can never find a committee man who can tell me.

Don’t suppose we are not intent on the subject which you have started so well. I am rather afraid of the £22 per regiment, £20 would require 800 sixpences. I think the men would subscribe so much better if it were not asked in that way. However, that is the A.A.G.’s business. I trust it will be a grand movement, as you well deserve, embracing the whole Army. In great haste,

ever yours affectionately

F.N.

I write gaily, but indeed am in great anxiety about the whole matter and about what you asked me to do (*not* about Colonel Robinson who seems doing so well) and want you to tell us your mind. I hope you are imbibing ozone and not writing letters. One man at the meeting yesterday said we must succumb to the Prince of Wales, who was *for* the prison!! Gordon would not have done this.

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9012/21

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane, W.
21 April 1888

Matron Gordon Boys’ Home

Dear Sir Harry Verney

I have looked by your desire at the two letters of Emily Hamblin, applying for the matronship of the Gordon Boys’ Home, which you have sent me asking for my opinion on them and her, as far as I could judge from these. This opinion must of course depend on what you require in your matron.

From yourself and from others of your colleagues I gathered that you wanted a matron for the health and not for the sickness of the boys, that her duties were to be so arranged that she should see each of the boys, especially the younger boys, every day. Merely for illustration that, e.g., she might have charge of the underclothing and teach the boys to mend their own. This brings her into contact with them, their little difficulties and naughtinesses, their cut fingers and their stomachaches, and prevent illness. You could mention other duties. The influence of a good woman is so great over boys and the nearer she is to a gentlewoman, the greater her influence. But of course all depends on the *woman*: a good MOTHERLY woman of any class. . . .

I was not at all aware that you wanted a surgical and medical nurse. I understood that you wanted a matron to *keep* the boys *well*. Can . . . Emily Hamblin . . . “mother” them, and do what a man cannot do. I gathered from you that personally you did not consider her at all a “likely person to influence these boys.” (Query, is she a widow? and, if so, has she children?) I gather from her letters that she has only seen yourself and General Higginson and Colonel Hamilton? Have the duties of this post been placed before her?

You would not think from her letters that she had even the degree of education which is required now of a “private nurse,” much less what would be required for the matron of a large and increasing institution like the Gordon Boys’ Home. How will she be able to hold her own in a civilized manner?

ever, dear Sir Harry,
yours most truly
Florence Nightingale

MATRON: *Gordon Boys’ Home*: that, with a view to the health and welfare of the boys, it is desirable that there should be a matron of the home. . . . The foundation of the home is *unhappily* to be military and barrack-room-y. Are the boys to be rationed? Then, they will say, there is no more need of “housekeeping” than there is in a barrack. As to “underclothing,” *is there to be a laundry*? Who mends the “underclothing”? In a barrack, it is the washerwomen who wash it that mend it. I should hope that the boys will be taught, as sailor boys are, to mend their own clothes. Then they will be brought naturally to the matron for supervision, so she would see them all and know of their sore fingers and their stomachaches. . . .

I say “*unhappily*” the place is to be “exclusively military,” because—ask any old soldier who has been, boy and man, in barracks, boy and

man perhaps for forty years—he will tell you that, whatever are the objections to putting boys into men's barrack rooms, boys always get most into mischief when together, when in barrack rooms to themselves. In barracks, we always want to get the boys *out of barracks*, and to get them under the influence of a good woman particularly, at least for some part of a day. And here we want to put them IN.

Source: Notes, ADD Mss 45820 ff120-23

9 May 1888

Gordon Boys' Home. The matron is under the general officer at the head, General Tyndall, and the Staff Officer, Major Collins. There are at present about 180 boys (*from fourteen? to eighteen*), likely to increase to 200 in number. Younger boys with matron?, tea? room where they could always see her. The matron would be *in charge of* the HEALTH of the boys and expected to *see every one* of them every day, and in charge of the sickness, which is rare, in hospital. There is a small *hospital*, who [is the] doctor?, Mrs Marshall, nurse but generally the cases are trifling. There has been a broken leg, by a fall into a gravel pit and there is now a case of measles. She would be in charge of the *underclothing* of the boys. That and the bedclothes are ample for their class, and of *teaching* the boys to MEND their own underclothing. The boys are taught to do everything for themselves: *wash* and mend their own clothes, etc.

This brings her in contact with the boys. She is *overseer to the laundry*, where a *laundress*, wife of one of the non-commissioned officers/instructors, teaches the boys to wash their own clothes. She has also to see that the *food is good* and especially to see after the *sick boys' food*. She has to see after their cut fingers and *stomachaches* and *prevent* sickness. Bad health at first.

It need scarcely be said that, in all this, the *hoped-for* result is that the matron will “mother” the boys and have an influence, which keeps up discipline far better than any military drill, though these boys are remarkable for their orderly conduct. They are taught (by non-commissioned officers/instructors) tailoring, shoemaking (and will be taught gardening), carpentering, smiths' work and military exercises, etc. An *orderly sleeps* in each of their dormitories.

Nothing has been said about SCRIPTURE CLASSES by the matron, but these might possibly be introduced. The matron has a *house* to herself, with room for self and *little maid*. *Rations* provided for *little maid* (*pay*, etc., allowances to follow, coal? gas?) Matron to live in hospital,

not to be lady. Two wards upstairs for six and four boys [each], one ward at end (of passage of these two) for infectious case to be slavey's bedroom, downstairs matron's bedroom and kitchen, *no* sitting room. Matron at £30 to £40 with rations = 7d a day and slavey at £10 to £12 with rations. (1) To nurse the hospital, cook for themselves and sick, with boys to assist in the hard work, and to teach. Rations for hospital to be drawn by matron and delivered to her in hospital. (2) Matron to supervise the general kitchen for 130 boys and the food and the housekeeping and the soldier-cook, alter the bill of fare, which he blindly follows without variety, show him how to suit the food to the seasons, make good broth, etc., utilize the fat, etc., order in salad, "200 lettuces," have stewed fruit and healthy variety. Boys always ill at first. (3) Undertake new arrivals, their ward to be under her, be in charge of the health of the boys. (4) Supervise laundry and teach 130 boys washing, dispense with laundress altogether, she and slavey to do it all, to do it all "by tact." Boys make everything except their caps.

She ought to have a room where boys could always get at her.

F.N.

Source: Letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9012/32

2 June 1888

Gordon Boys' Home: M. Fred has sent me a rough plan of the hospital. And I have, after conferring with D. Galton on its great defects, sent a *second* long letter to General Higginson (*not* on the defects but) on the accommodation necessary for the matron). I received a most kind (short) answer from General Higginson to my first, saying that he must consider the questions about the matron with his "colleagues" and would write again.

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 68886 ff8-10

[printed address] 10 South Street
Grosvenor Square, W.

10 June 1888

Private

Your letter to General Higginson

My dear Mr Fred [Verney]

I think your letter to General Higginson excellent, especially where you say that the worst punishment to a boy ought to be to be dismissed from the Gordon Boys' Home. But is General Higginson the man to write such a letter to, or to write at all on this subject to, until he has been led by careful conversation, from yourself, to propose

from himself what you propose? Even then must you not be most careful to frame your letter so that he cannot, by showing or reading it to others bring about something quite different from what you intend? Will he not forget what he has told you? And is it not most probable that, whether you mark it "Private" or not, he will read it to his "Home" committee?

I have written, not without intention, a (too long) account of my very brief experience of him in my other letter to you because it is instructive and because it has put us into such a fix. And will he not do the same to you?, throwing upon you the responsibility (if he does anything) of getting rid of General Tyndall and finding his successor? Besides, is it quite certain that "economy" is the source of the mischief or that "expenditure" would mend it?

They have two men already, one general, one staff officer, at how much a year?, one secretary, where *one* would probably do better. And is it quite certain that expenditure would find such a chaplain as you want? And you do not, I believe, wish for a chaplain of your own. However that may be, please consider very well how you would put such a letter as this into General Higginson's power. Will it work what you wish? And is it not almost certain that General Tyndall will hear of it as an attack from you?

Please do not mention the matron at all in *this* way (for reasons mentioned in my other letter). It might be very well to bring her up afterwards, in the sense of wanting more assistant matrons to *influence* the boys. At present, I believe we have carried the woman servant and laundress. But I cannot be sure, because General Higginson's letters *ignore* each other. Therefore I am on tenterhooks about this matron's business, as you see.

I am writing to General Higginson to remind him of all he stipulated. If *he does not do it*—and *how can he now?*—he ought not to ask his Wednesday's meeting to confirm the appointment of Sister Constable as matron by his Home committee. What an acre of writing he does impose upon one! And yet I like him so much I have written to him [at] your and S. Constable's houses on Tuesday that he may warn General Tyndall.

ever your affectionate

F. Nightingale

Source: Letter, St Luke's Hospital, Tokyo, Japan

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane, W.
13 June 1888

Private

Gordon Boys Matron and Hospital

Dear Sir [Lt-General Higginson]

I cannot thank you too much for your kind telegram of the 11th and for your most comforting letter of the same date, which I received yesterday. Wisely you say that the first thing for Sister Constable is "to see the place" and accordingly she did go yesterday (we arranged for her to return by Woking; I need not trouble you with the Ascot races difficulties). She was shown everything most thoroughly and kindly by General Tyndall, Mr [Fred] Verney accompanying, and returned here to "report quietly" with me, according to your kind suggestion.

You wished her to "form a fair opinion as to her powers of working such a program thoroughly as that which we have proposed." You will wish to have some sort of sketch of "what she thinks" before your committee meets today. And so, provisionally, and provisionally only, I will try to give it. She will have the advantage of being seen by you, and probably your committee, of being sifted by you. And you will make up your own minds.

"Program" of duties. Hospital: "To take entire charge of hospital with a woman servant to cook, etc." Yes, certainly. *Temporarily* the proposed arrangement of rooms to be enough, viz., the large south room marked "dispensary" to be made into "matron's sitting room" and to a certain extent *dispensary* and *doctor's room*, that is, she would receive boys from the Home sent to her to have their little ailments treated there (cut fingers might be mended in ablution room, but as it has a stone floor that would be all). Medicine chest would be kept there temporarily, unless large closet in front hall next porch is intended for medicines. Doctor would give her his orders there for sick boys. But it could only be *temporarily* a "doctor's room" and dispensary, especially if there is a periodical inspection of boys' health by doctor, when at certain times a certain number of them are to be seen by him. She would have a few boys occasionally, or frequently, to tea in this room.

Ward floor: best ward, south ward, in hospital for matron's bedroom *temporarily*. It seems a pity to banish sick boys to the north side, i.e., large ward and small infectious room (you have at least two serious cases in Home now) and without direct inspection.

Room next kitchen. Woman servant to sleep there temporarily, as proposed, until it can be set free for (say) dispensary, by woman servant's bedroom being built upstairs. It seems a pity to make any proposed extension to the *south*, thereby shutting out good sun from present south rooms, IF possibly it might be made to the north, shutting out no sun worth having. *Ward walls*, etc. VERY DAMP? Will they take some weeks drying? *Smoked*: will they require colouring?

Duties: "Taking charge of new arrivals," generally want looking to, very important, "and of their dormitory."

Hospital to nearest dormitory: 310 ft.

Hospital to furthest dormitory: 550 ft.

She could hardly undertake the nightly inspection of this, especially in winter, except occasionally. If any boy needed her, sergeant would fetch her, and she would of course go instantly in any weather.

But new arrivals to come frequently and be sent frequently to see the matron: she gives them a dose of medicine if needed, takes any into hospital if necessary, "mothers" them as much as possible. (Is it not the custom in some places to have a probationary ward or dormitory near the hospital, where new arrivals are kept before they mix with the others?)

General Kitchen: Hospital to kitchen: 475 ft. She would gladly try to work, as you propose, supervision of kitchen and soldier-cook, variety of meals, good serving, economy, etc., and *Laundry* where boys are taught to wash, with the present laundress. She does not think that the washing for herself and woman servant could be done by servant in scullery (with bags all about—small place—muddle). She thinks the matron must have washing money and "put out" her washing. Better if woman servant had, too, but *possibly* woman servant could wash for herself there.

Matron would gladly undertake to train and manage boys to do the rough work in the hospital—a big boy or two would be desirable, and to attend under orders a strict supervision on a serious case in the wards.

You kindly asked me to suggest about furniture of matron. I will gladly do so when things are further advanced, and also, if you wish it, about "payment" instead of "rations." This brings me to the great point about which you so kindly set my mind at rest: it is you, not I, who select your matron. All I undertake, at your kind request, is advice: to find a woman who, from her training and years of experience of her, we could recommend to you for her professional and moral

(motherly) qualities and for proved good influence over men and boy patients. But only yourself (and your committee), who have the responsibility, can judge whether she is suitable for your post.

It is so important to have a woman as matron, not merely recommendable but fitted for your particular post, that *you* must see and judge of her. *You* must select as well as appoint, and for this purpose must also take her character from her present matron, Miss Vincent, etc., at St Marylebone Infirmary, with a view to her peculiar fitness for the Gordon Boys' Home. If you find anyone better suited, take *her*.

May I remind you that Sister Constable will have to give a month's notice to St Marylebone, and have at least three or four weeks' holiday before she takes further work, i.e., seven or eight weeks. But it seems doubtful whether the hospital will be quite dry and finished before that? I spare you further remarks at present. I write in great haste. Excuse it, and believe me,

ever sincerely yours

Florence Nightingale

Editor: There were differences of opinion about the chaplain for the home. A "curate" was to have begun work among the boys "some days ago."¹⁵⁵ The Home duly opened, but there were evidently serious problems in administration and ventilation the next year on which Nightingale consulted Douglas Galton.

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 68886 f52

10 South St.

7 April 1889

Private

My dear Mr Fred [Verney]

I meant to have sent you this little sum long ago for a prize for Mr Morice's games. Or if you only give part of it for that, the rest towards anything else of Mr Morice's conundrums for the Gordon Boys. It is really appalling to think that on Wednesday his career and influence at the Gordon Boys' Home may be cut short and the boys fall back into their unfair, nasty, perilous ways under what is called military discipline, which means indiscipline. (O if you were to see a military hospital even at this day.) I don't know what to wish but that, if nothing can be done, the Gordon Boys' Home, as it is now, should cease to

155 Letter to Harry Verney 8 June 1888, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9012/35.

exist, but if Mr Morice could continue his life, giving influence, and be so incensed as to behave himself, then may it live and prosper forever.

Editor: Nightingale sought expert advice on the building from both Douglas Galton¹⁵⁶ and Robert Rawlinson.¹⁵⁷ Another letter asked Galton if he could devise a plan to recycle “town refuse” sanitarily, “giving health to them and valuable manure to their garden.”¹⁵⁸ There are detailed technical exchanges on the challenges of ventilation, beds and bathroom facilities for sweaty, smelly, sometimes bedwetting boys, in *Hospital Reform*, of which the selection below gives an indication.

Source: Notes and letter to Douglas Galton with his response, ADD Mss 45766 ff245-48

9 June 1889

Gordon Boys' Home

. . . Smell in the dormitories appalling at 9.15 P.M. last night, just after the boys were in bed, with all the windows open, and having been open all day. At 5.40 A.M. this morning with all the windows open all night, smell very bad, but nothing like the appalling smell of the night before. . . . Cause: the unrolling the bedding—this is rolled up *directly* the boys get up in the morning, just as it is, like hammocks on board ship, instead of being aired, with all the inhalations from the boys' skins in it—many of the boys wet their beds—these have mackintoshes under them—still the bedding is not preserved, and this is rolled up too.

Blankets washed once a year . . . sheets once a week, no mattresses, chain mattress, thick felt. . . . boy, sheet, two blankets. Boy rolls himself round in them and “keeps in his own stink.” No *ventilation* could secure a proper atmosphere, while this practice of rolling up bedding is *continued*.

Windows: three on each side, one at end, to twenty beds, narrow, in three divisions, middle division does not open; in two others one pane (not at top or bottom) opens in the middle on a pivot; great heat in walls; boys lay their pillows and their heads at foot of bed. . . . Besides,

156 See also letters 30 May 1888, 27 July 1888 and 10 June 1889, ADD Mss 45766 f82, f115 and f244.

157 Letter 10 June 1889, Boston 1/9/123.

158 Letter 17 June 1888, ADD Mss 45766 f90.

it must injure the future prospects of the boys so much to let them wet their beds. You cannot have nurses in hospital because nurses are so much wanted. Urinals are *wooden tubs*: tarred? Indecent. Water supply failing, swimming bath cannot be filled, water quite green. . . . "Would the dormitories were 2 ft. higher." Tyndall.

Questions: What number of square feet of *open window* will give an adequate air supply to twenty boys of average age of sixteen in a dormitory. Supposing they have either:

- a. 300 cub. ft to each bed
- or b. 400 " " " " "
- c. 500 " " " " "
- d. 600 " " " " "

State in each case the number of cubic feet of air that should be admitted per hour. Or in other words: every sq. ft of open window admits how many thousand c. ft of air per hour. *No artificial current* for egress of foul air is produced; there is no outlet but air bricks. Galton's stoves, but no fires of course in summer.

16 June 1889

My dear Sir Douglas Galton

I forgot to tell you (1) that the comparatively small amount of cubic space allowed in the dormitories, for each bed, places the beds so near the windows that, as a matter of fact, they are shut when they would have been left open had the cubic space been greater. For the same reason, even the ventilators entirely inadequate; (2) that *as a matter of fact all* the windows in the dormitories are *shut up at 4 P.M.* and *not* opened till AFTER the boys are up, in cold weather; (3) that when the windows are kept shut the air is even more foul than what I told you; (4) that if the bedding is to be aired, and cannot be aired in the yard in bad weather, it would make the dormitories yet *more foul* to air it in them, because they, the dormitories, themselves are deficient in cubic space, air and sun; (5) that as a matter of fact the present panes are often shut by the boys, as making such a draught in a close room.

yours ever truly

F.N.

I will send tomorrow morning to know when I can see you [DG:] Tuesday at 5 to 5.30. Eight of these boys stink so badly it is clear that they require more floor space unless they can be kept clean. In WORK-HOUSES this *is not* permitted. In any case the clean boys should be sorted and put apart and the dirty boys all put together with more space.

Source: Note to Fred Verney, ADD Mss 68889 ff149-51

14 June 1889

Sir Douglas Galton (he had only just returned from Paris, but came here the same day) recommends (*Gordon Boys' Home*):

Cubic space for 20 boys of 16, each: 400 to 500.

Window space: 1 ft to 60 cubic feet, 2 ft × 3 ft to each boy.

Sash top and bottom or to open entirely inwards from bottom, the whole of the window space to be available to open. At G.B.H. quite insufficient. . . . In hospital beds are placed in twos, giving on one side each bed much larger space between. Width of dormitory: recommends 17 ft., Height recommends 10 ft. When new block built, boys will be spread out at least for a time.

D. Galton [was] perfectly aghast at the rolling up the bedding (but I thought showed an unholy joy at thus accounting for the "appalling smell"). He says the boys are "quite certain, as sure as fate," to have an *outbreak of typhus* from this cause sooner or later, that this has been known, to all but the G.B. authorities, for 100 years, that the worst epidemic of typhus ever known in the Army was from this cause *and this cause alone*, in the Horse Artillery between 1800 and 1810, that in barracks we roll up the bedding, because the room is a living as well as sleeping room, but that the bedding is *always* exposed to the air first for 1-2 hours, that the Gordon Boys' bedding ought never to be rolled up at all—why should it? It should be exposed out of doors, hung up in the yard, when fine, then (or instead) hung up in dormitory with all the windows open. (But all the windows can't be always open.)

They, the Building Committee, *with D. Galton present*, had a meeting last week in which all but your important evidence came out!! Mr Butterfield had disregarded all their injunctions and his own promises and made the contractor go right against them. And there is no resource except to cashier B., which Colonel Hamilton won't.

D. Galton will not say that the space given above is not enough, but admits that window space, *open* window space, *outlets*, *ventilation*, are *nothing like enough*. At their meeting they ordered a zinc frame for the window spaces to fit inside and *open entirely*. And he agrees that there must be more outlet, and bedrolling abominations utterly revolutionized. . . .

He insists on the boy[s] having a bath every week, of course. *Do they?* (besides the green swimming bath). He wants to know what amount of *daily personal ablution* they do? I fear I shall not see him again before next Thursday at earliest. But any *questions* or answers or commen-

taries that *you will* make I will pitch into him *before your* next “Wednesday and Thursday” at G.B.H., if you like. (He is returning to Paris some time this next week.)

F.N.

Private Charities and Fundraising

Editor: The material here, in chronological order from pre-Crimea to old age, ranges from Nightingale’s views of how private charities wasted so much volunteer time (on which there is more in *Life and Family* 1:615-17) to several fundraising campaigns in which she participated and advice to William Rathbone on his publication, “Social Duties.” For a (partial) list of her own contributions to charities see *Life and Family* (1:744-54). Nightingale was inundated with requests both to make a donation herself and to let her name be used in raising funds. It was her practice to decline to give her name unless she gave also her time and effort. Thus the examples below show her priorities. Assistance she gave to fundraising for hospitals, for victims of war and Indian famines will be reported in the volumes on those subjects.

Source: Unsigned letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8994/26

[postmarked] Paris

2 June 1853

Dearest Mother

Mrs Herbert has just written me word that Mrs Chisholm¹⁵⁹ is living on ninepence a day, having parted with her one maid of all work, and not having tasted any meat for weeks, yet positively refusing money. The only way they can think of helping her is by giving her a testimonial in money. They have opened subscription lists for this purpose at Coutts, Hoare, Kinnaird, Herries and Farquhar. (S. Herbert has subscribed £25, Coutts ditto, Lord Shaftesbury and Mr Lowe £10 each.) If you like to subscribe, there is no time to be lost as the woman is starving.

Will you write directly and put me down for £5? . . . If you can think of anybody whom Mrs Chisholm has benefited, pray send them this summation. . . .

159 Caroline Chisholm (1805-77), the “emigrants’ friend.”

Source: From a letter to William Rathbone, Rathbone Collection, Liverpool Record Office 610 RAT 1/6

April 1867

After carefully rereading your "Social Duties," it seems to me that it is the first broaching of an enormous subject, which you will have to extend. I don't think, as Macmillan says, it "wants flesh and blood." And I don't think, as I thought at first, that to republish it with notes and illustrations is all that is wanted. It is like a first chapter on geology; it is complete in itself. But, to give the whole treatise on geology, it will require, not notes and illustrations to the first (introductory) chapter, but a second, third, fourth, etc., chapter. You will have to develop each of the immense subjects you have touched upon, but from your own point of view, not from ours. As for illustrations, an inquiry into the Jews' charities would form a very interesting one. A poor Jew is a (*real*) brother to a rich Jew. A poor Christian is an offence to a rich Christian. That is the difference. Dr Cumming's system and organization of charity in London would form another illustration. There, everybody knows everybody, thus preventing the mutual ignorance of disunited charities which you describe so well. But, of course, in so very small a sphere as Dr Cumming's Scotch church, this is comparatively easy.

Practically, the Poor Law question has half the maze and fog which it has been wrapped in taken away from it by separating entirely from it the (workhouse) SICKNESS. And you were quite right in making that (*viz.*, sickness) a central question, which indeed it is, or rather almost a solution—of the Poor Law difficulty in your practical works in Liverpool. This might be made into a chapter in itself, the sanitary or preventive question might be made into another. There are sick streets as well as sick people, and to an experienced eye the expression of countenance of a sick street is much the same everywhere, whether in Bombay, Valetta, London or Sydney. One would have thought that, in a new country, like Australia, people might have had good [?] which ought to be the nucleus of it, however. I hope that your "Social Duties" may lead the way to this as well as to other reforms. Believe me,

ever yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Source: From a letter to William Rathbone, Rathbone Collection, Liverpool Record Office 610 RAT 1/8

22 June 1867

Private

I had not a moment yesterday to thank you for so kindly sending me your "Social Duties." I had been anxiously looking out for them and had even ordered *Macmillan's Magazine* to give away (for I am no great magazine reader) but found, to my great disgust, in the June number, no "Social Duties." I believe that this volume, combined with your practical *work*, will make an era in English charities, and I am sure I care, more than for anything that I do care for, that your example may be followed in London and all over Great Britain. In London, charity is an amusement, just like horse racing. There is no feeling of duty, no idea of business about it. Good people often abstain from it, because they think it increases the evil it is meant to cure, people of business, because they think the money does not reach the objects it is intended to benefit. Otherwise money, by itself, money would never be wanting in London. If you could make, by your example and precept, people give their work, their systematized work and habits of business, as well as their money, the large unpenetrated masses of vice and misery which now disgrace London and our great towns would at least be broken up, if not swept away entirely.

What extraordinary powers of organization (for a bad purpose) have lately been revealed by the disclosures of the trades' unions' and Sheffield Unions' Commissions? The power of organization seems all to have descended into the artisan class. Why cannot Englishmen of the upper, the educated, the business class, show the same power of organization in their "social duties"? *Ritualism* is an amusement, just like charity, just like horse racing. And why can't people (a man like Mr Hubbard, for instance) do like you, instead of spending sums untold in founding ritualistic churches? The mass of children, growing up to crime in London, to take only one instance, is hitherto quite untouched, though a few hundreds are rescued here and there.

I was amused by the observation of a very enlightened man, a Frenchman (which he has since put in print), on a point which struck *him* with astonishment, but which we are too much used to for it to surprise us. He said, how is it that you allow yourselves to be taxed for these workhouses for the people to go into, while you organize private charities to *save* the people from going into these *workhouses*? Had I had your book, then, I should have put it into his hand.

In reply to your question, I am quite sure I could distribute twenty copies of your essay (offhand) with advantage, not only in England, but in our colonies. I grieve to see the same state of things as with us arising, for instance, in New South Wales. If you will kindly send me, as you propose, say, a dozen copies, I think I ought to find the rest myself.

I rejoice to hear that your district nursing is likely to be imitated in the East of London. You know I never shall think that we have done anything in London till we have nursed not only all the hospitals and all the workhouses, but have divided London into convenient districts for nursing the sick poor at home, including midwifery nursing, including the supply of sick comforts and taking the convalescent into the country to recover, as you have done at Liverpool.

I rejoice to think that there is likely to be asserted at Liverpool a principle which will work so immensely for good as that you mention about a country hospital. I sincerely hope and trust that, even beyond the sphere of our Christian religion, your example will spread and take root. Lately I have had from Parsi merchants in Bombay a desire expressed that I should found a training school for nurses there. As the government has been in correspondence with me for founding such training schools in India, I must, of course, be careful that such efforts should work into one another, not clash with each other. Also, not to speak of them prematurely. I only mention this (privately), because I do think a better era in charity may be inaugurated by your book and most of all by your *work*. Believe me,

ever yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Source: Note in response to a letter by Elizabeth Eastlake, Add Mss 45801 f5

[ca. April 1868]

Want of earnestness; v[ide] Lady Eastlake.¹⁶⁰ The lady philanthropists who do the odds and ends of charity especially in the country, all wanting in earnestness all deteriorate on doing their charity, as you would expect. It is a kind of conscience quieter, a soothing syrup. They take no pains to do it (or anything) *as well as it can be done as a work*. And the consequence is a degeneration of their quality of character under it.

160 This seems to have been written in reaction to a letter 8 April 1868, Add Mss 45801 ff6-7.

Source: Note to Dr Sutherland, Add Mss 45753 f247

[May 1869]

This is one of the Queen's maids of honour [Hon Lucy Kerr]. She wrote me these two letters and I did not answer. Then I answered saying that I subscribed to no institution except on condition of having *no* vote, that I could not send her any "trash" for her bazaar, but that I sent her £5, and all the time, paper and stamps might be saved by people making the same rule as I do. Then the poor thing wrote me this letter. I think one ought to answer this (she may have a fit of delirium tremens) pointing out that because she "always *will* work," she can do much better work and not waste herself on canvassing and bazaaring, which destroys her nerves and does no good.

I keep to my rule: I will subscribe to no institution except on condition of having *no* vote. I will have nothing to do with anybody who wastes the time God has given them on bazaars.

Source: Note to Jowett on charity and law, Add Mss 45784 ff70-72

26 March 1872

Do not you think it curious that this about the "organization" of charity should be so cleverly put and yet the writer not go one step further and say but the "actual contact of giver and receiver" *is* the only true charity. Only it must be exercised wisely, i.e., not money must be "given" but the influence and training to enable even drunkards and imbeciles to help themselves. This *can* only be done by personal "contact," influence, feeling, *wise* feeling acting upon the "receiver" from the "giver." No "society," no "organized charity," *can* do this. *Without* this, however, "charity" is nothing.

Miss T: the home for drinking laundresses to go farther, to do something, more than *not* giving.

Society has given vagrants the habit of not working. I cannot but think it is [a] waste of time to inquire after a formula which, as you say yourself, men will not accept unless they believed it already, and which makes no impression either on those who do or don't accept it. The formula you are seeking after appears to be law leading every individual to never-ending progress—hence infer character of Law-Giver. Well then, leave searching for the formula for the present, which is at present quite formless, and show the "*facts*" that law is leading, etc., or the "*paths*" by which law will lead. Give details, the smallest most unimportant (apparently) detail is better than the perpetual reiteration of a question. Leave searching for the formula for the present. A

formula is utterly valueless except as a registration of *facts, facts* previously made known to and acknowledged by those who are to accept the *formula*.

Where all the *facts* are *acknowledged*, [a] formula may be then made and is useful. But to make a *formula* before your facts is really putting the cart before the horse. It is exactly what all dogmatic religionists have done. It is what Darwinism has done. It is like putting down figures which represent no quantity, nothing, at least nothing known to the reader. The “*path*” of the moon is represented by an equation which fills half an octavo page. But if you were to put that down before a person who knows nothing of the path of the moon, it would tell him nothing. So with the “*paths*” of law. Unless you give some of the “*paths*” of law, the formula (even if true as the equation is true) tells nothing.

Source: “Voting Charities,” *Times* 4 November 1878:10 [Letter to Sir Sydney H. Waterlow, lord mayor of London, Mansion House]

3 October 1878

Dear Sir Sydney Waterlow

I am very much pleased to find that you have been bold enough to invite public discussion in reference to the present system of electing candidates for what are known as the great voting charities of this country. It is an arduous undertaking. In none more do I wish you “Godspeed” and in none more do I believe you will succeed. You have to consider, for one thing, the great nuisance of the present mode of electing candidates. My experience of it induces me to describe it as the best system for electing the least eligible, or at any rate the system for preventing the discovery of the most eligible. There is truly a traffic in votes, and I cannot but conclude that many contributors sell theirs, from the request applications I have not to sell mine, but to give money to buy those belonging to other people. I will add that for many years my experience has been such as at length to compel me to decline contributing to any charity which elects by votes the poor who are to benefit by it. In more than one instance the managers of charitable institutions have insisted on keeping my name on the list of subscribers without my subscribing. I was once informed upon withdrawing my name that “my name was worth more than my money,” and the consequence is my poor name still figures on their list of subscribers.

As to the evil, one scarcely knows whether it is greater to the canvasser or the canvassed, to the canvasser in absorbing talent, time, money

and energy which might go to relieve a legion of sufferers, or to the canvassed in that they who want charity most get the least. Permit me one illustration: a lady of noble name and power of work once gave me the story of her exertions in the canvassing line. She worked for six weeks twelve to thirteen hours each day, 180 letters the task for nearly every day, about thirty pounds the expense to herself of each canvass, and a nervous fever at the close of the election! Upon my expression of astonishment that so much power to do good should have been thus wasted she added, "These things have ruined my health for life."

One more illustration of an evil system. I have lately been consulted about a proposed charity where the poor applicants will have to subscribe, but the annuity promised will still remain with the vote of the rich, and this is to be done on the ground that otherwise the rich will not contribute! How ingrained must be our gambling propensities! Wishing you again "Godspeed" in the work you have undertaken I remain,

faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale

Source: From a letter to Margaret Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9015/17

10 February 1895

The distress over the country with our unthrifty habits seems appalling. I receive cries for help from people I cannot refuse, including the Lea Hurst agent, who says the quarrymen are another industry out of work.

Bosnian Refugee Relief

Editor: Ethnic and religious wars, prompting massive flights of refugees, occurred in the late nineteenth century as they did before then and do now. Nightingale was peripherally involved in assisting the victims of several. She gave considerable help to Adeline Paulina Irby on Bosnian relief, the first set of material. She also wrote a public letter to aid fundraising for Bulgarian refugees, the second item. A third relates only a tactical decision not to make a public appeal at the time, with regard to Greek victims. Nightingale also lent her name (and gave money) to aid the victims of the siege of Paris in the Franco-Prussian War, which material is reported in a later volume on war. Nightingale was involved also in a petition by women on Bulgarian refugees.¹⁶¹

161 Letter to Alice Bonham Carter 21 September 1876, Hampshire Record Office 94M72/F585/7.

Nightingale greatly admired Miss Irby (see the biographical sketch below) for her courage and forthright action, but she was perpetually frustrated by her lack of attention to facts and inability to make the most effective case possible. The documents that follow, in chronological order, include Nightingale's letters to her cousin Shore and his wife Louisa, who were on a committee which supported the relief work, correspondence with Irby herself, revisions of a fundraising brochure for Irby and an Irby letter to the *Times*, submitted by Nightingale.

Nightingale was sorely tried throughout this work, removing errors and sloppiness of expression (don't call children orphans when they have mothers; get concrete examples with precise numbers). She insisted on powerful, evocative language ("fugitives" for "people," "gutter children" and "waifs" for "children"). A letter she wrote for a public fundraising event used very strong language—it was for a good cause.

Nightingale was interested in the broader strategic issues as well as the desperate conditions of the refugees. The old hostilities of the Crimean War (Turkey versus Russia) reappear here with the Muslim-Christian sides. The persecuted minority in this Bosnian refugee crisis, however, was the Christian minority, unlike the case in the late twentieth century.

Nightingale sent Irby's material to Gladstone to try to interest him in the cause. He indeed wrote the preface to a book co-authored by Irby.¹⁶² Nightingale wrote Gladstone on behalf of Irby's work, enclosing a copy of a letter (see p 442 below).

Source: Letter, Wellcome Institute (Claydon copy) Ms 9006/166

Lea Hurst

21 August 1875

My dear Sir Harry [Verney]

. . . You ask about Miss Irby: I heard from her this morning, date "Alt. Gradishte" (a station on the Save, three hours' short of Brood). They left this place and drove 4 1/2 hours to Banjaluka (the largest town in Bosnia after Sarajevo) intending to go that way to Sarajevo on their "recruiting expedition," but returned to Gradishte after a profitable two days at B. from prudence, whether before soldiers in Khans, fleas, bad roads or heat. Soldiers being moved out of Bosnia to the Herzegovina of course are, by this time, please God, at Sarajevo via

162 G. Muir MacKenzie and A.P. Irby, *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe*.

Brood by steamer and then mail cart to Sarajevo—hope still to do the “recruiting journey” in the heart of the country (stopping to *talk to the people*) from Sarajevo.

Got promises of girls from B. during their visit there, also from Turkish Gradiste where they spent an afternoon with an “intelligent young Bosnian,” who had been a “leader of refugees.” Doubtful of course whether, if Muslim Bosnians’ fanaticism roused, the Sarajevo School girls must not be removed *for a time* to Belgrade and placed there under the care of the Archbishop (a “saint”) and other Serb friends to attend the Higher Girls’ School in Belgrade (very good), letting the Sarajevo schoolhouse to a consul for the time.

No reason for present anxiety: Bosnia quiet. Christians can attempt nothing; *after* possible Turkish reverses, *might* be some outburst, some-time hence, of Muslim fanaticism. “Nothing can happen at Sarajevo at present.” If Turks left alone to settle Herzegovinian revolt “the Christians will *very slowly succeed*”?? and Sarajevo, centre of Turkish power, be safe for some time.” This is the gist of her letter. . . .

ever yours affectionately

F.N.

Source: Letter/draft/copy, ADD Mss 45795 ff38-39

35 S. St.

31 January 1876

My dear Shore and Louisa [William and Louisa Shore Smith]

I return the *Daily News* and *Times* advertisements as you desire with many thanks. I scarcely know what to say in answer to your question. The *Daily News* letter is but a “pot pourri” and abridgement of four letters I have had from her, only one of which I sent you, just because they were not only not calculated to bring in money, but were calculated *not* to bring in money. The only sentence in the *Daily News* letter therefore that could possibly be used is, I think, the following: “It is always the same story, they have been obliged to fly for their lives, their houses have been burnt, they will never dare to go back again while the Turks are there.” (With her, all *facts*, all *work*—do they not run into *discussion*?) This is just what in England is “intolerable” (to use one of her words).

If I were you, I should write to her exactly what you have written to me, and *beg* her to send you some facts. In the meantime I will carefully search the Herzegovinian and Bosnian letters in the *Times*, which are often admirable, and give just what her letters do not for *headings*

for your advertisement: from today's *Times* I adapt the following: "*the slow process of raising the 'young' from their present level . . . and teaching them to work for themselves x x is quite as necessary as, and is in fact, the surest way of reaping the full benefit of x x reforms in the disturbed provinces.*" Or "To teach the 'young' Bosniaks¹⁶³ that there is such a thing as hard work and implicit obedience, not prompted by fear or immediate advantage" x x may be done "by dint of perseverance, abnegation and self-sacrifice."

Or: "*Orphanages for the reception of the wretched children, the unclaimed waifs and strays of infant humanity, so numerous always*" in northwest Bosnia, and now decoupled by the insurrection, are the first necessity. Or: "*The present social state of Bosnia needs civilizing influences undreamt of in other parts of Europe and parallels of which can only be found by going back to the beginning of the Middle Ages.*" Christian children are steeped in ignorance and wretchedness, intensified now by war and exile. x x They do not know how to bake proper bread, nor how to make cheese or beer." Or: "*Gutter children,*" mostly belonging to the subject (Christian) race, even in the best times, as plentiful in the wilds of Bosnia as in London, now driven out, *wretched waifs and strays, belonging to no one*, are swarming on the northwest frontier of Bosnia, and cry out to be saved, civilized, educated and turned into *useful men and women, future industrious inhabitants for their own country.* If you use any, for the *Times*, I should put in "*Extract from the Times,*" whether it is or not.

Miss Irby: I think you have been so good to her about her advertisements. Please let me pay for any more.

F.N.

Source: Letter/draft/copy, ADD Mss 45795 ff40-41

35 S. Street

1 February 1876

My dear Shore and Louisa [William and Louisa Shore Smith]

See Miss Irby's letter in the *Times* of today, far away the best I have seen of hers,¹⁶⁴ in spite of her little eccentricities scaring away money and her second-hand information, which has nothing to do with the subject. I think the account of the *forty sleeping round the fire*, and the

¹⁶³ Bosniaks were Muslim Bosnians.

¹⁶⁴ Letter to the *Times* 1 February 1876. It is indeed a straightforward account of the suffering of the Bosnian refugees, with a brief note of the limited aid given and a request for support.

fugitives more than doubling the inhabitants, is effective. I wish she would tell us more about the *smallpox* and *typhus*, the type of *starving overcrowding*. But I hope now that we have done with the sugarplums and blankets (I am so thankful they are all given away)—sugarplums abbreviated by the *Daily News* into *sugar*. We shall do very well. (The famous *zadruga* seems to be nothing but a horrible pigging of several families in one room as in the London slums.)

I wish we could have induced her to give up the word *orphans* in her title (I did try) and substitute the word “gutter children” or “waifs” or something to that effect. You observe that we have never heard but of one family of *orphans* (and that with a *mother*), which has done duty four times. And that family has disappeared and never been seen but by *somebody*. (It is like the house of which only two doors would shut, and those two would not open, and one had a ghost living behind it.) I think we must get the word “*gutter children*” or *waifs and strays* into one of your *advertisement headings*. *There ARE no orphans*, or at least we don’t hear of any. Excuse scrawl (much worse than hers).

ever yours

F.N.

I think her letters are so the reverse of anything dressed up for a *canvass* that they must attract people, if only by that, if read at all. If only we could get a few telling facts about children and smallpox, etc.

Source: “Bosnian Fugitives,” *Times* 13 March 1876:10 (ellipses in the article)

Miss Florence Nightingale asks us to publish the following extracts from a letter she has received from Miss A. Paulina Irby: Pakratz, in Slavonia [received] 29 February 1876.

I return from a long day’s work just in time to tell you that we are starting two schools for Bosnian children in two villages in this neighbourhood. One will be taught by a poor crippled but very clever Bosnian, himself a fugitive, and who has been three years schoolmaster in Bosnia, the very man we have been looking for to teach the fugitive children. He was brought to us by a Bosnian exile who has lived in Serbia since 1861, a fine tall man with a very striking countenance, and what the old Serb song describes as the “glad bright eye of heroes.” There are 161 Bosnian children under twelve in this village, Kukonevab, where the crippled schoolmaster is to teach, and other children in the neighbourhood. The arrangements for the second school are somewhat similar. We are trying to form others and expect to succeed. Two thousand five hundred more fugitives have arrived on

the Croatian military frontier since 1 February. They have been horribly persecuted and say they would rather drown in the Unna River than go back under the present rule in Bosnia. In this neighbourhood they will be able to get a little work in spring and summer. . . .

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

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

(2) The driver whom we engaged to take us to Posega was a Bosnian who came over seventeen years ago with his father, mother and brother. The two young men have been so industrious that they have

been able to buy a little house and a piece of land for 1000 gulden paid down. In spring Bosnians may earn sometimes fifty to eighty kreutzers a day. (3) A family of five brothers, all married, living in a “zadruga.” (4) Two Bosnian families came last autumn, [were] allowed to occupy a wretched little hut used in the vintage: a man and his wife, with three children. They get nothing from the Austrian government; he earns fifty kreutzers a day cutting wood. The other family, a widow with five children; she receives the allowance and can earn nothing. We have given them shirts and shifts and linen . . .

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

The relations and friends with whom the orphans starve cannot bear to let them go among strangers. The Bosnians are, as a rule, kind to orphan children, who become the children of the community. Every community has its “elder,” even in this exile, who has a voice in the disposal of the orphans. But in these evil days the number of poor little Bosnian “waifs and strays,” of “gutter children,” is said, on good authority, almost to pass belief. I calculate that the expenses of board, lodging, clothing and schooling for a child on this frontier will be about £10 per annum.

The following statement is given by Miss Irby of the way in which she has applied personally, through all the villages named, a part of the funds so generously entrusted to her up to 24 February 1876: [the amounts and for what spent are spelled out, including linen, shoes for children, corn, lodging]. Subscriptions will be received for the relief of the suffering Bosnians by Messrs Twining, 215 Strand.

Source: Unsigned letter/draft/copy, ADD Mss 45795 ff80-82

15 May 1876

Miss Irby

Dear Shore and Louisa [William and Louisa Shore Smith]

I have ventured to put the *heading for advertisement* as I should suggest it. It is impossible to let her go on putting “linen” when it is *not* linen and when English people have no idea of what she means. I should sign with *both their names and Christian names and date and address at full length, both advertisement and circular*, but *most certainly cir-*

cular. (The *London* address confuses subscribers.) I have corrected *one circular* up to *present information: seven schools, etc., top of page 4*.

Do you think we might venture to put in the *Salonica murder*? It is now a matter of history. (If the consuls had devoted themselves to being murdered on purpose for the cause they could not have done a wiser or more timely thing.)

Bottom of page 3, do you object to the *italics*? I do not think I can do more without seeing the *manuscript* from which this was printed. It makes revision so much more easy and thorough. Is the "Great Zupan" right? I should like to see a revise of this with my corrected proof, if you adopt any of my suggestions.

How nobly they are working!

Editor: Nightingale's detailed work towards the production of a good circular can be seen in the exchanges between her and Irby, and in the proofs she corrected. This lengthy material has been confined to the electronic text, an early draft, Add Mss 45795 ff86-91 and the corrected proofs ff92-93. Nightingale insisted that a specific account be given of the different places where relief had been distributed and that it be made clear that the directresses always paid "their own expenses and more" (f91). She made the language simpler and more direct (present tense replacing past, removing "and it is not improbable, "fugitives" replacing "people," **destitute** replacing "very poor"), dropped inconsequential points, stressed the basics (**actually** starving), showed what the people were doing to help themselves (**we are getting flaxseed for the women to sow**). She was careful to ensure that both sides of the issue were expressed: the desperate condition of the people (**urgent entreaties** coming in from districts not yet helped, **no more money to hand**) (f93), and the positive accomplishments of the relief work: schools were being established, supplies being given to refugees.

Nightingale wanted it to be clear that in this conflict the Christians were the persecuted and they needed help from fellow Christians. She approved of using material from the popular historian Edward Freeman: "We ask it of Christians, as they would have given help to men flying from pagan persecution; we ask it of Englishmen, as they would have given help to the sick and wounded of Senlac and Evesham."¹⁶⁵

165 From a published letter by Edward Freeman (1823-93), Add Mss 45795 f93. Senlac and Evesham were battles on English soil.

Yet in describing the armed Muslim population she substituted “exasperated” for “infuriated” (f89).

Source: Letter/draft/copy, written on a letter from Lewis Evans, secretary of Irby’s association, ADD Mss 45795 f82

19 May 1876

5:00 A.M.

Miss Irby

My dear Shore and Louisa [William and Louisa Shore Smith]

This is the way I should correct the last proof, but I don’t think any of the corrections very important (if you do not), *except* the insertion of the *only* precise and *complete fact* she has ever given us: *the number 45,946 on the military frontier* and a *tr.* at the *bottom of page 4*. (I think *speed* now more important than anything else.) I will gladly *look at the revise again* before printing off, *for fear of misprint in number*.

yours ever

F.N.

Source: Letter/draft/copy, ADD Mss 45795 f95

23 May 1876

My dear Shore and Louisa [William and Louisa Shore Smith]

This *is* hard upon you and me; to correct other people’s papers is always the most exhausting and lengthy of all business. (I could have written half my Indian book in the time I have given to Miss Irby’s circulars and advertisements, and written the same 100 times over.)

I do not think the present circular bad, *but neither is it good* and it is quite out of date. He *should* wait for Miss Irby’s own circular. [further instructions here] I should simply tell him *that you will send him Miss Irby’s new circular in a day or two, where he will find all he wants and return him his own*, on which I have made some *notes*. You cannot be worried in this way. It gives me a spasm at the heart.

F.N.

Source: From an unpublished (later destroyed) letter read at a public meeting 16 August 1876, under the presidency of the Earl of Harrowby, in Dorothy Anderson, *Miss Irby and Her Friends* 124

Good cheer to your efforts to help the sick and wounded of both sides, and bring them hospital and medical necessities and comforts too, I hope, in this heart-rending war—a war for a cause as intensely interesting as the cause of most wars is uninteresting—a war which will, please God, at last, bring freedom, the safety and blessings of home,

of industry, of progress—all that Englishmen and Englishwomen and English children most prize.

And let every English child give its mite¹⁶⁶ to what are now the Valleys of the Shadow of Death.¹⁶⁷ But for this to “execute righteousness and judgment for all the oppressed”¹⁶⁸ we must help “righteously” the sufferers on all sides. So Godspeed the “Eastern War Sick and Wounded Relief Fund.” With £10 10s, and I wish it were 100 times as much.

Source: Letter from A.P. Irby with Nightingale’s introduction and additions, ADD MSS 45795 f97

Pakratz

29 August [1876]

Dear Louisa [Shore Smith]

Would you be so very kind as to forward this letter (enclosed) to Mr *Steinthal*, with a *new circular*. Mr Steinthal is a leading Unitarian minister and philanthropist, but I forget his initials and whether he lives at Birmingham or Liverpool. I think you, or some of your people, without doubt, know him personally. (Don’t take any trouble about it.)

[Irby] We leave Pakratz on 9 or 10 June. We shall go to visit a place or two on the Croatian frontier. Please direct Poste Restante Agram [now Zagreb].

Will you soon kindly repeat *the advertisement with eight instead of seven schools*. We had to take in another child, too, this [illeg] an orphan whose father was murdered by Turks and whose uncle, a brave crusader has been in Pakratz hospital wounded. We are beset with applications for help, most of them from ragged and starving petitioners. We had some groups photographed yesterday.

Tomorrow we go on expedition to establish an *eighth* school in a VILLAGE in the hills/FN: **Oh where? What “village”? Name, name/** and visit two others.

The Serbs are well pleased with England’s conduct as regards the second advertisement of Andrassy *shams* and they hope to find England their friend at least not hindering and hampering their own efforts./FN: **This is surely not a *sham*; it is throwing Turkey into the arms of her fate and the name of that fate is Russia. The Sultan’s**

166 An allusion to Mark 12:42.

167 An allusion to Ps 23:4.

168 A paraphrase of Jer 22:3.

depositions has stopped this./ Would you show Florence the enclosed from Mr Freeman (I wrote to thank him for the *Pall Mall* [*Gazette*] using his letter embodying my information).

ever yours affectionately

A.P. Irby

Source: Letter with envelope, Add Mss 45795 f105

35 S. St.

4 April 1878

Dearest Louisa [Shore Smith]

I have had at last a full account from Miss Irby of all her works (they *are* wonderful) almost too late. I will send it to you as soon as I have thought what best to do with it for the cause. May God avert this dreadful cloud of war! I am almost afraid it is too late for people to give money to *her* sick and starving—they will say “*we* shall want it all ourselves.” . . .

yours ever

F.N.

Source: Letter/draft/copy, Add Mss 45795 f122

18 February 1879

Dearest [Louisa Shore Smith]

I really hardly know what to say. I understood that Miss Irby’s circular was *not* a “commission,” but that it expressly *was* to be altered by you. (I don’t think anything short of our alterations would do.) It has so few facts that, as Miss P. says, a “much shorter” appeal would do better. As to the request about the *Daily News*, I believe that Parliament’s meeting, Zulu Wars, etc., do *not* make much difference in Scotland or perhaps Manchester, etc. But I don’t believe that, at this moment, either the *Times* or the *Daily News* would put in *any* letter. (Had she sent us the facts, as we implored her, six weeks ago, I would have done it.) (I was shown a letter yesterday from a special correspondent of the *Times*, an officer of high military rank, sent out at an enormous expense to India, saying that “*his* letters would not be *put in*” because of Parliament’s meeting.)

What do you propose to do? I hardly know what to advise—I have no doubt Miss Peddic is right about Miss Irby’s circular being *too long* and not to the purpose. . . .

F.N.

Bulgarian Refugees

Editor: Nightingale gave her public support also for the relief of Bulgarian refugees, the victims of Turkish aggression, drawing a comparison with the situation in Bosnia described immediately above.

Source: Letter, British Library RP 3597(ii)

26 September 1876

Memorial to the Queen

Madam [Miss F.E. Albert]

It is with the deepest sympathy and interest that I hear of your and every effort for attaining the release of these young and struggling nations, Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, from misery unspeakable, and setting them free to work their own way to order and progress. My poor little personal efforts do but lie in other ways to the same end. I wish you and others "Godspeed" with all my heart and soul.

Allow me to thank you for your kindness in wishing to bring me the enclosed Form of the Memorial yourself. I am too ill to see any strangers, unhappily for me, and I am not now in London. I beg to remain, Madam,

your faithful and obliged servant
Florence Nightingale

Source: Nightingale letter to the *Times* 18 September 1876:6 [with a cheque for £10 for the relief of Bulgarian refugees]

15 September 1876

Godspeed Sir John Bennett in collecting help for these innocent Bulgarians, martyrs of a persecution like which there has nothing been seen in Europe since the persecution of the Christians under a Roman emperor whose name was cruelty. In the midst of their rose-garden industry their women and children are all at once attacked and butchered with never-to-be forgotten horrors of wars. Their valleys, beautiful as our own Derbyshire valleys, where every stream once turned its mills, are laid waste into literally "howling wildernesses."¹⁶⁹ Their very means of life are gone—burnt, pillaged, destroyed, and this in a country in which if in education it has not yet raised itself to a level with the West, American missionaries had but to plant schools; at once these spread and multiplied a hundredfold¹⁷⁰ in the people's own

¹⁶⁹ An allusion to Deut 32:10.

¹⁷⁰ An allusion to Matt 19:29.

hands. These schools, these particularly, are all destroyed, the mistresses and masters tortured, girls sold into slavery. I say that a poor little country which could do so much in fifteen years under such a brute force of a government—a government to which one has to pay tribute not to be burnt, plundered or murdered—is itself not only struggling into our Western life, but up to the highest level of civilization.

To this country, thus bravely, industriously struggling into life comes the brute vile rapine with nameless crimes. Some tell us the same things are to be in Serbia. Already, already they are there in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in a chronic state, intolerably aggravated now. Oh let us help them back to the struggle into life! Let us, who have everything they have lost: homes, schools, security, good government, independence, freedom to worship God, show how we value these by giving each one our mite to help them to help themselves.

Florence Nightingale

Source: Unsigned letter/draft/copy, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9007/61

35 South St.

Park Lane

London W.

18 October 1876

For the relief of the *Bulgarians*: £40

Florence Nightingale ventures to solicit Mr James Long¹⁷¹ to apply to the relief of the houseless Bulgarians this sum of £40 (forty pounds) being £29 collected at *Kelvedon, Essex* (transmitted by Messrs Mills and Co. of Witham, through Florence Nightingale. (Should there be any acknowledgments advertised, they beg that it may be acknowledged in this way) £11 from F.N., £40.

In troubling Mr Long in this way, F.N. cannot help wishing to express how warmly she sympathizes with his wise and noble exertions for the relief of these thrice unfortunates (in the most terrible catastrophe in Europe of this half-century) and in offering her poor little tribute of admiration, she prays her unceasing fervent prayers for Mr Long's complete success in relieving without pauperizing these poor people, in helping them to help themselves, or as Mr Long says, in setting them to work for wages.

May the Almighty Father's choicest blessings be with him and with them! If F.N. could come herself and help, how gladly she would do it,

171 Possibly Rev James Long, a Bengal missionary with whom Nightingale worked on Indian issues.

how she envies Mr Long (but she is herself overwhelmed with business *and illness*). If ever it can be of the slightest support to Mr Long in his arduous, most difficult labours, to know how he is accompanied at every step of his way by the most earnest prayers and good wishes from those who long that they could help him more, he may well take this comfort. If he could but know how we feel for him and with him, for them and with them, the poor unconscious martyrs!

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9007/105

9 May 1877

I hope that the “proceeds of the Duke of Westminster’s Concert” will not be “for the Bulgarians” alone but for all the Christian sufferers. To me it seems that the wretched starving victims on the Austrian and particularly on the Dalmatian frontier are those we can best help and those who want it most. I have a letter from Miss Irby dated Knin in which she describes the starvation, not decimating but leaving about a tenth alive, typhus and smallpox aiding, among the dwellers in the caves. They, Miss Irby and Co., had had £2000 more Indian corn (making £5000 worth in all) from Fuime but “what is that among so many?”¹⁷² I don’t think they, Miss Irby and Co., have much more money left, besides what is necessary for the schools. They were giving seed to the Bosnian mountaineers, also flax to these frugal and industrious fugitive mothers round Knin, bringing to them (not delight but at least) smiles to their weary faces. This flax was already worked up into clothes.

It is horrible even to think of the sweep by death and slow starvation among the children.

yours affectionately

F. Nightingale

Famine in Greece

Editor: Nightingale had evidently been approached by her friend Charles Bracebridge about writing a letter to the *Times* about famine in Greece, especially Crete (she had travelled in Greece with the Bracebridges, who owned property and spent time there). On this occasion, however, she did not think it useful to write.

¹⁷² An allusion to John 6:9.

Source: From a typed copy of letter, Add Mss 43397 ff198-99

28 January 1867

Dear Mr Bracebridge

I return you this very interesting letter. I have not done anything yet about writing to the *Times* as you suggested. Before I had that suggestion, the famine in Orissa—I mean in London—had begun and the Anglo-Greek committee *here* had advertised that they had money enough to last “till 6 March.” I am quite sure that at *this* moment, it would be no use my writing to the *Times*. If, at the end of February, or the beginning of March, *our* famine has subsided, that time being the time indicated by the Anglo-Greek Committee here for themselves, it might be useful.

What *I* hear people say is: We don’t know that the Greek government is better than the Turkish, we don’t know that George is better than Otto¹⁷³ and we more than suspect that all this Cretan insurrection is stirred up by the Greek government. One man threw in my teeth that the rich Greek merchants in England might buy up the whole island of Crete, if they would.

173 George I, King of Greece and successor to Otto I (1815-67), the Bavarian prince brought in to be King after the Ottoman occupation was ended, and who abdicated in 1861 (see *European Travels* for Nightingale’s scathing accounts of him).

POLITICS: ESSAYS, NOTES AND LETTERS

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GOVERNMENT, PUBLIC POLICY AND ELECTIONS

“Politics and Public Administration”

The essay “Politics and Public Administration” was never published and was perhaps never intended to be. In excellent, amusing Nightingale style, it contains an odd assortment of points, including substantive comments on Army reorganization, colonial policy and disparities in wealth by social class, and such matters of political process as the management of Cabinet and the role of the Opposition. At the beginning we see Nightingale looking back as an old hand to the good old days when *we* got things done, in contrast with the talkers and slackers of today who do not (see p 282 below). This was a point she made in a number of places, including in a published article in 1873 in *Fraser’s Magazine* (in *Theology* 3:42-44). Sidney Herbert’s admirable vision, and his more enlightened views about Cabinet responsibility, are given for comparison.

In this essay Nightingale asked some cogent questions about the role of *models* in the formulation of public policy. Elsewhere she used the sociological term *ideal type*, here the more common *type*. Can we move forward without a model of what we are aiming at? What model does the prime minister, war minister, colonial minister have? The model, of course, should come from God in Nightingale’s understanding. Alas, political leaders seemed rather to think of God like a charitable society, “doing a little good to this individual and to that and not a little harm,” yet without “bringing people out of pauperism and dependence into independence and self-support” (see p 284 below). The colonial minister saw himself merely as the member whose job it was “to grease the Cabinet’s measures” through the House of Commons or Lords (see p 289 below). Ministers generally seemed to be concerned more with how long they would stay in government and how they would

manage the press than of “what England may become” (see p 283 below). “The real question is whether ministers are not now completely losing sight of the idea that they are to have any policy at all ‘as one great whole to be submitted to the country and accepted or rejected by the country,’ ” as Sidney Herbert had put it (see p 288 below).

Nightingale urged that ministers be left in place long enough to acquire expertise and then make use of it in their field. She decried the practice of moving a minister for doing well, as a promotion, just when he was doing good work that should be furthered. This is consistent with her view that persons in responsible positions should have sufficient authority to carry out whatever their program was, whether as commander-in-chief, war minister or matron of a hospital. She was never keen on the role of the Opposition in Parliament, so keen was she to get things done. In the example with which she was dealing here, Army reorganization legislation, she thought the Opposition’s position was worse than the government’s, which was itself sadly misguided (see p 285 below). She was confident that expertise counted: “the paramount authority will always be the authority who knows most of the business” (see p 288 below), not the person who had the title, so that commanders-in-chief ran ministers of war who were technically their subordinates.

Nightingale dealt briefly with Britain’s lack of colonial policy. There is very little anywhere in her writing about what would be *desirable* colonial policy, for India, the dominions or colonies. Here at least we see her argument that the colonies should be put on their feet before being cast adrift (see p 288 below). As to whether or not Britain should ever have become an imperial power in the first place there is not a word here or anywhere else. The essay contains a succinct statement of the laws of political economy being as immutable as the laws of [physical] nature, that is, “if really discovered” (see p 284 below). Nightingale then went through key items of social policy based on the teachings of the political economy school: the workhouse test, which “probably has made more paupers than anything else,” instead of deterring pauperism, and the theory that supply and demand match each other, “which made the Orissa famine possible” in India. She also criticized the prevailing theories on emigration and habitual criminals. The Orissa famine, in India, she noted had happened “under our ‘enlightened’ rule” (see p 284 below). The points on the workhouse test and emigration appeared also in her “Pauperism” paper above; now similar points are made regarding India.

Nightingale mused on her own role in public policy. As the “oldest inhabitant of the War Office,” she could take it upon herself to coach MPs, write and publish on the specifics of legislation before the House of Commons (see p 286 below). She decided against this because she did not have, in 1871, sufficient command of the relevant data, as she had had in the early years after the Crimean War. “One ought to be either wholly in the movement or wholly outside of it” (see p 286 below). This is entirely characteristic of Nightingale. Her *modus operandi* was always to base policy statements on the best data available, and if they were not good enough to collect her own. Nightingale was the consummate backroom operator and the observations that follow have the ring of authenticity, not least of all for the tone of frustration.

Source: Essay, “Politics and Public Administration,” ADD Mss 45843 ff26, 29-45

[after 12 May 1871]

Were I satisfied with that “most disagreeable kind of responsibility—that for opinions and not *acts*”—I could have just as much of that as I chose, and a great deal more than I am able for. And could go on here till the end of my life, fancying that I was doing a great deal of good and that I was a great administrative if not political authority. For example, House of Commons men would be glad that I should give them my experience for them to make speeches about the Army Regulation Bill, chiefs of departments, royal commissions about other measures. But I should be useless in this; I am entirely unfitted for it.

In all the government work I have done, in both the royal commissions which I conducted, in Sidney Herbert’s five years (during those five years, Sidney Herbert came to me day by day and we organized every practical step together) of War Office work 1856-61, in Sir John Lawrence’s¹ Indian work, I have always been responsible for acts as well as for opinions, that is, I not only *got up* the data, statistical, administrative and practical, brought out the evidence and, except in one instance, wrote the reports, but I organized the standing commissions, departments or other mechanism which were to carry out the conclusions or recommendations or “opinions” when they were laid down. The reason why royal commissions are become a sham and a stone of offence is that they don’t do this. They simply report. . . .

1 Sir John Lawrence (1811-79), later Lord Lawrence, the first viceroy of India, a major ally in Nightingale’s India work.

Now it would be scarcely worthwhile to mention this as regarding only myself at all but for the great change come over the administration during the last ten years, this way of doing business, namely, the *opinions-and-not-the-acts* way becoming the rule and not the exception, that is, measures are considered only on paper, in debating, or in bills, and not at all as to any organization for administering them, considered as to how they will look in Parliament and in the press, and very little if at all as to how they will act. The change, namely, considering measures only on paper, only as regards the House of Commons and the newspapers, has reached its climax under present ministers. In these days of superficial discussion, everybody, even the Cabinet, is like a periodical or a magazine, that is, they *get up* a subject, whether a pauper or an ironclad, whether an Army or a colony, from reading, calling for reports and statistics, as people get up leading articles or periodical articles, and they call *that* administration. Ten years ago, we *did* the things people now talk about, write about, debate about, report about. That is, we debated and reported first and did them afterwards. Now people either do the things without the least gaining practical insight about them first or they debate and report *without* doing them afterwards.

To one who has worked for administrative reform as a matter of life and death, has given life and death in the cause, this chopping and changing, now the regular and admired habit of the English Cabinet, is inconceivable. To see a man because he has done well about paupers transferred to ironclads, keeping, too, part of his former work—as if the Navy were not enough to strain a man's whole energies and congratulated! because in the same week he proposes the Navy Estimates and the Local Taxation Bill, both in the magazine line—and this is called promotion!! that is, because one office is paid at £5000 and the other at £2000 a year. It was *impossible* (this is the Cabinet jargon) “to pass over so deserving and rising a man as Mr Goschen,” and a man as perfectly new to paupers was put to the paupers as Mr Goschen to ironclads (there being a man identified all his active life with free trade and the people's progress, also for years with the Poor Law Board and ignored). It is as if a Navy lieutenant who had commanded a gunboat well on the coast of Africa were made Regius Professor of Greek as promotion! As if because a man had made a dictionary he was therefore to be made archbishop, as if because a man was a good chemist he was to be made commander-in-chief. Nor is this invective.

To everybody really behind the scenes, to everybody really interested, if any such there are, in the administering of the Poor Law, the Indian, the military affairs of an empire, it is perfectly well known that the administration, if they still dare to call it by that name, of our affair *is* now exactly like the administration of the affairs of a periodical. A measure is got up on paper, without the least practical insight as to how it will work, but only as to how it will get through the House of Commons and the press. Such is the Army R. Bill of which more hereafter. Such I am told (but I carefully avoid knowing anything I am not obliged to know) is the Local Taxation Bill. What is the type before the Cabinet, before the House of Commons, of what England may become—of what English human nature may become? Have they any? Is it not merely how long they may *stay in*, for the Cabinet as a Cabinet, for the House of Commons as MPs, for the court, how they may manage the House of Commons, for the MPs how they may manage their constituents, for all how they may impose on the press. Oh for a pen like Pascal's² to tell the experience of the last ten years!

Can politics be carried on without a type? Can political economy? Must they be without further view than present exigency of time and country or than what can or cannot be done *now*? (In politics the very business of the Opposition is to harass and oppose the ministers and prevent their carrying their measures; we call it "our glorious constitution." And it is true: this *is* our "glorious constitution" now. For, without any type before us in politics, this *is* the only method of progress, namely, two parties, one calling itself Conservative, bidding against each other for the favour of the democracy, like two adventurers, two players at "brag," and so giving no household suffrage and the like.) There is a kind of vague belief that mankind goes on improving, that every generation is farther on than the last. There is, existing at the same time with the other, a vague belief that it is a kind of law that nations shall rise to a certain point and then fall, without any particular reason but that it is *a law* like "Assyria" like "Egypt," like "the Roman Empire," we are told. Many say that the "Latin races" and some that "England" is come to that point and must now decline.

England certainly does show some of the signs of national decline—immense wealth, immense poverty side by side, all in the minds of capitalists muddled together under the one name of "increasing national prosperity." What is the type of "national prosperity" in Mr

2 Blaise Pascal (1623-62), French philosopher and excellent writer.

Gladstone's mind, Mr Lowe's, Lord Overstone's?³ Is it our workhouses, our pauperism returns? Is it our national credit upon which we can borrow? *Have* they any type? Do they think God like a charitable society, doing a little good to this individual and to that and not a little harm, without any type in His mind as to bringing people out of pauperism and dependence into independence and self-support? That is the common notion of God.

That England *is* declining we cannot say. She showed symptoms of decline of a different kind, namely, political corruption and social vice, in the time of Sir Robert Walpole.⁴ Yet she righted herself. We only ask a question: what is the type of "national prosperity" in the minds of the half dozen men who really govern us? (Mr Morier says—I don't quite agree—"as absolutely as the Russian Czar the Russian muziks [peasants]"). Do we know what the type of England, of England and her colonies and her Indian empire ought to be? Do we suppose, for instance, that the present condition of pauperism by the side of great riches in England is always to last, always to be called by Lord O.'s "national prosperity"? Is that the type that English statesmen have before them? Has the English prime minister a type of what are the nature and destination of mankind, what of England, in his head?

The laws of political economy, if really discovered, are of course as immutable as the laws of nature. At present there is scarcely any extravagance which political economy is not made to father, for example, the workhouse test, which probably has made more paupers than anything else—the theory that supply and demand will always, under all circumstances, in all countries, answer to each other—which made the Orissa famine possible under our "enlightened rule," the theories against emigration. So too with criminal legislation, for example, the "Habitual Criminals Act," the only merit of which is that it *won't* work. We ask again what is the type in the prime minister's mind? For example, the Army Regulation Bill—the bill is not a bill, it is a picture without a back, a frame without a picture, a page, a voice and nothing besides or behind.

Ministers openly profess that it is a measure taken for what?—to provide the elementary condition of prosperity, namely, security, safety

3 Samuel Jones Lloyd (1796-1883), Lord Overstone, who wrote on money, banks and circulation.

4 Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745), Whig prime minister.

from foreign invasion for a great country, the most wealthy in the world, in the very best way which the Cabinet in charge of her can by their united wits, by exerting their faculties to the utmost, devise? Nothing of the kind. Cruelly quoting an expression of Sidney Herbert's about "panic" they openly profess, reiterate and actually proclaim that their policy is merely to meet a "panic," that they do not pretend to any other. Mr Cardwell⁵ does not pretend that he has exerted himself to produce a bill which in his deliberate judgment and that of the Cabinet shall constitute what *he* thinks a safe and sufficient Army. (They are quite above hypocrisy, that "homage" public "vice" pays to public "virtue.")⁶ They take pains to proclaim that this measure is in the people's "panic" point of view, in the Strangers' Gallery, approving leading article point of view, in view of the public "in front of the scene" who know nothing of the "monstrous perspective." To us behind the scenes who know, too, that Mr Cardwell is neither an "ass" nor an "idiot," it cannot but seem as if his Army Regulation Bill were merely for the House of Commons or the penny-a-liners.

Suppose the devil to be the bill's patron, suppose it his business to get the bill through—could he have done other for it than what he has done, namely, inspire the Opposition with motions and with arguments actually worse than the bill itself (the worst bill that ever was known), a true diabolical miracle surpassing all the annals of thaumaturgy [magic].

It is perfectly true that the so-called A.R. Bill, the pretended Army reorganization, is neither a reorganizing nor a regulating, it is merely a bill for the abolition of purchase. What is to be [in] place in the room of purchase? What are to be the principles on which selection for promotion is to be made? What are the tests, the trials, the operations, which are in time of peace to practice, to train, to develop and at the same time to test the capacities of officers in real tactics, real strategy, directing with success the operations and combinations with Subsidiary Services, etc., essential to an Army's very existence even for an hour in actual warfare? Which are to determine the minister's choice for promotion? If there are none, however honest the minister may be, his choice, his "selection" is mere caprice.

5 The Army Reorganization Bill sought to improve recruitment by introducing short service, i.e., six years instead of the previous twenty-one, and by creating second battalions to feed those abroad on a rotation basis. The House of Lords removed the section on the abolition of purchase.

6 François de La Rochefoucauld, *Maxims* no. 218.

Mr Cardwell has persistently refused to declare any plan. I am told that the “plan” is “confidential reports.” This *was* the plan on which was based the Army Medical Department’s promotions, and one of the first things done after the Crimean War was, through Sidney Herbert, to abolish it and put the promotions on a right footing. If “confidential reports” *are* Mr Cardwell’s plan, it is no wonder that he refuses to tell it. More probably he has none. If this *is* the way to govern a great country, if the strongest ministry of our times is not to advise, not to guide, not to lead, but to follow either the House of Commons or public opinion and simply to register popular feeling, to satisfy popular ignorance, to make a “scenic effect before the pit,” then the chief organ of public opinion, the *Times*, amply justifies them by the crass ignorance of its leading articles upon the Army. It authorizes the Cabinet to think anything will do for them.

Again, the Control Office, the Subsidiary Services, so bad are these that they would not be able to keep the regular troops in the field for a week. What is the use of “regulating” or reorganizing reserves, militia, volunteers, without Subsidiary Services? It would only be four crashes or collapses instead of one. (It was said quite coolly that though we might ask any sacrifices from the volunteers we could not ask from them this, to have operations in some wild part depending on the Control for Subsidiary Services, meaning that we could not ask them to let themselves be starved. Then comes the official jubilation that the Control Office has justified its high reputation and confounded its enemies by having actually been able to supply at only a few days’ notice at the distance of five whole miles from its base and from its stores at Aldershot 11,000 living men with—one whole meal (the men returning to Aldershot for supper). Is that anything but currying favour with the most ignorant of publics? What is the difference between that and demagoguing penny-a-lining?

Why do not you, F.N., the oldest inhabitant of the War Office, bring your experience to bear, by writing and publishing, by “coaching” MPs, etc., to prompt or to modify Army measures? My own conscience often asks F.N. the same. F.N.’s answer to my conscience always is that: “One ought to be either wholly in the movement or wholly outside of it” to do this, that “I cannot command *all* the data necessary to form an opinion” (in these go-ahead, changing marches of the world) “such as I would myself implicitly trust to, though I have means of getting at *many* data which others have not.” It was otherwise in the first five years after the Crimean War; I was then in possession of far more

experience and knowledge concerning the actual working of the Subsidiary Services of an Army in campaign than anyone else, not excepting the commander-in-chief. That was the reason why I could always enable S. Herbert to carry his measures against or rather *with* the Horse Guards, by knowing more than they did. Now the Horse Guards know more than the War Office. This increases year by year and will continue to increase (in spite of any declarations in Parliament). The conclusion of course is not to have a commander-in-chief who knows *less* than a war minister, who knows *nothing*, but to have a war minister who knows something. The reason why Lord de Grey⁷ did better than abler men at the War Office is that he did know something, having been under secretary of state for war (under S. Herbert and Sir George Lewis).

My third reason is this: the whole administrative policy which we initiated was based upon the presumption that there was a war minister, that he was and considered himself the head of the War Office administration, that the departments were to be organized each to be complete and independent in itself, each to be immediately responsible to and dependent on the war minister who is responsible to Parliament. (Two of these departments were already so organized at the time of S. Herbert's death.) Now there is no war minister, now he neither is nor professes to be head of the War Office administration. I cannot even profess to suggest regulations or an organization for such a state of things, how to regulate or organize such a state of things.

It is as if you were asked how to regulate a campaign without a commander-in-chief of the expedition, how to govern nurses without a matron, how to organize a monarchy without a monarch, a republic without a government. I am not likely to find fault with our commander-in-chief⁸ for I knew him and his doings in his best days, under S. Herbert. But I have no hesitation in saying what indeed he said himself that purchase, which *must* go if it is to be replaced by selection *without any system for testing the capacities of officers in the field*, in time of peace (no one can call "confidential reports" a system) is safer than selection, for selection will mean nothing but the caprices of two men, the commander-in-chief and the secretary of state for war, however

7 The 3rd Earl de Grey (1827-1909), later the 2nd Earl of Ripon and the 1st Marquess of Ripon; Nightingale lobbied to get him appointed secretary of state for war; he was later viceroy of India.

8 The Duke of Cambridge, cousin to Queen Victoria, was commander-in-chief of the Army, 1856-95.

honest they may be. (See what selection by “confidential reports” has come to in the hands of Louis Napoleon, who was at least honest in this, that his fate and his dynasty depended on his having a good Army.)

But this is not all. It is absolutely ludicrous, it is playing with us, for the war minister to proclaim and the House of Commons to believe, that the war minister is sole responsible and paramount and the commander-in-chief, his subordinate, when the war minister is changed (I have known him changed four times in twelve months in 1866), when he knows nothing of the business but is put in from the colonies, the Admiralty, the Post Mastership, as the case may be. The commander-in-chief is permanent, and besides the “best man of business in the Horse Guards and War Office put together,” as Sidney Herbert always said (and I entirely agree). Whatever may be said to impose on Parliament, the paramount authority will always be the authority who knows most of the business, whether at the Horse Guards or the War Office. This person exists at the Horse Guards and not at the War Office and is the Duke of Cambridge and not Mr Cardwell, nor Sir J.P.,⁹ nor Sir G. Lewis, nor Lord Hartington,¹⁰ nor Lord de Grey though Lord de Grey has been much the best war minister since Sidney Herbert except General Peel.¹¹

The like of what our administration now is “in upper quarters” I have not seen in the seventeen years that I have been “behind the scenes.” The war minister openly proclaims that it is the public and the public’s “panic” and not he or the real circumstances of the time which is to judge, to decide what the state of the Army is to be. Enough of my own position, which is not the real question. The real question is whether ministers are not now completely losing sight of the idea that they are to have any policy at all, “As one great whole to be submitted to the country and accepted or rejected by the country,” Sidney Herbert’s view of Cabinet. Sir Robert Peel seems sometimes to have meditated like Socrates.

That we have no colonial policy at all is too painfully evident. Mr Gladstone only wishes to cut the colonies adrift. If this is his policy,

9 Sir John Pakington (1799-1880).

10 Spencer Compton Cavendish (1833-1908), Lord Hartington, later the 8th Duke of Devonshire, secretary of state for war in 1866, then moved to other positions.

11 Jonathan Peel (1799-1879), brother of the former prime minister, Sir Robert Peel.

then the least he can do is to put them on their legs before they are cast off, or if they do not choose to be cast off to exact such conditions of them as shall be the price of our protection. One of these of course would be free trade. Another, no less essential for some of the Australian colonies, would be something of a Homestead Law, where the land quits like that by which the United States colonize themselves, namely, that each settler should have not more than -- acres, so that a village, roads, bridges, a school and churches speedily arise. A community is formed for mutual protection and civilization, instead of the vast runs and estates in Australia dividing one settler from another by hundreds of miles. At one time I used to have numerous letters from Australian English settlers, strangers to me, praying that England should exert her influence in favour of some line of this kind. Never, since the Duke of N[ewcastle]'s death,¹² have I known letters, referred to the Colonial Office, meet but with the most contemptuous reception. It was never: England ought to have a colonial policy, what shall it be? It was always abuse of these poor settlers for even daring to turn their eyes to England, daring to wish her to have a policy.

About other colonies: Sierra Leone and her water supply. Is not the Colonial Office just as bad as Treasury, the War Office or India Office? The colonial minister is and considers himself merely a member who is to grease the Cabinet's measures through the House of Lords or of Commons as the case may be, to be well spoken of in newspapers as a man of Parliamentary addresses, not at all as a man who is to have a policy and means of administering according to a policy the greatest colonial empire the world has seen. Does Mr Gladstone boldly put forth that England is to have no colonial policy at all but simply to keep up her overgrown trade and commerce and manufactures, limiting herself to "these islands" as her end as well as her starting point? In that case it is very inconsistent of him not to stipulate for free trade and a homestead measure as the price of our protection, if the colonies still wish to be protected.

It is asked: what *is* England's colonial policy? Friday's debate (12 May 1871) answers: Mr Knatchbull-Hugessen,¹³ on behalf of the Colonial

12 The 5th Duke of Newcastle (1811-64); in 1860 Nightingale persuaded him, then secretary of state for the colonies, to undertake a study of mortality in colonial schools and hospitals (see *Public Health Care*).

13 Edward Knatchbull-Hugessen (1829-93), then under secretary for the colonies.

Office, says: "The *policy* of the *British government* is to preserve a connection between the mother country and the colonies based on mutual good will and affection" (*based* on free trade and good means of colonization and a homestead law would have been more explicit). It is not to be supposed that we wish the "connection" to be "based" on *ill* will and *disaffection*. "If," he continues, the time should come when a "colony desired a separate existence, it was the aim of the Colonial Office"—what, to set the colony on its legs so that it should have a secure and prosperous "separate existence"? No such thing, of the poor colony's safety not one word. "It is the aim of the Colonial Office that we should part not without regret, but with a clear knowledge that no act of ours had led to the separation, etc." So that is the end and "aim" of England's "policy" with her colonies. Is this taken out of a farce (how well the English Molière caricatures official phrases!) or is it out of the report of a debate of the greatest representative assembly in the world on one of the greatest questions in the world?

The end of the debate is thus: "Mr B. Cochrane expressed his gratification at the tone of the official speech. Mr Greene made some observations on the Leeward Islands. And Mr Macfie withdrew his motion."¹⁴

Social Progress

Editor: It was essential for Nightingale's belief in the gradual perfecting of human life to be able to show concrete examples of moral or social progress. She recognized that the facts often looked otherwise, for example, the deterioration from the *great* French Revolution of 1789 to the Commune of 1871. As well, New York, founded by the "Puritans for . . . freedom to worship God," had since degenerated to the worship of Mammon and was as corrupt in its administration as any Old World papal or imperial state (see p 292 below). Spain, the home of the great explorers and religious innovators (St Teresa, Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier), was now nothing like it had been two centuries earlier (see p 293 below).

14 The motion was for a select committee to consider "whether any and what ameliorations should . . . be made in the relations between the U.K. and the colonies," toward the "permanent maintenance of the best and most cordial interconnection between all parts of the Empire."

For deterioration in England Nightingale began with the juxtaposition of “unexampled wealth” with slums, unemployment, physical incapacity, moral depravity, class interests and business corruption (example: the selling of polluted water to increase company dividends) (see p 293 below). She compared this with the moral level of the Puritans of Cromwell’s time, for whom “exile and imprisonment and torture were as nothing if they but kept their faith” (see p 293 below). Were there even *three persons* now “who believe anything *enough to die for it?*” To round out the picture she referred also to decline in Egypt, Rome, the Hindu and Buddhist races and religions (see pp 295-96 below).

Nor did Nightingale admit of easy solutions. She cited the example of Edward Denison, a wealthy young man, for a short time an MP, who not only started a school but went to live in the East End of London. He set out his list of needed public policy changes, which themselves would have cost a fair bit of money and effort (and certainly did not happen for a long time). But even the improved education and laws he advocated, he felt would not “spiritualize” the people (see p 294 below). In other words, even with substantial social reform, life for the many would remain paltry indeed.

In this short essay Nightingale gave only two examples of social progress, or “facts showing progressive righteousness in an increasing proportion of mankind” (see p 295 below). They were the abolition of the slave trade “in all civilized nations,” and the regeneration of Rome. This latter example even had the merit of irony, for the reforms were being brought about by the Piedmontese, the descendants of the Waldensians who had been burned at the stake for their (Protestant) beliefs—so these early persecuted Protestants were the means of regenerating “the very heart and core of papal corruption” (see p 296 below).

Nightingale had to believe that political progress was possible to justify her conceptualization of the perfect God bringing humankind to perfection. Evidently most of this progress was yet to come. It would require concerted work: the acquisition of knowledge as to the operation of God’s laws and appropriate intervention when those laws were discovered. She did not make much of a case for progress to date either here or in any other essay. In the “New Moral World” essay (*Theology* 3:156-62) she admitted that it was surprising that *any* progress was made at all, for it was haphazard, by accident, not by the application of knowledge.

Source: Essay, "Social Progress," Add Mss 45843 ff246-52

[1872]

These "facts," an "increasing proportion of mankind," "finding their satisfaction" in "progressive righteousness," "progressive righteousness of character and life in the race," "progress of the human race," everybody will say are not "facts." Everybody will point out such other facts as the following as contradicting or at least qualifying the above assertions, so much that some actual historical "facts" *must* be given as illustrations, if nothing more, of what the writer asserts. For example: France, after eighty years of revolution, produces an insurrection, that of the Commune, a mere parody of the great Revolution [of 1789], inspired as that was by really great principles, though disfigured with crime, inspired as this seems to have been by love of money, of ease, of self-indulgence, of idleness. A competent French writer on the Commune says [that] we do not know how much it was inspired by Balzac's¹⁵ novels!—whose heroes are all adventurers, obtain great political eminence, colossal fortunes, means for unbridled vice and pleasure and luxury, by the influence of women, some hocus-pocus, everything in fact but honest labour.

Another example, the greatest capital of the New World, New York, of that world founded by the old Puritans, for what? Freedom to worship God is now turned into freedom to worship Mammon. It is governed by a municipality whose shameless corruption, literally shameless—as they do not seem shocked at being found out—appears to surpass everything we have ever read of in the worst times of papal or imperial corruption in worn-out old states. Hear what a writer of their own says of them: "City credit suffering; highly placed officials charged openly with the most shameless peculations; revelations of corrupt expenditure without a parallel in the history of municipal government; corruption has invaded the very fountains of justice; plunderers of the city; so many pirates; the purchased judges who disgrace the New York bench, etc." Yet it appears now that all this is even short of the truth.

Another example, Spain, the greatest monarchy of the Middle Ages, whether for its liberties, in Castile and Aragon, whether for its enterprise in discovering new worlds, whether for the grandest religious

15 Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850), novelist and unsuccessful candidate for the Constituent Assembly in 1848.

names: Ignatius of Loyola,¹⁶ Francis Borgia,¹⁷ St John of the Cross,¹⁸ St Teresa,¹⁹ Francis Xavier.²⁰ What is it now? What has it been for the last two centuries?

Let us come nearer home: England is become “an unexampled accretion of wealth” AND there is a “degraded, squalid, miserable population” crowding the vast back slums of our large towns”; a “positive deterioration of our race”; “physical incapacity combined with moral depravity prevents the unemployed labour of the metropolis from being absorbed by the active demand of the North”; “brewers and distillers insisting upon furnishing unlimited supplies of intoxicating drink”; “water companies fighting for their dividends got by supplying foul water to destroy the people”; “class interests” everywhere opposing “insurmountable obstacles to any real social improvement.”

Can we say that this is a better moral state of things than in Cromwell’s times, for instance, cruel as those were? To this *we* should add, as more alarming than anything else, the “liberal” thinkers, the “reformers” of the present day, all with one accord preaching that mankind is “happy enough,” which, if it is so, is, as you say, *so much the worse*, these, the descendants! a *descent* indeed, we will not call them the successors, of men who thought nothing worth having but God! To whom exile and imprisonment and torture were as nothing if they but kept their “faith,” who, if they conceived that a great principle was committed to them, thought neither of labours or tasks, nor of disappointments, nor of mortifications, nor of tortures and struggles, if only they might be found worthy to keep that principle safe!

“There were men once who thought their lives a trifle compared to their creed.” Are there “three persons” now “who believe anything *enough to die for it*?” “Planted with tears and watered with blood and built up with lives,” is there any good, *not* material, that anyone cares enough for now to give “tears” and “blood” and “life” for—are there any whose life is a *long heroism* in defence of *any* faith, to whom “what they believe” is “the one important thing in the world,” which bears them through all these “deadly years” of “life,” to a time when that

16 Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556), founder of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits).

17 Francis Borgia (1510-72), third general of the Jesuit order.

18 Juan de Yepes (1542-91), known as John of the Cross, friend and disciple of Teresa of Avila.

19 Presumably Teresa of Avila (1515-82), mystic nun.

20 Francis Xavier (1506-52), Jesuit missionary to India and Japan.

faith may be fulfilled, who can take their belief with them into a hell and “live there happy on the strength of it”? Is there any “enthusiasm” now, *not* material, “as strong in failure as in success” . . . and needing no earthly “hope” to give it “life”? Beside the “earnest faith” of those days, do not our own lives and times seem “singularly empty and poor”?

Have you read the (unpublished) memoir of Edward Denison²¹ who went to live in the East End of London in order to *feel* with the people, and is dead? He was the only man of this day I know of who states distinctly what he considers progress and how attainable. So far from thinking the people “happy enough” à la [James] Stephen he thinks that they will not be happy enough, even when well-to-do. While saying that they “create their destitution and their disease”²² he says that “good legislation, national education, with a quite attainable amount (attainable where?) of voluntary effort (from people, like himself) would make the people sober, thrifty, industrious, steady, which would reduce “the destitution and the disease” to quite manageable limits, but that this would not spiritualize the people in the least.

Good laws, energetically enforced, with compulsory education, supplemented by gratuitous individual exertion will certainly succeed in giving the mass of the people so much light as will generally guide them into so much of industry and morality as is clearly conducive to their bodily ease and advancement in life. . . . [T]he destitution and disease would be brought within quite manageable limits . . . but . . . unfortunately this amount of change may be effected without the least improvement in spiritualizing the people, without carrying them on to higher objects, without raising the ideas beyond the daily bread and beer.²³

I think this most striking from a young man born to all the greatest goods of life, who felt the “improvidence, dirt and their secondaries, crime and disease” of London so much as to go to live amongst them, and yet who came to the conclusion that there were *worse things than these* and in this age too when the best thinkers think the world “happy enough.”

21 Edward Denison, MP (1840-70), built an endowed school in Mile End, the East End of London, 1867.

22 *Work among the London Poor: Letters and Other Writings of the Late Edward Denison* 62.

23 Unidentified quotation, or possibly a paraphrase of Denison.

Mr Jowett says that I say that “it is no use praying for the ‘High Court of Parliament’ while Mr Gladstone is premier.” Whether I say so or not, I think it. Then, in the great government offices, the decline of administrative faculty during the last ten years must be seen (as it *can* only be seen by a person labouring to further no personal views) to be believed. But I do not report this: “Who hath believed my report?”²⁴ People who I am sure have not known in all their lives so much of the internal administration as I have known during every day of the last seventeen years would talk me down. Party MPs do not care about it.

I will not go back to the old races except just to say it is impossible to imagine the startling effect to one who *sees* it of the contrast between the civilization of the old Egyptians, as seen in their monuments and above all in their religion, and the screeching, hooting fellah race one sees there now.²⁵ You may say that the sculptures of Ramesses III with his foot on his enemy’s neck are not very inspiring. But the peaceful agricultural scenes shown on Beni Hasan’s tombs, some centuries earlier, and above all the religious sculptures of Abu Simbel, rock temples, some of Karnak and of the tombs of the kings where the kings appear in every stage of being judged, purified, tried and retried, are illustrative of the highest possible moral and spiritual sense. You may say that the slavery of the Hebrews did not show much civilization on the part of their masters. But what is that compared with the self-complacent jubilation of the evangelical Newton²⁶ (Cowper’s friend) over his slave dealings? However, if you say that now, at last, the slave trade is really abolished in all civilized nations, I believe and hope that that *would* do for one of our facts showing “progressive righteousness” in “an increasing proportion of mankind, etc.”

Also compare the character and career of Buddha, the whole end of whose religion is *purity*. Compare the high metaphysical thought of

24 Isa 53:1.

25 Nightingale travelled in Egypt 1849-50 (see *Mysticism and Eastern Religions*).

26 John Newton (1725-1807), later a priest and hymn writer, was a slave trader bringing slaves as cargo from Africa to the Americas. He carried on for some time as a “good slave trader” after his conversion, before turning against the slave trade completely. He then influenced later leaders of the evangelical abolition movement, notably William Wilberforce. Newton collaborated with priest and poet William Cowper (1731-1800) on the production of the *Olney Hymns*; his “Amazing Grace,” “How Sweet the Sound of Jesus Sounds” and “Glorious Things of Thee Are Spoken” are still in use.

the early race of Hindustan with Hindu races and religions now, with Buddhist countries now.

Please don't say that *nirvana* means "annihilation" without remembering that some of the highest authorities dispute it. What the *end* is, the end of the "way" to "perfection," we know so little that the Buddhists, with the same idea that we have of *endless* progress, have actually invented a word (*nirvana*) for it. But we ourselves can't say what we expect will happen to us when each of us *has become* "perfect." And stupid, modern thought has (in defiance of psychology) translated that word (*nirvana*) to mean *annihilation*.

Also, can one see Rome now, degraded, coarsened, enslaved, corrupted by a priesthood acting in the name of Christ, and compare it with Rome under the ancient republic, and see anything there but deterioration instead of "progress"? If you say that, within the last year, there are signs of even Rome itself being regenerated by the Piedmontese, I believe and hope (though I hope more than I believe), that that might do for one of our facts—eventually—showing *progressive righteousness*. You know that there is a project for importing labourers from the valleys of the Piedmontese Alps to populate the Roman Campagna. What a very curious thing it will be if the old trodden persecuted faith of the Waldenses should be the means of regenerating the very heart and core, the standard of papal corruption!

These are a few, a very few, illustrations from modern times, all excepting the last, of quite undeniable notoriety, which people would cast in our teeth and justly, if, without giving any evidence, we were to state as an undoubted truth that "an increasing proportion of mankind" in "progressive righteousness" is, etc. *This is what people will say*. I am not saying that it cannot be answered, but it is *not* answering them to state and restate any number of times that "These lessons are in process of producing in an increasing proportion of mankind," etc., because they will say, headed by J. Stuart Mill, I believe: *We don't see it*. I would not blink one of these historical facts. I would state, if possible, still more startling ones, of deterioration. I would then bring up the facts, which as *we* conceive, would answer these other undeniable facts. So only do I think a really fair case can be made.

When I ventured to say that we wanted "facts," I did not mean statements that "facts important and continuous" show a "progressive righteousness in the human race," though I believe this is true or rather *will* be true. I meant, should we not come to close quarters, as we shall infallibly (and justly) be made to do, if we are read at all, and

state WHAT these “facts” ARE, one by one, or at least give examples of them?

I remember once saying to a man who had thought about these things (what is in the *Suggestions for Thought*), that the “virgin mother of God” is such an advance on the Greek mother of “love.” He said: “Yes, but more crimes and persecutions and cruelties have been perpetrated in the name of this ‘virgin Mother of God,’ whose name is ‘Love,’ than in almost any other name whatever.” Now this is true.

“Go Down into Hell Bravely”

Editor: Nightingale’s note or draft essay, here given the title “Go Down into Hell Bravely,” needs little introduction. It takes up the theme of politics as God’s work with a vengeance (a subject much worked in the essays in *Theology*) and deals with the claim of progress towards perfection discussed in the preceding essay. The material shows that Nightingale was responding to observations of Jowett.

Source: Note or draft essay for Benjamin Jowett, Add Mss 45783 ff203-06

Politics: Should not you go a little further in answering “Noodle” and say what politics are? Someone says that politics are ephemeral only for the moment—temporary—then I would alter the word. But take “politics” as the realizing the eternal idea of God’s administration of His world in the particular time and place of a nation, then there can be nothing with which a clergyman has *so much* “to do” as with politics. *Nothing*, except education—and the education of statesmen is the highest of all—because statesmen have the education of the world (to educate the nation). Goethe says that nature is God realized (it was certainly an immense step to have discovered that). But politics (which by the way Goethe entirely declined) are certainly God realized in a much higher sense. This is true, notwithstanding all the cruel falls, disappointments, mistakes involving evil apparently interminable, which any earnest man must make in politics. That is God descending into hell. “It is easy to raise oneself up to God but very difficult to come down again.” A “saint” can’t become a “politician” without being degraded. You can’t inform the earthly with the divine, without the earthly dirtying the divine. Yet what is the good of the “saint” unless he is a “politician”?

I say: “Go down into hell bravely, as Christ did.” We must often sacrifice heaven to hell; all practical men must. And if they are not practi-

cal, they might just as well have stayed in heaven for any good they will do. The politician who accomplishes the least little practical good is much more of God really than the greatest saint, who never would sacrifice the “superior” to the “inferior,” or heaven to hell.

Politics are an attempt to inform, with the spirit of God, the administration of His world. Of course people will say that, if in any sense politics are God realized, it is in a very different sense from nature being God realized, just as they put in opposition the two philosophies—that of the (wrongly called) pantheistic (Spinoza’s²⁷) religion, and that of the (wrongly called) responsible (free will) religion.

There is no real opposition between these two religions. There is no real difference between the two leaders of God realized in nature and in politics. People are beginning to find out that the laws of nature are laws of God, but they still shut Him out from the Houses of Parliament. He has no business there except while the chaplain reads prayers. The crown is God the rest of the time. However, people will say there *is* one great difference—the laws of nature are inalterable. In government man can do according to his own free will. It is true we cannot make the sun rise a minute earlier, but we can alter the face of the world, even the very climate, almost as we will, by observing the laws of God. And we can do no more in government.

To return: the only real evidence that I can see, which we have of your No. 1, a “moral God,” i.e., a righteous Ruler, is your No. 3, provided you will let me “draw upon another life” and “assume” the “endlessness,” endless progress. On the other hand, the only real evidence we have that there will be an eternity of progress for each is that there is a “moral God.”

The capability of unlimited progress, progress perfectly realized *in none*, not at all in *some*, who deteriorate, cut short *in all* when only a very few steps have been made whether forwards or backwards. (Must we not say of most people that it would be better if they had never been at all?) These things would make this world a *nonsense*, instead of a proof of “design,” *if* we may not “draw upon another life,” if this life is all.

Either there is *no* will or purpose in a “moral God” at all, or (but there does appear purpose of education, unlimited education, in the

27 Benedict Spinoza (1632-77), philosopher, on whom see more below. Pantheism, strictly speaking, refers to the belief that God is in nature, while Spinoza’s philosophy placed nature instead *in God*, and thus technically was not pantheism, although he was often in fact condemned as a pantheist.

laws which we *can* see, in the things which we do see. The only thing consistent with these which we can infer is that the purpose of a “moral God” is unlimited progress, for eternity. Surely the only “design” worthy of a “moral God” is the education of man to improve in his *reading*. Now, he scarcely knows even three of his letters, much less his alphabet. I do not think, do you?, that there is the least interest in going into proofs of “design,” which are only evidence of a *power* in God. (Mill says design is the best argument for a God, and uses the example of the eye, exactly as if God was no better than an optician making a telescope.)

I don’t think there is any reason [“evidence” struck out] to think that God meant to make a perfect world, but one in which He meant to educate mankind to perfection. (I am continually terrified lest you should say, “assuming knowledge you do not possess.” But may we not ask of what *can* the human mind be absolutely certain and what *can* it produce proof for? Can we prove *anything*?)

People dwell on the proof of “design” in the structure of the eye. But I am sure, if there is nothing to be seen better than there is in this world, my eye does not tell me of a “moral God” but of a very *immoral* one, i.e., unless this world is for our “endless” education—that makes all the difference. Now I will make two observations (both beside the mark).

1. Expediency, when it is incarnating the eternal idea into the earthly form, is a very fine thing, although of course the eternal idea suffers from the narrowness of its body. But I think there is a kind of expediency (which particularly distinguishes the present generation) which is a very dangerous thing. It is that fatal facility, either of finding a moral reason for doing what you like, the *female* type of this kind of thing, or of finding arguments not to discover the truth but to support some foregone conclusion, which *will* be carried out, whether anyone be convinced of its reasonableness or not. And, whatever the adversary, even if it be strictly his own business, may advance, all that he can advance is listened to merely to find reasons *for* the other side *by* the other side. Or (thirdly) of which Mr Gladstone is the type, is, as has often been said of him, an inexhaustible readiness in reasons for his fancy of today and for his opposite fancy of tomorrow. He will “always find reasons for any line of action which it may suit him to adopt with regard to any public question whatever, this inventiveness of reasons so terrible they do not know what he may be able to persuade himself of at any given moment of his life.”

2. There has been so much writing about the “eternal” idea, but no one ever seems to have thought even of realizing it in politics, which is the finest field of all, at least not since the Christian era—the main central principle, that of considering not the Bible but the invisible but as the truly existent, not this life but the future” (why does he not say the eternal, instead of the future?—surely “this life” is part of the eternal) “as the true life” “has so much connection with Christianity” “that we cannot but recognize (in this principle) a preparation for it, or of mankind for it, on the part of the Greeks.” But “Christianity” has *not* recognized this “principle” as far as politics go. And Plato did, did he not? And Spinoza did, did he not?

There seems to me a very deep meaning in Schleiermacher,²⁸ speaking of Spinoza, making the “Holy Spirit” (Holy Ghost) and the “Spirit of the World” the same. Surely they are, and surely this is the truth. Surely this world is as much a part of the “eternal world” as any “future” world.

Notes on the Decline of Public Administration

Source: Undated note, ADD Mss 45845 f39

In the last ten years administration has deteriorated so much as to have become almost imbecile, and the House of Commons in usurping the powers of the administration (such as they *used* to be fifteen years ago) has lost its own, all the result, as it appears to me, of the literary, critical magazine-y spirit of the day. Were I advising a young friend now, I should say: Keep out of the pamphleteering, conferencing, public meeting, magazine-ing, association-ing, committee-ing, wish-washy flood, out of the being always on-the-go.

Do one thing well, one good practical useful thing. It may be literature, but if it is, don’t write *about* a thing (as all magazine writers, even statesmen, do now), but *of* a thing, of something which you really do know and can contribute personal knowledge of your own to. Accomplish some one useful work, whether it is usual or unusual for your class or sex. Don’t talk or write, but do it. You may write afterwards, when you have something to write of. But now people write first and (don’t) do afterwards. Writing is not for work but instead of work now.

28 Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), German theologian and priest.

Source: Undated note, ADD Mss 45845 f131

J.S. Mill: If representative assemblies knew and acknowledged that *talking* and discussion are their proper business, while *doing* as the result of discussion is the task not of a miscellaneous body, but of individuals specially trained to it.

Source: Undated note, ADD Mss 45845 f87

During a period like the present in which the political movement of the world is accelerated altogether beyond its ordinary rate of progress, and new political combinations are starting up every day, one ought to be either wholly in the movement or wholly outside of it, amongst the *dramatis personae* or in a stage box sniffing out after a long practice of the true from the false in the press. Utter helplessness in England; hopeless bewilderment of the men at the helm.

Source: Undated note, ADD Mss 45845 f121

He, Sir Bartle Frere²⁹ has not the indifference which enables a man to draw up a paper so that the minister shall think more of the things to be done than of the temper with which it is recommended. One should always be able to make a statement so that people's attention shall be solely fixed on it and its principles and not on the feeling which dictates their expression.

Source: Note to Jowett on fiscal restraint, ADD Mss 45783 ff148-49

[early 1869]

To anyone who really knows and, knowing, feels what a great organization like a government office is (the enormous stakes for weal or woe which a great public office like the War Office, the India Office, the Poor Law Board, holds in its hands, working for eternity) the unutterable narrow-mindedness of this cry for retrenchment, retrenchment, *pur et simple*, is just as painfully striking as any cry for the papacy among ultramontanes,³⁰ as any cry against Christians among Muslims, or for the celibacy of the priesthood or any other of those extraordinary specifics for religion.

29 Sir Henry Bartle Frere (1815-84), a close colleague as governor of Bombay 1862-67; later governor of the Cape 1877-80 and liberator of the slaves of Zanzibar.

30 Literally "beyond the mountains," a French expression for acceptance of papal political power, i.e., beyond the Alps.

Imagine if you were to found your Balliol reform simply with a view to “retrenchment”—or the reform of any great educational machinery. Imagine if Sir John Lawrence had conducted the Government of India solely with the one principle of economy, although he *has* consulted economy (too much, many think). Do you believe that Messrs Gladstone and Cardwell bring any other idea to the War Office than that of economy? Yet the War Office is really the most gigantic educational institution known in this world. Here are some hundred thousands of human beings absolutely in their hands, body, soul and mind. A soldier can’t better his own condition. If he tries he is shot for a deserter.

It is otherwise with the Poor Law because private influences can step in and take populations out of the hands of the Poor Law, whereas the soldier is the only human being whose *duty* it is to be absolutely the servant of the circumstance over him. At the Poor Law reform of 1834, then economy was rightly the soul and principle of that movement because England was rapidly going to destruction from pauperism. But very few men, except Mr Villiers, have advanced in the least beyond the principle of 1834. . . .

I told you of those three poor ladies who brought together twenty-five imbecile, drinking or unsteady women, and enabled them to earn £900 a year. The Poor Law says therefore this is impossible. *They* put such people to pick oakum. *That* was taking twenty-five people out of the hands of the Poor Law. But *is* it impossible for the Poor Law to do these things for itself? Agnes Jones,³¹ with Mr Rathbone’s help at Liverpool Workhouse, took numbers of sick out of the provisions of the Poor Law, nursed, cured and sent them out to work again.

Has then the Poor Law nothing to do but to economize? It has to economize certainly, but only as a means to higher economy. (The three poor ladies were far truer economists than your greatest political economists.) There are many men, in high offices too, to whom one could not say the first word of any of this. They stop you at once with: “All charity is pauperizing.” I should rather say, if it is pauperizing it is not charity.

Has Mr Lowe, with his surpassing powers, done, or has he any idea of doing, anything for his country in the same sense that Mr Cobden³²

31 Agnes E. Jones (1832-68), first superintendent of nursing at the Liverpool Workhouse Infirmary. For their work on workhouse reform see *Public Health Care*.

32 Richard Cobden, MP for Rochdale, leader of the campaign for the repeal of the Corn Laws, for free trade in grain, worked for better housing and land tenure reform to permit workers to own their land.

has, that Mr Villiers has, and I suppose that Mr Bright has? Or is it to be only this stupid, brutal cry for economy?

Imagine if, in the Crimean War, the only idea on which to retrieve our great sanitary disaster had been retrenchment. It is true there was a reckless expenditure in retrieving the disaster. But many think that disaster was due to the Treasury having pulled its strings too tightly at the beginning, or as I should say to the colossal idol of economy having hidden or driven out every idea of organization, of administration which might otherwise have raised its head. These are some of the impressions which make me sad who once was merry over the reformed Parliament and the reformed ministry.

Source: Draft/copy to Benjamin Jowett, ADD Mss 45784 ff86-89

[June 1872]

I think that, in seeing the present decline of administrative power in British government offices, which is, I believe, acknowledged by very many, and also seeing that the large majority of statesmen and of Parliamentary men come out of Oxford, and chiefly I suppose through your hands, the subject is one of such enormous, such intolerable importance, and so totally disregarded, that I venture once more to recall it. Not that anything I can say is worth any other consideration than because I have real experience in the matter, but that you may consider it for yourself.

If what I say has any truth in it at all, you must think that the subject, not what I say, is of vital importance to the nation, whose destiny you have so much in your own hands. You yourself laughed at Mr Gladstone's sole words on the Army bill to the man he had made a peer to carry it: "Glad we've got Storks³³ into Parliament." Yet you said the same to me: "Glad we've got Lord Lansdowne into the War Office."³⁴ Also that the death of Mazzini "affected" you more than Lord Mayo's.³⁵ Yet it is upon this very mode of thinking as one of the

33 General Sir Henry Knight Storks (1811-74), in charge of British establishments in Turkey in the Crimean War and a Nightingale admirer. She got him appointed to her first royal commission and he served in many other senior posts. He was elected to Parliament in 1871.

34 Lord Lansdowne (1845-1927), under secretary for war 1872-74, later governor general of Canada and viceroy of India.

35 Lord Mayo (1822-72), viceroy of India, for more on whom see below.

several causes that I believe the decline of administration to depend.

It does not signify what men like Mr Gladstone and Mr Lowe³⁶ say, but it signifies very much what a man like you says. And this at a time when there are questions looming, questions such as this, that the first step in social reform must be to break up *coute que coute* [cost what it may] the whole land monopoly, to enable every man to vest his savings in land if he likes. Questions such as are indicated by International Working Men's Leagues and strikes, compared with which another type of the same thing is dentist's talk about the "indirect claims" business, both in the newspapers and in conversation. I mean, talk such as anyone can make, talk which you know your dentist has said to the ten persons before you and will say to the twenty persons after you. Whereas all that can be truly said is that our government were (not "drunk and incapable" but) honest and incapable. If the American government had been equally honest and incapable, all would have sung the praise of, where now all sing dentist's blame, of ministers.

But no one says anything about the stupendous, the increasing, blunders and blank incapacity of British government administration, except just when a Megara³⁷ is lost. Men like you, who have the great say in the future, suggest as a panacea against unwise "promotion" that all government office heads shall be paid alike. If there is really no other way of escape from the promotion of men to posts of which they know nothing but this, by all means. It is much like saying that all Oxford professors should be paid alike, because otherwise the temptation will be irresistible of promoting the geometry professor at £300 to the Greek professorship at £500. (I don't know respective pays and professorships.) Nay, it is much more absurd than this, for all Oxford professors, I suppose, do know Latin and Greek, but a minister who has been at paupers does not know ships. If what you say is correct, viz., that the Queen had something to do with it, does not that make the case only the stronger? "Promotion" (to £5000) and a sovereign's ["woman's" struck out] caprice make a first lord of the Admiralty nowadays.

36 There are many disparaging references below to Mr Lowe and his declining commitment to political principles in Nightingale's correspondence. He had been a student of Jowett and a leading social reformer.

37 A major battle in the Peloponnesian Wars, 458/7 BCE when Corinth gained ground while the Athenians were in Egypt but were beaten back on their return.

What I said on Sunday was really not prompted in the least by any desire for your "sympathy" as to my position, which I know that no one can understand, and which I myself care not for at all, apart from the disorganization of the War Office. (I have for eighteen years made it my prayer, that *I* might have all the bitterness, provided the War Office went well. But I have had the first, without the last.) [My interest] was prompted solely and entirely by (1) interest in government offices; (2) interest in Lord Lansdowne (in whom I can *see* the interest Sidney Herbert would have taken, the pains he would have given to train him in every branch, had this been eleven years ago); (3) an absolute terror at the decline of administrative power in government and at men like you, who almost hold the future of our youth in their hands, joining in the reckless talk of men like Mr Lowe and others.

When I compare it with the intense seriousness of men like Sir Robert Peel, Sidney Herbert, Lord Lawrence, even Lord Palmerston³⁸ (who yet was the most witty converser of his day) I am really appalled, if you will pardon me the word, because it seems to me to make so plain the causes of our decadence in administration. You say that I think your interest in the matter is because Lord Lansdowne is your pupil. It is just because he is your pupil that I am the more astonished. Either you do not believe a word of the state of the War Office (and please understand that I have led too much of a *man's* life to be in the least annoyed at people differing from me—I am quite an Englishman in that. You know it is said that a Frenchman can't bear anyone to live in the world who does not agree with him). As you think it a matter of no consequence what state an office or a college is in, provided a young man gets "promotion" in it (I will not repeat my comparison of Dr Scott,³⁹ Mr Woolcombe⁴⁰ and a promising young Paravicini as senior tutor,⁴¹ *minus* you, because that makes you think that it is the War Office being *minus* me which afflicts me.

I assure you that it is "extremely not so," but all this is only personal and a preface unworthy of your reading. The only thing that sig-

38 Lord Palmerston (1784-1865), prime minister during the Crimean War and in the early years of Nightingale's India work, an ally in her reform causes, able to get progressive measures through Cabinet.

39 Robert Scott, tutor to Jowett at Balliol College and later master (Jowett succeeded him).

40 Edward Cooper Woolcombe (1816-80), dean of Balliol.

41 Francis de Paravicini (1843-1920), whose assistance in the *Dialogues of Plato* is acknowledged in the preface.

nifies is: what are the causes of this administrative decline and are they dependent upon the weather or the movements of the planets, or are they such as men who, like you, lead public opinion can control?

The first cause no doubt is the governing by majorities. Now majorities are more or less fools—at least no majority ever initiated reforms. No real reformer ever began but with a minority, perhaps a minority of one, and worked it up to a majority. No reformer could be a reformer if he acted on the judgment of others, in obedience to a Parliament, a press, to what is called public criticism. No man but a man who can be of his own opinion *can* do any real work. DENTISTS' *majorities*, the most vain and empty-headed fool I suppose that ever was invented.

Will you think what Balliol College would have been if you had acted on the judgment of the majority in the college, or in obedience to *public criticism* in Oxford, instead of creating first your minority, then working it up into a majority? Could you do *any* kind of good work, if you minded what the majority, i.e., what fools say? (This is quite a different thing from qualifying fools or educating young people from being fools to help you.) It is the difference between leading and cringing, between gathering up and scattering abroad, between causing your generation to make progress and allowing your generation to prevent your progress and its own. Could you do *any* kind of work worth doing without a plan of your own quite independent of any majority's notions?

Is this not all the difference between statesmen and men who take office for office's sake? But as there appears not the slightest prospect that the present state of things will do anything but increase, as it appears that Parliament and the Cabinet are literally to be governed by leading articles, by magazines, and by everyone who talks leading articles and magazines, and that this is the material upon which our minds and the minds of our legislative and executive are to be made up. The next thing is, what are we, the public, whose mind is so important that the greatest men of the day are to have no mind but ours, to do?

As Quetelet says: "The nation participates in and is responsible for the acts of its individual members." (Statesmen, F.N.) Everybody is a sharer in the acts (of the Cabinet F.N.) "necessarily resulting from the state of society, which he is influential in shaping." "Acts are products not merely of the individual who does them but of the society in which they take place" *passim*. That is, the statesman's acts are our

products. Probably Quetelet himself did not know how exactly, how literally, this has come to be the political case in England, so that the acts of ministers have come to be not their own but ours, not even the acts of Parliament as a representative body, but of us—ours, us the vulgar public's, us, the men, women, girls and boys, running about without ever having given a day's, an hour's, ten minutes' thought on the subject. *Dentists'* majorities.

It certainly does behove every woman, girl, boy and man to have a considered opinion. Therefore, since women, girls and boys as well as men have so large a share in making up this public opinion, which is to be our legislative and executive, since the man who has thought much is to yield his opinion to the man or boy who has thought nothing or little—and this is the only reason, and not *my* fate at all—why I appeal to you who form so many minds—to form the opinion which is to form the government, and not to give in to Lowe and water, or Gladstone and milk.

The other two causes for the great deterioration in public men are that everybody gets up his office policy as he would “get up” his article for a magazine; the writing, not the business of administration, *is* his policy. One would think our statesmen were clerks instead of from clerks becoming statesmen. Imagine Sir John Lawrence governing the Punjab as he would “get up” a magazine article, or saving India in this way. It is not at all the serious business that it used to be, when a man was chosen as head of an office for his particular capacity, experience or training in that office. How can it be? It is ludicrous to suppose that Mr Goschen was selected for the Admiralty or Mr Cardwell for the War Office and so forth on any of these grounds. Therefore they are *obliged* to “get up” their administration like an article.

The third is the “promotion” or place theory or practice, that the office is made for the man not the man for the office, the “glad we’ve got Lord Lansdowne into the War Office,” the “glad we’ve got Storks into Parliament” practice. Is it possible that any firm could go on on such principles? Is it likely that the greatest “firm” of all, the firm of the nation, should do anything but deteriorate and come to grief on such principles? Can there be any better plan for precipitating the mediocrity of our government? Of any government?

You are good enough to say something about what I have done, and I am far from feeling anything but grateful for the approval of a man like you, though more ever than usual it is your goodness and not my own at all, which makes the spirit of it good. If you knew as I do how

naked I stand before God, in that nakedness which will probably soon be complete, the *nakedness* of the other world, how weak I have been where I seemed most strong, the mistakes from which I have been saved by God's providence alone and not by anything of my own at all, how anything I have done I have been led to, nay forced into by God alone. (I have worked hard and that is all.) You would see as I do that I can care for no prayer other than as making me love the goodness of those who give it and that as if they were praising another person.

Were it not that such a life as mine, a sort of adventurer's life, save in its hard work, makes one *feel* rather than know that one is only a little spring or wheel in the immense silent system of goodness and wisdom which we call God, and that He is making all things right in His eternity, I think I should die of the feeling of failure and despair in myself.

Editor: Nightingale deeply regretted Sidney Herbert's failure to reform the War Office before his death, so that the reforms they had accomplished with such great effort would not be carried on, and indeed were at serious risk of being reversed. The correspondence following shows not only this bitter disappointment but rage that incompetents were taking over. Herbert, by his death, had come to a similar recognition. On his deathbed he lamented, "Poor Florence! Our unfinished work!" (see p 309 below).

Source: Typed copy of letter, ADD Mss 43399 ff41-43

Hampstead, N.W.
10 September 1861

My dear Dr Farr

We are grateful to you indeed for the memorial of my dear master which you have raised to him in the hearts of the nation. Indeed, it is in the hearts of the nation that we will live, not in the hearts of the ministers—there, he is dead already—if indeed they have any. Before he was cold in his grave—Gladstone attends his funeral and then writes to me that he cannot pledge himself to give any assistance in carrying out his friend's reforms. The reign of intelligence at the War Office is over. The reign of muffs has begun. The only rule of conduct in the bureaucracy there and in the Horse Guards is to reverse *his* decision, *his* judgment and (if they can do nothing more) his words.

Lord de Grey maintains the fight well. He said to the commander-in-chief, when he was asking Sir G. Lewis (*the* muff) to reverse one of

my dear master's acts: Sir, it is impossible, Lord Herbert decided it and the House of Commons voted it. But what is Lord de Grey against so many? We have nothing more to expect from that quarter of ministers.

But you, and such as you, will make my dear master's acts live in the memory of the nation. It shall be the nation who will carry out his work. The first gleam of hope I have had was in hearing your paper. You say truly that it was his work, not his reputation, which he cared for. (He had *no* ambition). And that the best tribute—the only one he would like—would be to carry out his work. His last articulate words, often repeated, were “Poor Florence, our unfinished work,”⁴² words too sacred to be repeated, but that they show the man. That was his last dying thought. Other men's is a selfish anxiety after their own salvation.

Oh if he could have said, “It is finished,”⁴³ how willingly we could have given him back to God. But he could not. Even I did not know till the last how the failure of his energy to carry out the finishing stroke, which was wanting, the reorganization of the War Office, had broken his heart, and how it hastened his death. I blamed him, but not so much as he blamed himself. And I think it is a tribute to his great simplicity to say how little he thought of what he had done, and how much of what he had left undone—it was this failure in reorganizing the War Office which has left his work now to be upset *there* by any clerk.

It is for his friends now to see what they can do *out of* the War Office. You loved him. No one loved him and served him as I did. But you and many more will stand by his work, which *is* his memory. To me, and (I may say) to himself, his death, as you may well suppose, was nothing. It was the resignation of office without having reorganized the office which was the bitterness of death, both to him and to me. Five years, all but one week, had he and I worked together at the health of that noble army.

I felt very downhearted about the Indian Commission since his resignation. Since your paper I feel that his friends will rally round his memory to carry out that most important part of the work as he would have wished. The Barrack Commission starts tomorrow for the Mediterranean inspection, one of his last official acts. Till the day fort-

42 Letter from Elizabeth Herbert to Nightingale 12 August 1861, ADD Mss 43396 f153.

43 John 19:30.

night of his death, do you know, he struggled on doing to the last what he could in the office. That I should have survived him seems to me most curious. He who could do so much with me; I who can do nothing without him. My last tie is severed with that noble army which I have served so faithfully seven years next October, in weariness oft, in watchings oft, in prisons, I can truly say with St Paul.⁴⁴ For the last month makes four years that I have been imprisoned by sickness.

The Army's work has cost three useful lives. When I hear what you say I hope that it is not over. On the contrary, that it is rooted by you and yours in a nation's mind.

ever yours sincerely,

Florence Nightingale

Source: Undated note, ADD Mss 45845 f212-13

Sidney Herbert at the War Office, once a week saw all together: commander-in-chief, Parliamentary under secretary, permanent under secretary, quartermaster general, adjutant general, inspector general of Fortifications, director general of Stores, Ordnance, military secretary. . . .

Two royal commissions: [I] saw him almost every day that he was in London. (I have therefore very few letters of *his* while he must have had a great many of mine, because by his desire I "examined" many witnesses and reported to him at night.)

Miscellaneous Letters and Notes on Politics

Source: From a letter to Douglas Galton, ADD Mss 45763 ff187-88

Private

20 June 1866

Dr Sutherland is here. Would you like to send me back the minute I wrote so hastily last night, with your criticisms on the margin and let us add anything, in fact rewriting it more definitely. Is there time? (The Messenger will wait your answer.)

I hear privately that ministers have resigned but that the Queen may have to refuse their resignation. Is that what "communicating with the Queen" means? What a disaster it is.

ever yours

F.N.

R.S.V.P.

⁴⁴ 2 Cor 6:4-5, 11:27.

Source: From a letter to Douglas Galton, ADD Mss 45763 ff200-01

27 June 1866

Now do write to a wretched female (F.N.) about WHO is to come in WHERE. Does General Peel come to the W.O.? If so, will he annihilate our civil sanitary element? Is Sutherland to go all the same to Malta and Gibraltar this autumn? Will General Peel imperil the Army Sanitary Commission? I must know ye infernal powers. Is Mr Lowe to come into the India Office? It is all unmitigated disaster to me. For as Lord Stanley⁴⁵ is to be foreign (the only place he can be of *no* use to us) I shall not have a friend in the world. If I were to say any more, I should fall to swearing. I am so indignant.

ever your, furiously,

F.N.

Source: Postscript to a latter to Douglas Galton

7 July 1866

Dr Sutherland told me (I dare say it was his own invention) that you thought I ought to reach Lord Cranborne⁴⁶ through Lady Cranborne. I have a much better recommendation to him than that and have already been put into “direct communication” with him, *not* at my own request. But, o ye Gods (if there are any) what a crush and crash and ruin it all is! *BURN*.

Source: Letter/draft/copy, Wellcome Ms 5482/76

[printed address] 35 South Street
Park Lane
London W.
30 May 1867

Dear Sir Frederic Rogers⁴⁷

I am afraid that you will have forgotten me and, what is worse, that you will very justly dislike being reminded of me. I come, as usual, in the posture of a beggar on all fours. It is on a matter of some considerable importance connected with the “charitable institutions” of Malta. These places, disgraced, disgrace until they were taken in hand by

45 Edward Henry Stanley (1826-93), 15th Earl of Derby, a good ally of Nightingale's (see p 520 below).

46 Robert Gascoyne Cecil (1830-1903), then secretary of state for India, later the Marquess of Salisbury, Conservative prime minister.

47 Sir Frederic Rogers (1811-89), permanent under secretary for the colonies.

their present “comptroller,” Mr Inglott, a man of high ability and integrity (an Anglo-Maltese), and he has raised them not only to a state of great efficiency, but there are few institutions in Europe which can rival them.

Whether Mr Inglott is to remain in charge of these institutions or whether he is to leave them for another office depends on the following question (Mr Inglott himself knows nothing of my writing to you): Mr Inglott’s salary (£400 a year) is £100 lower than the salary of other government officers, although he is responsible for the expenditure of one-sixth part of the revenue of the islands. Besides which, it is the only salary of the class which has to be voted. He has to beg his salary, so to speak, from persons not enlightened enough to appreciate his value or his efficiency. He has long been considered as entitled to be paid the same salary, £500 a year, as other officers of the grade, but there is little chance of the addition being given without annual cavil by the minority on the council.

Mr Inglott, who has a wife and children, might be obliged therefore to take his promotion out of his own special department, for which he is so well fitted. Were this to be the case, the whole work he has so successfully accomplished would be endangered or destroyed. In 1864 the question was referred to the Colonial Office and the result was communicated to Mr Inglott in a letter, of which the enclosed is a copy.

But it appears that the course followed was not in strict accordance with law, and that some other course would have to be taken in order to transfer the salary from the “voted services” to the Consolidated Fund (?). Could a full consideration of the question be obtained? I know what Mr Inglott has done for the “charitable institutions” of the islands of Malta. It would be a great misfortune if his services were transferred to any other department.

I have never seen Mr Inglott but I have for years been in correspondence with him. He was in England some years ago about his plans for a hospital for incurables and for an asylum for aged at Malta, which plans I have given in my *Notes on Hospitals*. These plans all passed through my hands. I am afraid that you will think I am romancing if I say that I have met with no English or French man so enlightened on these subjects. But, nevertheless, it is true. Pray excuse my unwarrantable breaking in upon you. You will think that I never appear but to molest you. But pray believe me, dear Sir Frederic Rogers,

ever your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

Source: From a letter to Frances Nightingale, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/102

6 May 1869

But alas! what am I to say to your expectation that I shall come to Embley “early in July.” I thought I had made it clear enough that there is no human probability that I shall leave London before Parliament is up, that is to say, it would be as little easy to leave London for me any day before August *as now*. In other words, if there were any immediate necessity for my seeing my dear mother (which God forbid) I should come. But I could come now just as well, *or just as ill*, as any time before the House is up.

Only consider: it is now thirteen years that I have been in the service of the government offices and, during those thirteen years, I have left London *once* before the House was up (viz., last year) and then a great disaster was the consequence. There have flown three years since I have had this house, thanks to you. And the first year, 1866, I could not leave London till *18 August*, the second year, 1867, I could not leave London *at all*. The third year, last year, I came to Lea Hurst the first week in July—the first time that I have broken loose since 1856—and we lost an important India Office step in consequence, owing to the inevitable delay of sending papers backwards and forwards.

ever your

F.

Source: From a draft or letter to Sir G. Campbell,⁴⁸ Add Mss 45805 f169

31 March 1879

About the letter you were so good as to write to me that “There was a time when there was a conscience of England possible to be got at, at any rate in the particular case of the slave trade there was,” but that “nothing that is not for the interest of the rich x x has any chance now.” *They* said *that* in the days of the slave trade, yet they tried and overcame—they won the day and abolished the slave trade (my grandfather⁴⁹ was for forty-nine years in the House of Commons, the intimate and coadjutor of Mr Wilberforce and Clarkson⁵⁰ in the cause).

48 Sir George Campbell (1835-1905).

49 William Smith (1756-1835).

50 William Wilberforce (1759-1833) and Thomas Clarkson (1760-1846), leaders of the movement to abolish the slave trade.

As a child I used to hear them “fighting the battles o’er again” and if anything was clear it was this: namely, that they had had to fight against an “apathy and indifference” in England not less but more dense and extraordinary than that about India, that they, then as now, could only win their cause through Parliament and officials, that they had to gain and gain painfully the ears of the people of England in order to gain that of the ministers and of Parliament, that the “apathy of the public” was hardly to be roused and was only roused at last by laying down and agitating by every means *broad principles*. Then at last the abolitionists had it all their own noble way, when they appealed to the people in the name of justice, when they spoke from platforms and said “can any long duration of oppression confer a right of [breaks off]

Source: From an unsigned draft letter to Harry Verney, Add Mss 45791 ff205-06

Pigott, *Times*⁵¹

[ca. 2 March 1889]

But everything is providential. May we not say that it was “providential,” this affair of the *Times* being so flagrantly misled by that poor, miserable wretch, Pigott, and going head foremost into the trap and dragging the government with it—providential for the *Times*, and for the world.

No pope can write with a greater tone of infallibility than does the *Times*. You say truly that the *Times* is the voice of England all over the world. Is it not better that this delusion should to a degree cease? The *Times* is or might be just as aware of the untrustworthiness of its organ at Calcutta, who gives it all its Indian news, and who made it make that great blunder about Lord Dufferin’s⁵² last speech (at a rowdy dinner) as it was not but might have been of the villainy which all the world knew of this unhappy Pigott.

Only the Calcutta man’s falsifications are not amenable to the law and Pigott’s were. There is no other difference. Yet the *Times’* Indian

51 An Irish nationalist journalist, Richard Pigott (c1828-89) sold false information to an anti-nationalist organization accusing Parnell and colleagues of complicity in murder and agrarian crimes, which accusations were published in the *Times*. Pigott testified at the subsequent inquiry, but he broke down in cross-examination, confessed, fled to Madrid and committed suicide on the arrival of the police in his room. On home rule see also p 325 below.

52 The 1st Marquess of Dufferin and Ava (1826-1902), viceroy of India 1884-88.

news is believed by the whole world—Pigott and the Calcutta man both paid by the *Times*. It is not that I wish to see any other newspaper in the place of the *Times*, the leading newspaper of the world. But surely the state of things is alarming when men, cultivated men, take their opinions from the *Times*. Merely for the sake of talking, they talk *Times*. There is no remedy for this, certainly not the substituting any other paper for the *Times*, but the deepening of the education of the world.

The leaders of education among the cultivated classes will tell you we have less vice, less “rows” now, but we have also much less character. One main reason of it is the reading and frittering away by newspapers and magazines. People don’t read to inform themselves except on certain subjects but to talk. Pray God that the *Times* with its great power may be reduced to modest.

Source: Letter, Reynolds Historical Library, University of Alabama at Birmingham 5087

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane, W.
23 May 1889

My dear Sir [T.G. Hewlett]

You wished for an introduction to Lord Rosebery,⁵³ as chairman of the London County Council. If you can make it convenient—I have just seen him—to call upon him on Thursday next, 30 May, at 12 noon, at the office in Spring Gardens (the old Board of Works), he will be very glad to make your acquaintance.

ever sincerely yours

F. Nightingale

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45845 f269

3 January 1895

Idea of liberty in Florence: that everybody should have a share in governing everybody else, [liberty] in England that everybody should have the power of developing himself, without hurting anybody else.

53 Archibald Philip Primrose (1847-1927), 5th Earl of Rosebery, later Liberal prime minister.

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45845 f219

6 August 1898

Why was our throne the only throne in 1848 which was not upset? Why but because our sovereigns reckon with the *masses* in their representatives, the House of Commons, and are obliged to part with a favourite minister, if he cannot “command a majority”? Lord Melbourne⁵⁴ educated Victoria to be the constitutional sovereign she is. He loved her as his child, without ever departing from the respect of a subject. He always sat by her desire next her at table (she was only a few days over eighteen when she succeeded to the throne. But he could not command a majority in the House of Commons. He stayed on as her minister a few months because he could not withstand her tears, but it would not do. Then he sank into obscurity. Was it Peel who succeeded him? [yes] Bismarck had not the slightest idea of governing by a House of Representatives and he was rightly parted with, but he did not bear it rightly. Benedetti⁵⁵ was the man who succeeded Bismarck.

British Imperialism/Foreign Policy

Editor: The small number of letters here deal only with general issues of colonial and foreign policy, with examples from India, Jamaica, other colonies and Ireland. They represent a small fraction of the material to be reported in later volumes on war and India. They serve also to show continuity in Nightingale’s approach to politics: pragmatism, liberalism and caution. The chorus of the anthem “Land of Hope and Glory” reminds God that He made Britain mighty, and asks that He make her “mightier yet.” But this is Edgar Elgar, reflecting doubtless considerable public opinion at the time, but Nightingale would not have agreed. The material here, and much in the Gladstone section, show her strong disagreement with the imperialist expansionism of her day.

54 William Lamb (1779-1848), 2nd Viscount of Melbourne, prime minister of England when Victoria ascended to the throne.

55 Prince Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898) Prussian chancellor. Count Vincent Benedetti (1817-1900).

Jamaica

Editor: Periodic uprisings and revolts against British rule in various colonies were put down by force, sometimes with such harshness as to provoke criticism at home. The short note that follows highlights the role of race in the matter. Nightingale condemned even more the unnecessary deaths of Indian natives by famine than the brutality in Jamaica, for the governor of Jamaica at least had had the justification of fear and self-defence.

Source: Note to Dr Sutherland on British rule in Jamaica, ADD Mss 45752 f70

[after October 1865]

Well, I say that—take Governor Eyre *at the very worst* that can be said of him and take Sir C. Beadon at the very best that can be said of him—and Sir C.B. is a devil compared with Eyre.⁵⁶ Eyre acted under fright, because he thought the blacks would be too much for the English. Therefore he killed a few hundreds, whom he took to be rebels. I say he was responsible.

Beadon, because he knew that he need be under no fright, because whatever happened to the wretched blacks, nothing could affect the English, killed 750,000 blacks for whom he was responsible and whom he knew nothing could make rebels. Had the blacks been capable of any resistance they would not have been killed.

India

Editor: There is extensive material on British imperial policy in the two India volumes later in the *Collected Works* (as well as the letters on India to W.E. Gladstone). Here we examine only the issue of Nightingale's overall views on imperialism, a subject to which she gave little attention. For her the British Empire was a reality; the responsible goal then was to ensure that government served the people well, meaning the inhabitants of the territory, not Britain. The several items reported here serve to give a preview of her considerable work on the issue of British rule of India, and to set out her basic principles.

56 Edward John Eyre (1815-1901), governor of Jamaica during the Morant Bay native rebellion, proclaimed martial law and confirmed death sentences for high treason for over 600 persons. He was then blamed for “unnecessary rigour” and recalled. Sir Cecil Beadon (1816-81), lieutenant-governor of Bengal during the Orissa famine, failed to pay heed in time to the scarcity of food and was away in the hills ill when large numbers died of famine.

The material begins with a letter, 1864, to a fellow activist on how to achieve sanitary reform, specifically how to involve Indian nationals. It deals with issues of the caste system and comparison between the British and Indian nationals (called “natives”). Nightingale wanted to elicit the participation both of experts (professors of hygiene at Indian universities) and the ordinary people (hence concerns about use of the vernacular). There is considerable sensitivity shown on the need to understand religious beliefs, essential to effect good sanitary disposal of the dead.

Next there is a letter to a friend about the administration of the first governor general, and her good ally, John Lawrence. This first instalment of a large correspondence nicely portrays such overarching issues as his general style of government, or “Caesarism,” notably the failure to decentralize and delegate. A letter to Harry Verney complains about the lack of colonial policy. The comparatively great attention given to Cyprus and neglect of the vastly more populous India raises the issue of inadequate press coverage there. The last letter, to a cousin, raises central issues of British mismanagement, along with a positive counter-example.

An “Indian” here refers not to an Indian national but to a British civil servant or expert who had long served in India. Often these “Indians” were looked down upon by British officials who remained at home, uncontaminated by experience in the field. An Indian national is a “native.”

Source: Letter, London Metropolitan Archives H1/ST/NC1/64/7

32 South Street

London W.

3 June 1864

Mr dear Sir [J. Pattison Walker⁵⁷]

I thank you much for your kind letter of 23 April and its most interesting account of the proceedings of the commission. It is doing its work vigorously and will be a blessing to India.

The establishment of a chair of hygiene is of the greatest importance for the future progress of the cause. And the same should be done for Bombay and Madras. While teaching Europeans the laws of health, do not forget the natives. Could not the question of public health be brought before any institutes or native societies for discussion?

57 James Pattison Walker (1823-1906), secretary to the Bengal Sanitary Commission, later surgeon-general.

A well-written little book or paper addressed to natives, in their own language, explaining the very simplest laws of health: how it is that their present habits lead to fever and cholera (if the causes of these two diseases are made head against, all the rest will follow). Could not this be compiled and circulated among the natives?

I have always felt that, if you could take the heads of castes into your counsels, disarm their prejudices, how much might be done? I do not pretend to say how, but you have now, at the head of the government, the man of all others who *can* do this and who *will*. Never had a governor general before such knowledge and such power, I mean particularly with regard to the native races. It is urgent that some enlightenment should be brought to those districts round Calcutta where the remittent plague prevails, in order to lead them to improve their own sanitary state and to allow it to be improved. Could not hints showing a kindly interest in them by the government be put forth by the government?

With regard to the very important question of disposing of the dead, would not the best plan be to confer with the different castes and ascertain what really constitutes religious burial? (This is what even the old Indians at the India Office here seem not exactly to know.) Then the whole question would resolve itself into the best practicable and most wholesome method of doing the work. If cremation were adopted, suppose your commission were to send a minute home, desiring that the War and India Office Commission here (Barrack and Hospital Improvement Commission) should send them out the best plans of apparatus from this country, where the process has been applied to almost every purpose except burning dead bodies (even that has been considered).

I was delighted to see Mr Strachey's⁵⁸ minute (5 April), which was sent by the India Office to the "Barrack and Hospital Commission" in a letter of 20 May, desiring them to send out plans, etc., of sanitary construction to you, because we are so slow. (They talk of Hindus being slow, but War Offices and India Offices in England are slower.) These plans are however nearly ready. And they will be sent out almost immediately with general suggestions.

I wish you Godspeed with all my heart. You will have much opposition to encounter, but great works do not prosper without opposition.

58 John Strachey (1823-1907), later Sir, a close collaborator.

(Do you remember what, by a curious coincidence, Pope Paul III⁵⁹ said to a predecessor of yours in the missionary work in India—St Francis Xavier?, viz., that God would always find means to carry out a work which was really God's, that indeed he, Xavier, would find much to suffer, but that the "affairs of God" succeed only by the way of crosses and difficulties. I did not think Pope Paul could have said so good a thing and I suppose Xavier was half a madman. But, for all that, I think it is true, is it not?, for *every* work engaged in for the good of men.) Believe me,

your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

I need hardly say that any papers or letters from you will always be most welcome to me.

I have just had a communication from Delhi, and my brother-in-law, Sir Harry Verney, has seen an officer in London, just arrived from Delhi from his son's regiment there, who speaks to the same effect, viz., that a disease called "boils" is very prevalent among the troops there and causes much inefficiency. One officer had no less than eighty boils on his body. The people there attribute the disease to bad water and bad site, and say that there is good water, though at a considerable distance, and a good site for a small barrack in Delhi. This is just one of the cases with which your commission could effectually deal. The cause of "boils" is very little understood. If you could cause a careful inquiry to be made to find out the cause at Delhi and remedy the evils much good might arise to the service (of course we do not take implicitly every word we hear from military officers, as unacquainted with sanitary things).

F.N.

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9007/181

London

14 February 1879

My dear Sir Harry [Verney]

We have "annexed" Cyprus and we find in Cyprus (and we are quite surprised) a miniature of what is happening under our own eyes every day all over India, English India, among some two hundred millions of our Asiatic fellow countrymen of whom we have taken charge. And we know it not?

59 Pope Paul III (1468-1549) established the Jesuit order by a bull in 1545.

And why do we not know it? To little atom of a Cyprus, the great newspaper sends its able "special correspondent" and we have, and we read (for the most powerful newspaper of the day, the *Times*, writes too well not to be read) three, four, five columns, or even a whole page, of large type of what is done in *Cyprus* among tens or hundreds, which we might see, if we did but look, multiplied into millions or tens of millions in *India*. (But we only see in the *Times* half a quarter of a column the smallest type about India.) Why do we not look? India is surely a more interesting and more anxious possession than Cyprus.

Because we have not one newspaper correspondent to "discover" the interior of India outside the great cities, unless indeed there be a "little war," no, not even now when there has been a far deeper tragedy, nay and is still, in the famine-stricken multitudes, than could possibly be enacted in Afghan or Zulu War.

What a harvest of untold interest, of vital, mortal interests might not be reaped there! O that the *Times* would do for colossal India what has been done for pygmy Cyprus! and tell us too what the Hindus *think and say of us*? Has not a Hindu, eyes, HANDS, tongue, as we have?⁶⁰

We have there in India the same wants as in Cyprus: *want of water for land*, "the enchantment of the touch of water," "the golden waters," "for gold is water in Cyprus." Is the suspension of public works in water economy or "savage and pitiful waste"? (I quote from the *Times*.) Nor is water only to be had by great canal works—it may be had by Persian wheels and otherwise, by lift as well as by flow. Why not encourage these? With small holdings these are too heavy for individual outlay but "*co-operation* for the execution of these needful public works may be required by government."

We have in Cyprus native fortunes made by unjust justice: "he made a great deal of money as member of a district court, "contested valuation of a crop," "giving the Council of Arbitration a few coins apiece" as "part of the regular proceedings," "to confirm his estimate" in the "valuation of a crop." (I quote from the *Times*.) "Government virtually at the mercy of its subordinate officials." O if it did but practically know how much it was so in India! and knowing act upon it. "Dangerous experiment to intrust them, untried and untaught, with duties of a character so tempting to their old vices." We have government schools

60 An allusion to Portia's speech, "hath not a Jew," in *The Merchant of Venice*, Act 1, scene 3.

in India: we *do* and we *ought* to employ native officials. What training do we give these people at whose “mercy” we “virtually” are? Let the *Times* examine into our schools and tell us. We have in Cyprus *apathy*, *indifference*, “where the land is held in an aggregation of small holdings” (see the ryot [illeg] tenure in Bombay, and even the holdings under the zemindars, who do *nothing* in the way of *improving* landlords, in Bengal). “Enterprise, energy and funds have alike been wanting for the production of works too heavy” (I am repeating, but I am repeating from the *Times*. God bless it for its repetition! admirable repetition!) “for individual outlay.”

“To require under certain conditions in the inhabitants of villages co-operation for the execution of these needful public works” is “possible,” “but some impulse from above” is needful “to lift them out of their helpless apathy” “and to set them upon the road of improvement.”

“The government in general does little and cares little.” We have in Cyprus the *moneylenders*, “the established condition of debt into which the poor of the country have fallen.” And have we not much more than this in India? Have we not our civil courts *compelled* to aid and abet the practice of usury? “Our civil courts”: it is not the *Times*, it is the government in India which says this, “have become hateful to the masses of our Indian subjects,” for those courts have become “the unwilling tools of the rapacity of usurious capitalists.” Have we not the “complaints of debt slaves” whose name is legion?⁶¹ Or rather they do not complain; they are like dumb animals. If this is repetition, let the government take measures which shall destroy the occasion for repetition.

Not, however, to government now but to the *Times*, to publicity and the press of England, I appeal to bring the miseries of India home to the newspaper-reading people of England. (Behind Parliament is the people of England, the newspaper readers of England; behind the Cabinet is Parliament and behind the Government of India is the Cabinet.)

One more quotation from the *Times* on Cyprus: *tenure and taxation*, “the explanation of their condition lies, not in the taxes they are required to pay by law, but in the additional exactions which are forced from them in defiance of law. The law does not make them suffer but the *violation* of law. (Just examine into the illegal cesses extorted by *zemindars*. It is the government which says this.) The headmen of the

61 An allusion to Mark 5:9.

villages (Cyprus): "A village often finds itself assessed for inhabitants that have had no existence for years." "The rich have known how to take care of themselves and the poor and defenceless have paid for the release of the rich and powerful." "An appeal is allowed, if the tax farmer bestows an appropriate honorarium, in the tax farmer's favour, if the landowner is more liberal, in the landowner's favour."

How much India's people has to suffer at the hands of their own petty officials is the one thing known to every English official in India, the one thing never or rarely spoken of (let the *Times* examine into and speak of it), the one thing in that land of reports, of paper and print, *not* put on paper or in print or reported upon *there*—little known or wholly *unknown* in England—the people of India English justice never reaches, English water never reaches, English relief seldom reaches, *except* shorn, or even wholly intercepted by the corrupt native hand.

Even in the famine relief, in one great presidency (in another, European supervision acting over the *higher* native officials was more complete) lists of persons long since dead were sent in for relief, wealthy villagers obtained the munsif's connivance to their drawing from six to ten rations daily for each person while crowds were slowly and tamely starved to death, because they would not expose the munsif who misappropriated the funds entrusted to him.

Much, much more could I tell but let the *Times* examine into and tell it. And then the other side of the picture: the patient, silent, toiling millions, the thrift and economy, the industry and family affection. Think of the Hindus and Muhammadans supporting their own poor, *without a Poor Law*. And we here in *rich* England *cannot* do it. Who but the *Times* should tell us all this? But let the *Times* tell us all this from inquiry on the spot, tell it as the *Times* only can. Under severe pressure of business and illness,

ever yours sincerely

Florence Nightingale

Who should tell us all this? who but the *Times*? Is there any "*trust*" like that of the *Times*, the most powerful newspaper in the world?

F.N.

Source: From a letter to Sir Louis Mallet,⁶² Balliol College, Mallet Family Collection

18 February 1879

How horrible, how hideous is this Zulu War,⁶³ *not* because our bravest men and officers have bit the dust, not even because of the costly and great “little war” against savages before us, but because we shall have to administer annexed Transvaal, annexed Zululand, besides Natal and God knows what more! *Have* we succeeded so well in India that we want South Africa too!

Source: Letter, Woodward Biomedical Library A.84

10 S. Street
17 January 1897

Dearest Rosalind [Nash]

Thank you much for your kind letter, which was a relief to my mind. I had not time to add how pitiable it is that we who are so zealously trying to do the ryots good, and are so proud of our law, peace and protection, so little understand the ryots. Our boasted civil courts even do the ryot harm by interfering between him and the money-lender. *Rice* won't bury, but the ryot used to have immense stores of *millet* underground which tided him over a bad harvest. Now this all drifts away to the best market in the moneylender's hands, which grab it by virtue of the civil courts' finding. I rejoice in the prospect of a select committee to discuss the Indian budget and to show how heavily our big Army weighs upon the native.

But Lord Ripon's policy was worth 30,000 men to us (as one by no means a partisan of Lord Ripon once said to me). No enemy could ever get in if the great agricultural population were contented. You may decrease the Army if you *increase* Lord Ripon's policy. The people trusted him, because they knew that his policy, e.g., substituting for the corrupt grinding ill-paid petty official the respectable villager, was carried on not because he was afraid of them but because he sympathized with them. They knew that he had not been able to do all he wished. They have a wonderful scent for a real friend.

62 Sir Louis Mallet (1823-90), permanent under secretary for India.

63 A similar letter to Mme Mohl, 22 February 1879, adds “especially Sir Bartle Frere's Zulu War,” in Margaret Lesser, *Clarkey: A Portrait in Letters of Mary Clarke Mohl (1793-1883)* 207.

We are always stigmatizing their ignorance, but we do nothing to enlighten it. Mr Man Mohun Ghose told me himself (he was a Bengali) that in Bengal the average native implicitly believed that all the taxes went straight into the Queen's apron pocket. He went about explaining and lecturing to them himself on the elements of British government. When his business made this impossible, he paid men to go about and lecture (in the vernacular) on the same subject. The loss of him is quite irreparable. He knew both the English and the natives and was quite impartial. (I believe you knew him—I knew both him and his delightful wife. He was not his brother, Mr Lal Mohun Ghose, who learnt his speeches by heart and declaimed them to you while burning his fingers in your coffee pot.)

My moral is if the select committee, when appointed, would go also into these kinds of things, difficult as it will be (I don't like "India"—it is so rude). It is said that the chasm separating English and natives is widening instead of disappearing. . . .

ever your loving

Aunt Florence

Ireland and Home Rule

Editor: The liberal Nightingale was ashamed of her country's treatment of Ireland. There are observations in various places in her correspondence where she shows sympathy with the Irish and castigates British policy. A letter to Julia Ward Howe referred to "our wretched sister Ireland" and likened Britain's suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act to "military despotism" in a discussion of the Austrian occupation of Italy.⁶⁴ Late in life Nightingale worked hard on the extension of professional nursing in Irish workhouse infirmaries, work similar to that begun in Liverpool in 1864 (in *Public Health Care*).

The issue of home rule for Ireland divided families, the Liberal Party and indeed the nation. Nightingale was a (qualified) supporter of home rule, with the younger Verneys, though critical also of its proponents. Harry and Parthenope Verney (she more than he) were staunch "unionists," supporters of continued rule from Britain. We will also see "Liberal unionists" appear, those who did not support Gladstone's switch to a home rule policy, but who stayed in the Liberal Party. See the correspondence on the elections of 1885, 1886 and 1889 below.

64 Letter to Julia Ward Howe 28 July 1848, in Laura Richards, "Letters of Florence Nightingale" 326-47.

In 1889, commenting on Frederick Verney's paper on home rule, Nightingale said: "Blind economy on the subject is dividing people more and more and it is very good to show them that Lord Hartington and Mr Parnell⁶⁵ are terms synonymous or convertible. Also to pin down Mr Parnell to what he has spoken. Whether he is sincere or not would be a secondary consideration, were it not that sincere people have always more influence."⁶⁶ The following year she expostulated to Maude Verney: "I can find no words for Parnell's manifesto—so able and so diabolical—but Chief Justice Erle's on the bench to an attorney: Sir, you do not know the strength of the expressions I am keeping back."⁶⁷ Other letters to Fred Verney were similarly strongly worded: "O *that* Parnell!! If he is the devil, the *Times* is the archdevil. What will be the end of it?"⁶⁸ and: "O poor Parnell! Is this the end?"⁶⁹

Nightingale recounted that divisions over home rule were so great that the test of a good doctor was "to which camp he belongs. Even a doctor canvassing for an appointment is asked whether he is a home ruler or vice versa. I can remember nothing so distressing since the Reform Bill, which I remember very well, when the two sides would not meet each other at dinner."⁷⁰

Source: Note, Add Mss 45845 f28

[25 December 1870?]

[Ireland]: Our alarm in this country is passing or has passed away, since the arrest of many ringleaders in the Fenian conspiracy. The opinion of the lower orders is now turning against the Fenians, not as conspirators but as impostors who had excited hopes only to be disappointed. Irish Roman Catholic clergy, the extreme ultramontane party, which even in Roman Catholic Belgium, Italy and Austria, is incompatible with government. You cannot afford to act upon the principles of abstract justice.

65 Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-91), leader of the Parliamentary party for home rule. Lord Hartington led the opposition to home rule in the Liberal Party.

66 Letter 15 April 1889, Add Mss 68886 f53.

67 Letter 30 November 1890, Add Mss 68886 f183.

68 Letter 5 December 1890, Add Mss 68886 f185.

69 Letter, 9 October 1891, Add Mss 68887 f19.

70 Letter to Henry Bonham Carter 20 April 1889, Add Mss 47721 f181.

Source: Letter probably to Parthenope Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9011/169

[August 1887]

Many thanks for this *most* interesting letter. How pitiful and how terrible the state of Ireland in these “Jubilee” days⁷¹ of ours!

But I must turn away. My dear, is it not rather alarming about the 130 “tall” lions, “bred” in Dublin? They are not all wanted for home consumption in Dublin, are they? Do you think the English “aristocracy” buy them? The “rank and fashion” of England don’t have a carriage *lion* to go out with the carriage, do they?, as we used to have a dog to go out with the carriage.

F.

Source: From a letter to Margaret Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9013/111 [from a]

29 November 1890

I don’t know what to say about the Gladstone and Parnell crisis. I should think it was the most curious and fatal political crisis of our day. (*You* know, I dare say, more than I do.) Sir Harry, for my special improvement: he thinks I want a great deal, which no doubt is quite true, reads me the leading article of the *Times* (though he says he “*never* reads the first leading “article”), which produces temporary frenzy or delirium tremens in my otherwise idiotic brain. The *Times* used to be a gentleman, now it is a blackguard [scoundrel]. But even blackguards have a rule: “Don’t kick a man when he’s down.” The *Times* professes to think Mr Gladstone is smashed, yet kicks him all the more.

I used to think we were hard upon morality when we thought Mr Parnell a hero, because he was not a forger. Now I think morality is hard upon *us*, to break up the Irish cause because Mr Parnell has been *found out* to be (not because he *is*) a man unmentionable,⁷² this man who can command seventy or eighty votes [in the House of Commons].

It is true that the right and common sense do not depend upon Parnell, or even upon Mr Gladstone, but I have never known a time in

71 The fiftieth anniversary of the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne.

72 Parnell was named as correspondent in a divorce case in 1889, married the woman in 1891, but the scandal wrecked his career; Gladstone notably would not work with him.

my long life, which began at twelve,⁷³ when party and politics so ruled the right and the wrong and sense and nonsense. But it makes one trust more to the moral government of God, which as Bishop Stubbs⁷⁴ would say worked the Reformation out of an indifferent set of reformers, and the fall of the Cavaliers out of unattractive Puritans. . . . Parnell's manifesto in this day's *Times* is impudent and so clever, forcing Mr Gladstone into a corner.

73 When the great Reform Bill of 1832 was passed.

74 William Stubbs (1825-1901), bishop of Oxford.

ELECTIONS AND PARTY POLITICS

Party politics were part of the atmosphere in which Nightingale grew up. Her grandfather, an MP for forty-six years, supported political rights for non-conformists, toleration of Jews and abolition of the slave trade. Nightingale was proud of his causes, especially the abolition of the slave trade. Her father held liberal, democratic views but gave up on elected politics after he was defeated on his first try for a seat in the House of Commons. He took Nightingale to her first political meeting, to hear Lord Palmerston on foreign policy. He fostered also her passion for Italian politics. It was on the Nightingale family's visit to Geneva that Nightingale had her first acquaintance with (Italian) political refugees. The family was on visiting terms with a number of members of the political elite. Sidney Herbert's country house was near Embley and Nightingale visited there regularly in the years before the Crimean War.

The excerpts that follow come from Nightingale's adolescence (regarding her father's candidacy) to old age. They show her views on the great political issues of the day, the political process and political personalities. The first three letters, to the American liberal/radicals Julia Ward Howe (1819-1910) and her husband Dr Samuel Gridley Howe (1801-76), cover an enormous range of subjects (the parts on religion are excerpted in *Theology* 3:335-36 and 445-47).

Nightingale met the Howes in 1843 when they were honeymooning in England. They visited Embley and corresponded with Nightingale between 1845 and 1852, the years of great frustration when she was not allowed to nurse or study nursing. Julia Ward Howe was a member of the Radical Club of Boston, and lectured on suffrage, prison reform and peace. She and her husband, a pioneer of education for the blind, edited the anti-slavery journal *Commonwealth*. They were sympathetic both in politics and vocation (Nightingale could discuss her desire to go to the Deaconess Institute at Kaiserswerth, Germany, with them

when not with her family). As a young man Dr Howe served as a medical officer in the Greek Army in the Wars of Independence. That the warm feelings were reciprocated can be seen in the fact that the Howes kept four of the six letters Nightingale sent them and named a daughter after her, Florence Marion Howe, born 1845. *Many* girls, of course, were to be named after Nightingale, but this occurred *before* the Crimean War and her fame.

The correspondence shows how much a political person Nightingale was even in her twenties and long before her career as a social reformer began. Her identification as a Liberal, Whig, was solid; “we” are the Liberals, and the Tories are rudely treated. She joked that she was called a Chartist [a working-class movement for democratic reform] for her radical views. There is much on tactics with appropriate back-room slang: “Let the Tories do the dirty work a little longer and then we shall come in,” to Ward Howe (see p 333 below). Disraeli is “Dizzy” (see p 335 below), Peel a “forger” (see p 333 below) and Louis Napoleon an “animal” (see p 335 below).

There is reflection on social policy, especially the great disparities of luxury and poverty in England. Nightingale thought that there would be no revolution, though, because there was greater sympathy between rich and poor in England than in France and elsewhere. Here she credited the Poor Law, which gave meagre relief to the destitute, which she would later criticize, time and again, as ineffective and harsh. There are astute comparisons between England and France, condemnation of British treatment of Ireland (with the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act), interest in the Irish in America and highly partisan and idealized coverage of Italian attempts to get their Austrian occupiers out and establish an independent country.

Elections 1830s-1850s

Nightingale’s father, W.E. Nightingale, ran for Parliament only once, in the first election after the Great Reform Act of 1832. Both Nightingale and her sister were excited by the prospect. He was apparently discouraged by the defeat, blaming it on his failure to bribe the voters. See his election poster in the illustrations section.

Frances Nightingale, in sending congratulations to her brother, Benjamin Smith, on his election to Parliament in 1838, noted her husband’s “great hankering of late to be one of you.” He would “now perhaps be encouraged again to think of it” with Benjamin in the House,

“as you will be there to fill the vacancy made by poor Carter, the kind friend who never failed him in his hour of need.”¹ “Bo” and “Bos” were signatures Nightingale used in her teenaged years in family correspondence.

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8991/73

Cowes

Saturday [1834]

Dear Mama

. . . What extraordinary news you have sent us and how quietly you take it. It quite convulsed our quiet, quiet little world, i.e., Miss White, Parthe and myself. Parthe, after a deep reading of the letter in which she neither heard nor saw anything which passed around, screamed out, Papa is going to be MP for Andover. Miss White and I stood aghast. I could not believe my ears and Parthe said a dozen times, I wish I was at home, I wish I had seen the deputation. Such is the effect on us who have been living alone. I could not sleep after it, I slept so lightly that I had the feeling on my mind that something very extraordinary or dreadful had happened and I kept waking to find out what it was. I am so sorry we shall not see half so much of dear Papa and he will not be able to teach us as he did and we shall live half the year in London, and he will be like Uncle Carter and say “Pooh, pooh” because he is a great man. I had much rather he should be a little one, and oh! perhaps we shall have a governess. But I suppose I must be a patriot too in my small way and give up a man like Papa (who cannot fail to do good because he is so disinterested), to the country, instead of having him kept in his family.

Parthe is rather glad than otherwise. I think I should like to be at home—I am so afraid of six months in London instead of our delightful country places—and we shall see much less of Lea Hurst and Embley and the poor people. Or, worse still, we shall be separated from dear Papa for two or three months, if you cannot live in London. I long to see Papa in his new character. Mr Giffard² will see now how much he was mistaken, if canvassing for the Whig cause will ever make Papa give up the life he is so fond of. I hope, if dear Papa must become a London MP, that he will get over his disinclination there—

1 Letter 25 June 1838, Claydon House Bundle 66. John Carter (1788-1838) became Bonham Carter in 1830, MP for Portsmouth, husband of Mrs Nightingale's sister.

2 Jervis Trigge Giffard, vicar of East Wellow.

unto and be a great man like Uncle Carter. But we shall see very little of Papa and pray, pray, no governess. We will do our lessons by ourselves if he will still be so good as to go on teaching us at intervals.

So the Duke of Gloucester is dead and a public mourning ordered; I suppose we need not trouble ourselves. Yesterday we took a boat and went to Portsmouth and a most delightful trajet we had, and though we saw Mr E. Carter and stayed some time at his house with dear Louisa and Miss Finch, not a word did we hear of this grand business. We did not see Uncle C. Mr E. Carter said, I suppose your father is canvassing, but we thought he meant for Lord Palmerston and he said no more about it which was very odd. . . .

Pray send us news of Pa's canvass. I only hope the Parliament will not after all be dissolved or the Whig ministry begin and then Papa will subside again into his own quiet life. News, news, pray, dear Mama,
ever your affectionate child
Bo

Source: From an incomplete letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8992/12

[spring 1840]

Friday night's division which came on sooner than was expected was better than expected: 21, Baring Wall voting for ministers and the Tories losing their tempers completely and making a terrible crash of it, Peel actually quoting a passage from the Aenid comparing Macaulay to Aeneas coming a penniless *beggar* to her (Dido's) shores and Dido's receiving him of which he made a personal application. Disgraceful, everyone said!!

Source: From a letter to Hilary Bonham Carter, Add Mss 45794 ff93-94

[Autumn 1844]

You will be delighted to hear that J.P. had the warmest of receptions from his constituents, among whom he made his first appearance last Thursday (since the crash) at the Cutten's Pearl. He had sent his excuses, but mustered courage under the Fitzwilliam Wing, and made a most affecting little speech, thanking them for their forbearance to him under his troubles, giving the reasons for his "vacillation" about staying in, and offering now to stand by them. It was beautifully done and beautifully received, but what an effort for him. Now it is done, he writes to Papa quite relieved.

Source: From a letter to Julia Ward Howe and Dr Howe, in Laura E. Richards, "Letters of Florence Nightingale," 330

26 December 1845

What news shall I give you? Politics? No, for one, John Russell³ in (or out of) the Treasury, is too mystical and speculative a subject, and is besides as well understood in America as in England. I am glad he is not in; let the Tories do the dirty work a little longer, and then "we" shall come in, more safely, more gloriously, more permanently. Peel would have been a forger if he had been born Bob Peel, a butcher's boy. Let him forge for our benefit another year; he will get no better fame for it from posterity and "we" shall. He will go to a moral Botany Bay [Australian penal colony] as a forger sooner or later, while John Russell will have "preserved dear honour" as bright and clear as all the Russells from the time of Lord William.

Source: From a letter to William Shore Smith, Add Mss 46176 ff30-31

[ca. 16 September 1846]

Papa and I went to the Strutt⁴ election at Derby, when *Rt Hon Emily Strutt* (I mean her husband) was well nigh turned out because he had once given his vote in favour of a paltry £22,000 to the Roman Catholic college of Maynooth in Ireland (you know Edward Strutt is now a privy councillor, so had to be re-elected). The scenic effects of heat and horrors, dirt and deliquescence were remarkable, but I felt, my dear friend, as I walked into the Town Hall on the arm of the successful candidate (flowers and bouquet *correct*) I felt in that proud momink [?] my privileges as a free-born Englishman, a trial by jury, penitentiary system, burgess and all that. Edward Strutt's speech was admirable. I cried; his hard-hearted relations didn't. He said, and for once it was sincere (for even candidates *sometimes* mean what they say) that if the Derby people wished him to bid them farewell now, it was to be *forever*, but that there was no cause in which he had rather fall a sacrifice than in that of the oppressed Irish people.

3 Lord John Russell, Whig prime minister, known especially for Parliamentary reform. When Peel resigned in December 1845 and Russell was unable to form a government, Lord Stanley was appealed to to try, but he declined, realizing he did not have enough support for his protectionist policies.

4 Edward Strutt (1801-80), MP for Derby and family friend. The practice then was for a person named to the Cabinet to resign his seat and seek re-election, in effect as a vote of confidence in the government. The Maynooth grant entailed providing public money to a Roman Catholic college, a divisive issue.

The dissenters, I regret to say, but here let me pause and draw a veil over a Protestant failing, which smelt so strong—not all my flowers could stop it out. Such twaddle, one would have thought, could not have *disgraced* the year of grace 1846 as a candidate (Sir Digby Mackworth⁵) throwing peas at the pope, and a sop to Mars, for in his speech he appeared to rest his chief claim to the suffrages of the people of Derby on his having travelled with an Independent minister, had a Baptist to dinner and been in the Peninsular War, and he ended every sentence with “But I’m a Protestant, I can give no pledge on the ballot, *but* I’m a Protestant.”

This absurd Maynooth cry, it is said, shows but too well what we have to expect at the next election. If you don’t know all the “perpendiculars” of the Maynooth question, I dare say that great politician Hughie can help you out, and will be interested in all this. I have not time to enter into the question now. The carriage! Farewell.

thy Bos

Source: Letter/draft/copy, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8993/40

30 Old Burlington St.

7 March [1850?]

My dear Sir [T.K. Appleton,⁶ Boston]

. . . We are just out of a political “row,” which has ended in Lord John Russell and all his men coming back again and everybody shaking hands with everybody excepting Disraeli. The Jew’s harp is out of tune as the old Duke of Wellington⁷ said. Lord Stanley⁸ tried his hand for a week at Cabinet making and, Well, Stanley, what great things have you done? said Mr Herbert to him. Oh, he said, I’ve made Dizzy cut his hair and wash his face.

There was not a protectionist to be found in London for a week. They were all so anxious to come in: Why we have not been protectionists for years, they cried. They are called the anti-protective protectionists.

Lord John Russell’s Papal Aggression Bill has given the direst offence.⁹ The Peel people would not join him on that measure. Otherwise Sir James Graham professed himself quite ready for a coalition. Tonight

5 The defeated Conservative candidate.

6 Probably Thomas Gold Appleton (1812-84), whom Nightingale met in Paris.

7 Duke of Wellington (1769-1852), former Conservative prime minister.

8 Edward Geoffrey-Smith Stanley (1799-1869), 14th Earl of Derby, father of the Lord Stanley with whom Nightingale worked.

9 In 1850 Lord John Russell proposed a bill to create Roman Catholic bishops in England for the first time since the Reformation. Later it became illegal for Roman Catholic priests to assume ecclesiastical titles in England.

in the House, Sir G. Grey, the home secretary, brings forward Lord John's altered bill and that measure "tided over," it is said, there will be a coalition after this session. But all parties were anxious to avoid a dissolution at all risks, especially this year, when the Great Exhibition was so soon coming on. . . .

Source: From a letter to Dr Howe, in Laura E. Richards, "Letters of Florence Nightingale" 344-47

20 June 1852

We have had the driest spring and the wettest summer that ever were known. The Protectionists are hoping for a bad harvest, but I believe they will be disappointed. Our dissolution will take place in another fortnight, the Derby ministry being quite incapable of managing the present House of Commons. It is supposed that the next will prove still more unmanageable and that Lord Derby will speedily be forced to resign and probably some coalition of Graham,¹⁰ Palmerston or Lord John Russell reign in his stead.¹¹ The science of "political histri-
onics" has been brought to its utmost perfection under Disraeli who has played every part within the range of the most accomplished actor. The last Italian play, in which we have come off worsted with our tail between our legs and the unfortunate British lion has had his head broke and only a miserable money reparation made (I mean in Tuscany) has disgusted people with the Derby and Dizzy administration and will hasten its downfall. . . .

In England trade was never better than now, nor bread lower. The Protectionists have been obliged to cry "free trade" in town, however much they adhere to their old tricks in the counties. Dizzy they call "Profreetecttratidone" in consequence of his overdoing this chameleon propensity. . . .

The news from Paris is as bad as bad can be. I hear from private hands that the tyranny is insupportable, that it is feared it will be ended by the murder of the animal Louis Napoleon, and that he is now threatening the reporters to the English newspapers with exportation [deportation] if they speak the truth.

10 Sir James Graham (1792-1861).

11 Lord Stanley had failed to form a government in February 1852 on the resignation of Lord John Russell, but when Russell resigned again, 21 February 1852, Lord Stanley formed a government which lasted only to early July. A general election was held in July after which Stanley (who had become Earl of Derby in the meantime) formed another government, which lasted until December.

If you see, within the next ten years, not a constitutional government left in Europe except our own, if you see Europe returning to the dark ages and waiting for such a revolution as the world has not seen since 1793 in France, will you take us all in? In your new countries?

Elections 1860s

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9001/142

13 July 1865

As the agonies of the elections are partly over, and I am most thankful to see that you were unopposed.

ever yours

F.N.

Source: Draft/copy to B. Jowett, ADD Mss 45783 ff41-44

[end July 1865]

I think the elections are pleasing, specially Mr J.S. Mill's and Mr Goschen's being at the head of the poll, and Sir J. Acton's¹² and Mr Hughes',¹³ though I think he is a goose. I don't think anything of you at Oxford because you vote "genteel," like those wretched Lords. Unless you have to fight your way up to the polling booth, and go in for the drinking and pelting and hooting, like a Briton, I think nothing of you. The same for women: if your pupil, Mr Williams, gives us the suffrage, tell him we must have the drinking and the hooting or we shall think nothing of it.

How I wish I had the combative faculty. It *is* such a power to carry one through life. Someone said of Roebuck:¹⁴ he was qualified by his fight with the wild beasts of Sheffield to become member for Ephesus.¹⁵ How I wish I could qualify to be member for Ephesus.

12 Sir John Acton (1834-1902), MP, 1st Baron Acton, historian.

13 Thomas Hughes (1822-96), elected MP for Lambeth, author and founder of the Working Men's College, Great Ormond St.

14 John Arthur Roebuck (1801-79), MP for Sheffield for many years, an outspoken, independent liberal in many causes. His motion in the House of Commons led to the "Roebuck Committee" on the Crimean War and the denunciation of the state of the hospitals in the Crimean War as "disgraceful."

15 An allusion to 1 Cor 15:32.

You can't think how pleased I was with poor Lord Westbury's¹⁶ letter. They have been hard to him, a man with such an immense weight of responsibility, besides his courts, and who has done so much good. He made a great mistake, but it was not what Hunt said it was. It was not what Bouverie said it was, and now the House of Commons pass a vote of want of confidence in him. It was not for his vices but for his virtues they have "no confidence" in him.

The religious question is at the bottom of their want of confidence, and the electioneering question at the top. The opposition wanted to show with what pure hands they went to the poll. Then the Liberals had to bid against them for high-mindedness. Only Lord Palmerston stuck firm. You say truly Lord Westbury is but half sincere, but how many of the majority against him were even "half sincere," do you suppose? Do you think they were really in a flame against "corruption"? One of them, a Liberal and one of the most high-minded, was telegraphed up to London by a QC, his brother, who had returned Lord Westbury for Aylesbury and was angry because the chancellor had done nothing for him. (He told me this himself.)

In six or eight months, I prophesy, the House of Commons will be ashamed and sorry for what it has done. I don't believe but that nearly every chancellor has been *worse* than Lord Westbury. None of them but believe it, too, in their hearts. Is that being "sincere"? The only comfort is that that good, weak man [Lord Cranworth] is now our pope. If he had not been it would have been "penal" [?] to "hope" that everybody would be saved. To what "penal"? settlement would they have gone? But I shall not go. If I am asked, I shall say it is my "hope" that they will all be—the reverse of saved, specially your Hebrew Conservative [Pusey] and the attorney-general [Sir Roundell Palmer]. What is the reverse of "penal"? pension? Then is it my "hope" that I shall have a good pension, but I am really miserable that I have lost my pope.

16 Richard Bethell, 1st Baron Westbury (1800-73), lord chancellor, resigned in 1865 when a motion of censure was adopted against him, after a select committee investigation acquitted him of acting with unbecoming motives (he had obtained a pension for a relative), but lax and inattentive to the public interest. Nightingale appreciated him not only as a great law reformer but effectively the person who had acquitted Jowett and the other authors accused of heresy in the *Essays and Reviews* affair (see *Theology* 3:614-16).

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/46

Lea Hurst
Matlock

25 September 1868

My dear Sir Harry [Verney]

It was very good of you to write to me at all. The Bucks paper gave infinite pleasure here. I am not very much surprised to hear you say that you “mean this to be your last election” (though I hope that means that you feel pretty sure of winning it).¹⁷ For I have thought often lately that, what with House of Commons, and with railways and with county business and with doing everything for everybody, you had more to do than any one man could do. But I *am* surprised at, and do most earnestly protest against, the reason you give for it.

Surely it is not the business which “draws you earthward” but you who draw it heavenward. Surely there can be no other or higher “preparation for another world” than to serve God so faithfully in this as you have done in the House of Commons and in county business. Surely politics are one of the highest ways of serving God.

Sir D. LeMarchant published in his *Life of Lord Althorp*, in which he said that, at the age of forty-nine, I think, he meant to retire from public business, for the sake of preparing for another world. That always seemed to me the most extraordinary mistake that ever was made.

I suppose Lord Althorp¹⁸ was one of the honestest men who ever lived, one of the purest and most disinterested politicians and statesmen the House of Commons or Cabinet ever had. What in the world could he want better for a preparation to meet God? I suppose Lord Palmerston did many wrong things in his life, but surely it was the great redeeming, the ennobling, feature of his life that, till the very last hour before the very last illness, he worked as hard at what he thought the good of his country as a young collegian works for ambition to get a first class.

I most earnestly trust that both you and Captain Verney will win your seats, *for the good of the country*, which we will not deny God by denying that He cares for. . . .

ever, dear Sir Harry,
your affectionate
F. Nightingale

17 Harry Verney continued as MP until his defeat in 1874, was re-elected in 1880 and only retired in 1885.

18 Lord Althorp (1782-1842); see *Theology* 3:179.

Source: Letter/draft/copy, ADD Mss 45790 f378

[printed address] 35 South Street
Park Lane, W.
[November 1868]

Dear Papa

Surely this election is the most glorious event of our Parliamentary history, the grandest story of our times. (And this, though many of the men I cared most¹⁹ for have lost their elections. There is a backbone of common sense in our people which carries us through all our difficulties.) Here are above a million who come forth untried by experience, tried by every kind of sophistry and cry and 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 Disraeli’s sort. I think we have reason to be proud of our good old country. God bless her! I am glad I have lived to see this day.

Disraeli 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?

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/54

[printed address] 35 South Street
Park Lane, W.
14 November 1868

Private

My dear Sir Harry [Verney]

I cannot help writing my little “Godspeed” to you who will have so many for Monday and Tuesday (I don’t know whether your nomination is on Monday).

So sure as I am that your election will be conducted, as far as you are concerned, not only in the spirit of God but directly for the service of God, I cannot but look upon it as a great religious ceremony. For politics are the highest department of God’s service. My good wishes attend on Captain Verney.

How much will be decided on Tuesday for the future course of God’s government! Not but what I am far from thinking Mr Disraeli a

19 The electorate had doubled after the Reform Act of 1867 and Gladstone became prime minister for the first time, but J.S. Mill and Edwin Chadwick were defeated. Note that voting took place on different days in different constituencies.

servant of the devil or Mr Gladstone an unmitigated apostle of God! But still the issues which hang upon that day are the most important of all. So much religious reform, social reform, commercial reform, administrative reform, reform in governing our great dependencies, has followed the political reform of thirty-six years ago.²⁰ May we not trust and pray that equally great or greater may be the reforms which will follow the constitutional change of 1868. May God's will be done in us and by us all!

ever yours affectionately

F.N.

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/55

[printed address] 35 South Street
Park Lane, W.
17 November 1868

My dear [Parthenope Verney]

To be sure I like to hear progress—I am thankful to hear it. By this time it is all settled. I should have asked you kindly to telegraph, but that I felt sure, if you did not, I should think something had happened.

Mr Rathbone found time in his hard pressure to write: "I believe Liverpool is considered about as safe as a constituency of 38,000 of which over 20,000 have never voted can be, and in S.W. Lancashire. Though a hard fight it must be we expect to win." Mr Rathbone's nomination is today.

I heard a not very hopeful account of Godfrey Lushington's²¹ canvass, but he had done himself good by the fight. Clerical influence, it was said would be too strong for him, and a certain clerical jobbing in almshouses, of which you will probably not ever hear. (*His* fate too is settled by now. May it be all right!) East wind here dreadful.

F.

As, when you receive this, all except Marlow²² will be settled, I will put in now, the admirable and adorable Mr Wyatt, chairman of the Board of Guardians of St Pancras, who is building for the saint a new and excellent workhouse infirmary at Highgate, which *we!* are to nurse

20 The Great Reform Act of 1832.

21 Godfrey Lushington (1832-1907), later Sir, husband of their cousin, Beatrice Smith.

22 Edmund Verney ran in Great Marlow in 1868, and numerous times thereafter in various constituencies before finally being elected in 1885 in Harry Verney's North Bucks seat.

(the first London workhouse which has made proposals to us) invites me to send a friend to the laying of the first stone on *10 December*. I thought it just possible Sir Harry might go?

F.

Source: From a letter to Parthenope Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/56

20 November 1868

Thanks very many for most interesting letters. I have forwarded them each day to Papa. I could not but give one tear to Captain V.'s defeat, but two to his victory or better than victory, for he is more than conqueror. (And so I told Sir John Lawrence.) There has been a terrible smash among our young men, but on the whole surely this election may be called the most glorious event of our Parliamentary history, the grandest story of our times—great as that is. (And this, though many of the men we cared most for have been defeated.²³)

There is a backbone of common sense in our people which carries us through all our difficulties. Think of more than a million of working men coming untried by experience, tried by every kind of sophistry and cry (and intimidation in some cases) and saying: "We will not have radicals, we will have no extreme men on either side, we will have the real men, we are "constitutionalists," not of Disraeli's sort." I think we should be proud of our good old country. God bless her!

Still Di[sraeli] might very plausibly say, "When *you* proposed reform, half of you ran into a 'cave,' half of you voted against. *We* put confidence in the people. Here is the result. Why do you turn us out?" Mr Rathbone, on the morning of his nomination, went to the Liverpool Workhouse, and did business by himself for two hours in our nursing administration and wrote me word of the result. (I did not ask him, indeed I did not.) It is of such men as these that England is made.

Everybody is very sorry about Mill, and everybody expected it.²⁴ He has written himself out of Weston. The Briton won't stand that writing

23 Notably Mill, Naoroji and Chadwick. This election was the first after Disraeli's Representation of the People Act, 1867, which effectively extended the franchise to the male working class.

24 J.S. Mill was elected in 1865 (he was a most unenthusiastic candidate), supported unpopular causes in Parliament, was defeated in 1868 and did not run again although he was offered a seat.

about and dictating to other constituencies and his own. But he is an irreparable loss. I hope he will get in somewhere. I am afraid Abingdon²⁵ is a cruel disappointment to many.

In the greatest haste (for I have been writing all day to Sir J. Lawrence and Lord Napier and that poor woman, Lady Herbert, is coming).

ever yours

F.

Elections 1870s

Source: Unsigned, incomplete letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9006/70

Embley

4 February 1874

My dear Sir Harry and Parthe [Verney]

I am thankful to hear that Sir Harry is tolerably well again, and I wish him Godspeed in his election with all my heart and soul, because I know he cares for it only or chiefly to help the country on. We were much amused with the election song which he so kindly sent. . . .

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9006/71

Embley

5 February 1874

My dear Sir Harry [Verney]

I cannot help being greatly grieved and much disappointed at the loss of the seat. But you have fought a good fight for a great many years, and I think you may have the honour of being found not unworthy of being rejected “for righteousness’ sake,”²⁶ since it is certainly not on account of principles but of £220,000 that you have been “despised.” Though it has not told against hard money, I think too it tells for good the speaking about in the villages.

For yourself, I can hardly think the event is to be regretted. You will have more time and strength to spend on other interests, of which you have enough and to spare. And I had often fancied lately that the House of Commons was becoming burdensome to you and certainly not salubrious. You have made a good struggle for your supporters and they could ask no more.

25 The losing Liberal candidate, Godfrey Lushington, was married to a cousin.

26 An allusion to Matt 5:10.

Perhaps Fred may succeed you in some future Parliament; I think it will add ten years to your life being out of Parliament. I am afraid Jack Bonham Carter's rejection at Winchester is an enormous disappointment. Your telegram reached me at 10:00 and put us out of our misery, for which thanks.

ever your affectionate

F. Nightingale

Source: Letter/draft/copy, London Metropolitan Archives HI/ST/NC1/74/2

Embley

Romsey

14 February 1874

Dear M Mohl

Our general election is almost over and with an overwhelming gain to the Conservatives. As far as my concerns go, I am anything but sorry. In every single respect almost, they have gone worse under our own ministry for the last five years than under any other.

The three Conservative India ministers I have known, Lord Stanley (now Lord Derby), Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote²⁷ were literally "angels and ministers of grace" compared with any India minister on our own side.

I am in hopes that the Conservatives may still come in time enough to save the remains of wretched Bengal from the famine and that Disraeli may give the "surplus" of 4 or 5 millions not to afford us a few more luxuries, but to save a few hundreds of thousands of these Bengalis from being starved to death, all which might have been helped if the Duke of Argyll²⁸ had not stopped our irrigation.

Sir Harry Verney has lost his seat; his son has not won his and Jack Bonham Carter has lost his seat of twenty-seven years at Winchester, and with it, of course, his chairmanship of Ways and Means.

Mr Lowe said that this new Parliament would be plutocratic and the next revolutionary. But no man has done more to drag down Mr Gladstone's government than Mr Lowe. . . . God bless you.

ever yours

Florence Nightingale

27 Sir Stafford Henry Northcote (1818-87), 1st Earl of Iddesleigh, a progressive, at various times secretary to Gladstone, secretary of state for India and foreign secretary.

28 George Douglas Campbell (1823-1900), 8th Duke of Argyll, secretary of state for India.

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9007/73

5 February 1877

My dear Sir Harry [Verney]

I wish I had anything to give but the warmest and deepest interest in your Buckingham MP plans. I suppose that in these days a MP *must* make it a “profession,” as you have always done, and the question is whether *you* could take a thing easily, of which you have made so noble and useful a profession.

On the other hand, I suppose the Buckingham seat may be lost again, if you do not take it. There is no chance of there being an election *this* year, is there? Would it be possible for you to accept the Buckingham deputation *conditionally*? Next year you *may* be stronger than you are this. And if you did *not*, alas!, feel so, there would be nothing unmannerly—would there?—in saying, *next* year, that you felt unequal to give up such time to the House of Commons as you judged right for a MP, and in suggesting perhaps Edmund?

I wish I knew more about these matters, but can only repeat how deeply I feel them for your sake. I pray that you may be guided aright.

yours ever

F.N.

1880 Election

Editor: The British general election of 1880 brought Gladstone and the Liberals back to power after defeat in 1874. Gladstone’s attack on Conservative foreign policy, his articles and risky “Scotch jihad” (see the discussion on Gladstone, p 473 below) paid off with a solid win. Here we see Nightingale at her most fervent in her belief that politics is doing God’s work.

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/32

10 S. St.

13 March 1880

The *song* is beautiful!! It has gone the round of everybody here, so is the account of the meeting, so is the address, 1000 thanks. And may the song be fulfilled “a hundredfold.” Surely God must go with the right! Primroses, primroses, let this be a new springtime for politics as for you.

F.

I *pray* for a new *righteous* House of Commons.

Source: Letter to Parthenope Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/33

16 March 1880

You see Mr Forster was speaking at *Bradford*, my dear P., but that is no reason why he should not come back. Success attend us, or the highest success of all, to do God's will for bringing about a House of Commons which shall serve Him. All hail to the brave old Paladin. I shall be with you at all the meetings, and what is better, God will.

I hope you were not too much tired and that (I had said, the stout old warrior but I say) the *ever young* warrior will not be the worse for last night. God bless you.

ever your

F.

It is rumoured that Mr Cowper Temple²⁹ has resigned. We heard his chance was poorer. Mr Rathbone gives up Liverpool for Lancashire S.W.

Source: Letter to Parthenope Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/36

24 March 1880

. . . The talk here among the "academic and philosophic politicians" is that ministers will have a small majority and will be obliged to form a coalition Cabinet. The breaking up of the stupid, overwhelming and unthinking majority of the last six years will be a great deed for the Liberals to do. And they *may* have a small majority, after all. God bless them. Do you know that Shore and Louisa have actually been enlisted by the Liberals to canvass in Marylebone?!³⁰ I am so glad.

Please tell Mr Fred that nothing makes me so jolly as what he says: that the labouring men are rising to the interest of Liberal politics. *That* is the thing we have to do. *So* we shall beat the beer at last with the savings bank, the daily newspaper, the improved dwellings and schools. Is it that the compulsory schooling is already beginning to tell? Hardly that, I suppose, yet, but we must not let the politics degenerate into beer. Hurra, hurra for the canvass. Depend upon it, it is a great thing, *when conducted* as it is with you, *purely*, whether we win or lose, for instructing and rousing the people to higher interests. Electioneering is then a great and noble task, none higher. I give you joy of it, but we mean to win besides.

This morning was a hard frost and a N.E. wind, but there was a dear

29 William Francis Cowper Temple (1811-88), later Baron, then MP for South Hampshire.

30 Where Edmund Verney was running again, unsuccessfully.

little bird carolling and whispering away to God before dawn. That is the dawn of purer politics. Success, success. God bless the election.

ever your and Sir H.'s

F.

Source: Letter to Parthenope and Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/42

10 S. St.

1 April 1880

Joy, joy, joy for Buckingham and so many other Liberal victories. Sorry for Devonport, sorry for Westminster,³¹ and glad for Lord Baring and Winchester and for Hackney.³² Success to Portsmouth³³ but, whether we win or not, it will be a great moral victory, so pure and unadulterated, so much of the people, people and not of beer, beer.

Our maids are all in the [Liberal] colours, red, and the four cats are marching in with their four tails up and in four red necklaces. Mr Wildgoose writes to me from Holloway: "Very much absorbed in the electoral struggle of this division (North Derbyshire) *which the 'RANK AND FILE' of the Liberal Party have compelled* their leaders to undertake with *good hopes* of success." (Lord Edward Cavendish³⁴ and Mr John Cheetham,³⁵ you know.) How my father would have cared for it, how I wish that the present possessors of Lea Hurst would go down and stir up our people to a gallant fight against the Arkwrights and Conservatives. I am glad Henry Strutt has the Berwick seat.

Your kind telegram reached me at 5 minutes to 11:00 last night and put the whole house in joy. I hope you are not too much fatigued. The glory of it all is that on our side it is all *pure* enthusiasm (without beer) of principle, and awakening to higher things. May God continue the election for the Liberal interest as He has begun it! Let Mr Ralph know that I am in his colours, white and red, and that I solemnly share his triumph on this happy occasion, for which he has been so convincing a little argument.

ever your

F.

31 Where the Liberal, A.C. Sellar, husband of cousin Gertrude Smith, ran fourth and lost and where Liberals John Morley and Arthur Hobhouse lost.

32 Where the Liberals Viscount Baring and Henry Fawcett respectively won.

33 Where Edmund Verney was running, again unsuccessfully.

34 Edward Cavendish (1838-91), Liberal candidate in North Derbyshire, elected in 1885.

35 Defeated then but elected finally in 1892 as a Gladstonian Liberal.

Tell Mr Fred how jolly I am at the great interest of the people which he will never let die. I write today that I may put MP, member of the greatest body in the world (not excepting the old E. India Company) to your dear name. "Its customs are beastly, manners it has none, one may say of the weather, Lord Beaconsfield [Disraeli], and the *Times*."

I have sent "a Nile novel." It is very interesting and striking, though it does not catch the Nile "couleur locale." I have not been able to finish it since I left Ramsgate and should like to see it again, please. I thought a *man* had written it.

Success, success, success to the ever young Paladin of Buckingham.³⁶
yours and his ever
F.

Elections 1885 and Later

Editor: Sir Harry Verney finally retired from Parliament but was estranged politically from both his sons over the issue of home rule for Ireland. A Liberal and long-time friend and colleague of Gladstone's, he did not follow Gladstone (who had earlier opposed home rule) when he adopted the opposite position. The Verney sons, like Nightingale, were "Gladstonian Liberals," for home rule.

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9010/79

10 South St.

13 May 1885

My dear Sir Harry [Verney]

Enclosed is the cheque for £25 which you were so good as to allow me to send you for the North Bucks [Liberal] Association, of which you are president. I know you will write one of your gracious letters with it (for all these little people are, as you say, subscribing their shillings and half crowns, the magnates being all in South Bucks, to meet the expenses of the meetings, etc.) and tell them that you contributed £55 last year to the general Bucks Liberal Association, that they may get some of it if they can. God bless you.

ever your affectionate

F. Nightingale

³⁶ Nightingale also sent her message to the "ever young and gallant old Paladin for Buckingham," adding that "it must be real success whether the election is lost or won." Letter 20 March 1880, Add Mss 68882 f142.

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9010/81

10 June 1885

Oh bad, bad, bad, supporters of a Liberal government to let them fall through in this way,³⁷ but now they have resigned it is to be hoped that they will not be forced to stay in. But I am appalled at the idea of that little beast Randolph³⁸ at the India Office. It was too provoking that by such a catastrophe as this we should a second time have lost the bringing forward of Mr Slagg's motion to inquire into the Government of India, which means the India Council (which I have urged indeed).

Source: From a postscript to a letter to Parthenope Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9010/108

18 September 1885

In the outside sheet of the *Times* one day there was a letter signed "A Liberal and a Landlord" which had some of your ideas. But it said in "*this* county of Surrey." I was rather glad it was not yours, because it is so very important to unite the Liberal landlords and the Liberal manufacturers, not to sound a note of defiance against the latter, is it not?

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 68883 ff153-54

10 South St.

22 September 1885

My dear Mr Fred [Verney]

All hail to the Tonbridge Division, and may it live long to rejoice in being reigned over by you, and you live long to reign over it. Though I trust in a seat for your full success, yet I will not allow that the greatest successes in the world have not oftentimes come out of failure—as I am sure you do not. And surely there will have been much political truth and principle spread among the uneducated by the speeches of the Liberal candidates whether they succeed or fail at the general election. But I stoutly expect a success. . . .

37 Gladstone's Liberals were defeated in the House on home rule, but won the election in November 1885. They were then defeated on Gladstone's home rule bill in 1886 and lost the ensuing election.

38 The Conservatives formed the next government, under Lord Salisbury, who appointed Lord Randolph Spencer Churchill (1849-95) secretary of state for India (see p 534 below).

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9010/119

14 November 1885

In answer to yours, yesterday I said that I felt an awe, sometimes amounting to fear, about the general election, but this is a fear lest we, the Liberals, should not win, and of what the new Parliament will do, if we lose. This, I am sure, is your fear. You wish the present Liberal generation, and your own sons, to think for themselves, as *you* thought for yourself, not to follow blindly their fathers, as you did not follow blindly *your* father. This is the very essence of your Liberalism. God bless you and it.

You cannot think it would be for the nation's good if the other side, Conservatives and Parnellites, were now to win. No one would be more unhappy than you if, from any inertia in Claydon House, which is so loved and respected, your son were to lose his election in North Bucks. We dread to think of it. Would not you go to one or two of his meetings and say with your own peculiar power what you have so often said to me: that you do not agree on all points but that you and your son trust in those to whom the power is now given *not* to legislate, which requires "experts," but to choose honest and capable and careful men and that your son may be so trusted. Surely anything like this would do immense good.

May God bless you all and may He in His infinite wisdom and love guide this momentous general election aright. . . .

ever my dear Sir Harry
yours and P.'s affectionately
F.N.

Source: Unsigned note, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9011/31

17 June 1886

At Bletchley (Fenny Stratford) Meeting: Sir Harry Verney has done his part here admirably. Nothing could be better than his short speech; quite manly and outspoken in maintaining his own position, quite affectionate towards his son, conciliatory towards the whole meeting. *They* were obliged to him for coming; *he* did an infinite amount of good by his kindly presence. He was most warmly welcomed and appreciated and it is to be hoped he was conscious how welcome he was. He ought to be at the head of the Liberal Party in North Bucks: his acceptance of the office of president of the association will give pleasure to all Liberals and spread dismay among the Conservatives.

Editor: The following letter was sent to Fred Verney at his request, for use with women Liberals, who of course had no vote, in his election campaign in Bath (which he lost).

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 68884 ff84-87

London

29 June 1886

My dear Mr Fred Verney

Accept a woman's warmest good wishes for your canvass, no less than for your return for a Liberal seat for Bath, for your canvass conducted on such noble lines as to make it a good and no evil—a triumph in itself. (I will not say “whatever happens” for a seat in Parliament must crown it), for your canvass which, teaching principles and what Liberal principles mean, as it does, *is* a success, and not only a road to success.

Instead of criminating and recriminating, which alas! our greatest men have hardly avoided, instead of counting up how often G. or H. or I. and J. have contradicted themselves and disinterring the corpses of their inconsistencies, instead of local squabbling and gossiping and the whole art of abusive politics, instead of floundering in this “mucky” puddle, to sail (not with the “filthy rags” of party politics but) with the swelling sails and “bounding breeze” on the great principles of Liberal politics and statesmanship, on the great principles of all administration and government, leaving, at this solemn crisis, detail to the time when the representatives of this country will have to decide upon detail, instead of despising “dissentients” and calling names to show, as you do, the difficulties where they may help the practical truth with their opposition.

Her Majesty's Opposition, so truly, so fondly called best understood here—H.M.'s three or four Oppositions we must say now—to dwell, we say, on the great principles of law and order and justice and love of justice: this, this is success, this is the noble canvass, this is your happy path, your fair voyage.

If this be the “new life” which the present election is to inaugurate, which women as well as men may join to promote, then we say: “God save” the election, a good and not an evil, a great and a noble education in something higher than party politics, in practical politics for the good of mankind (taking away from “party what was meant for mankind”) in government, for the right. And each election instead of being the sink of corruption and vicious gaiety we know it was will be a time of meeting of different classes for the highest purposes of

instruction and of sympathy (when, in the language we love, “the lion shall lie down with the lamb”³⁹).

This is our beloved Queen’s jubilee. Let this be the beginning of the reign of high politics, which in their turn shall have *their* jubilee. God save the Queen. God save the new era. God save all those who wish to save the “union.” May success be yours in Parliament, the greater success of a pure canvass is yours already.

Florence Nightingale

Source: Telegram, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9011/43

Sir Harry Verney, Steeple Claydon Bucks 3 July 1886

Oh no it is not lost at Bath⁴⁰ defeat in battle so nobly waged is victory. Nightingale

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9011/36

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane, W.

7 July 1886

MOST PRIVATE

My dear Sir Harry [Verney]

You were so good as to speak to me here and at Claydon more than once about your going to Norwich next week and taking Morey [his butler] for a “holiday” and also about Captain Verney’s election. Would it not be, far from a “holiday,” a most terrible vexation to Morey to take him away on Captain Verney’s polling day? (He remained for the day of Captain Verney’s meeting at Steeple Claydon, though you kindly pressed my taking him with me to London on that day. There could scarcely be a greater hurt to Morey’s feelings than to prevent him from voting, or a thing that your own feelings would more disapprove.) But this is a small thing in comparison with yourself. O forgive me for feeling strongly, and perhaps writing more strongly than I have any right, where an inconsistency with your honoured position both as head of the family and as head of the Liberal Association seems involved if you go away on the polling day.

We cannot tell what the future will be. Is it not of great importance that you should not be one to open wider the splits in the Liberal Party? (You said, dear Sir Harry, that you agreed with almost every

³⁹ A paraphrase of Isa 11:6.

⁴⁰ Fred Verney was defeated again.

word about Ireland in Captain Verney's speeches.) How painful a thing it would be for Captain Verney's feelings to look back upon, if such, now needless, division takes place, making a breach in the family or in the party. Will you not vote for your son, whom the other Unionist Liberals of North Bucks intend, it would appear, to vote for? Will you not lend your carriages, an article which no other Liberal in North Bucks seems to have? And what they will care for far more, will you, or must this be given up? not give your presence at Buckingham, your honoured presence, at the declaration of the poll?

Nothing but your extreme and constant kindness to me, my dear brother, would make me venture on a subject so painful to me, or ask whether, in these times when public opinion runs so high, the presidency of the Liberal Association could be retained against the majority of the Liberal Association? Would it not be trying them too much to go contrary to them and retain the position? (I can conceive nothing so painful to Parthe or indeed to yourself than that you should be president without an unanimous wish of your members.)

Do not the other Unionist Liberals of the division, having made their protest against Mr Gladstone's bills, feel so satisfied of Captain Verney's moderation and honesty that they are going to vote for him? After all, there is much more certainty that your son is a "good fellow" than there is certainty about the future of any political questions.

The show lasts all the week at Norwich, I believe, does it not? And could not you and Morey go there after Wednesday? It is something like kidnapping a voter, is it not?, to take away Morey. God bless you and my sister. God guide us all. I need not say that this letter is for yourself alone as it comes from myself alone. Forgive me, and believe me,

ever yours affectionately

F. Nightingale

Strictly Private please

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9011/42

[printed address] 10 South Street

Park Lane, W.

28 July 1886

MOST PRIVATE

My dear Sir Harry [Verney]

You were so good as to talk to me about the N. Bucks election and of your deep distress at its result,⁴¹ a distress which is shared more bit-

41 Edmund Verney was defeated, having only won the seat the year before.

terly than can be conceived by the Liberal Party, manly men shedding tears. You also, as I understood, desired more keenly than anything else to use your great influence to reunite the party and thus that the sorrow should bear fruit, as you were as much surprised as distressed that the seat should have been transferred from Liberal to Tory and that your letters should have been so misunderstood as to have been freely used by the Tories against your son, read by the chairman of a Tory meeting amid "rounds of cheering," and one was actually printed by them and distributed, as against Captain Verney.

Your great kindness to me makes me think, and indeed you have assured me over and over again that you do not consider it impertinent in me to reciprocate your sorrow and even to make suggestions to carry out your wishes. It would be easy and natural for you to state, in a letter to the Liberal paper of North Bucks, something of this kind: would it not?, that there has been so much misconception in North Bucks as to my attitude during the recent election that I ask you to find space for the following statement: it is well known that I could not conscientiously accept Mr Gladstone's proposals as regards Ireland.

The Irish Government Bill in my opinion contained serious defects which, had I been in Parliament, would have prevented my supporting it. But, on the other hand, there was, and is, no Conservative policy for Ireland before the country which appears to me a desirable alternative; and, although the Irish question was the question of the day during the elections, it is by no means the only question which the new House of Commons will have to deal with. I am as heartily and as strongly in favour of the Liberal cause as ever I was in my life and, as, in North Bucks, the issue was a clear one between Liberalism and Conservatism, I voted for the Liberal candidate and lent my carriages to take voters to the poll. I deeply regret that some of our Liberal friends should have, on this occasion, supported the Conservative candidate, and I regret still more that this constituency should have swerved, only, I hope, for the moment, from Liberal principles. There is now but one course to take: to close our ranks again and to do our utmost to make a second defeat impossible. Whatever help towards this end I can give will be given gladly.

I sympathize so deeply in your disappointment and distress, my dear brother, that I know you will accept this as a token of sympathy, even if you differ as to its practicability. God bless you. God speed the right.

ever yours affectionately

F.N.

Source: Draft letter proposed to Harry Verney to sign, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9011/46

3 August 1886

Although it was impossible for me to support “the Irish policy of the late government, yet as a thorough Liberal it would have been a violation of my lifelong convictions to have in any way assisted the return of a Conservative, my vote was therefore given in favour of a Liberal as against a Conservative; and every horse and carriage in my possession was put at my son’s disposal on the polling day—the conveyances on the Conservative side being in North Bucks, as in so many other constituencies, far more numerous than those of the Liberals.” Instead of “My hope now is” to end, would you not put: “My hope now is that, *when the next election comes*, it will be made clear that the constituency of N. Bucks has not swerved from Liberal principles, that (omit *then*) we may close our ranks again and do our utmost to make another defeat impossible. Whatever help I can give towards this object will be given gladly.”

You do not really wish—I know you do not—to defer the triumph of liberalism in North Bucks to some distant and uncertain date, after the “settlement” of the Irish question?

Source: From an incomplete letter to Edmund Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9011/74

14 January 1887

Private

I received your note last evening—I feel with you more than you can imagine. It is indeed the greatest difficulty that I remember in political life since 1832. I am so sorry, so infinitely sorry for both sides. Fathers and sons are set against each other, brothers against brothers, and husbands against wives.

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9012/235

Claydon House

Tuesday night, 24 September 1889

Most Private

My dear Captain [Edmund] Verney

Thank you for your very kind note. I need not begin my answer by saying how very distressing all this is, for I believe we all feel it equally. But though I did not know on Monday of the things you tell me till *after* Sir Harry started for Pleasley with Morey that morning (to stay till Thursday) I believe I can throw some light on these his wonderful notes:

1. Sir Harry has it in his head that your election is to be *this* week, though we, the reprobates, believed that the writs were not to be out before week after next. On *this* supposition he writes *that* Monday's note, in great haste, believing that after *this* week he should have the joy of seeing you all at his ease

2. My sister had a most unfortunate letter from "*Tom Fremantle*"—is that the name? which Sir H. saw before he went, saying that he was informed that Sir Harry had *canvassed* one person *on behalf* of Captain Verney, and that he (Sir H.) had changed his opinions and begging my sister to tell him the truth.

Sir Harry is so little in a hostile mind that he has written to Mr Calvert,⁴² who unluckily comes on Thursday, imploring him not to excite my sister. We know, alas! how excitable she is upon election matters, or to talk to her as I fear he has done and written to you—and which really sends her "off her head."

About the "bishop": he stays here from 9 to 11 October. I am sure Sir Harry wishes you to come. Is it true (this is from myself—Sir Harry firmly believes that the election is to be this week, why I know not, and he knows not) that the writs are to be out on 8 October, and will the election follow immediately? And will this clash with the bishop's visit? And is that good or bad—I mean for Claydon weather? (Sir H. is so little hostile that he said to me: "I *wish* the election to be *this* week, because delay is good for Hubbard."⁴³ Also: I am sure he firmly believes that the "elections being over," he will welcome you "to meet the bishop." Now for the conclusion:

1. Sir Harry is always looking forward to the time when, "the elections being over," you will all of you come for a long stay here, and so give him a great joy. (Indeed, as you know, he entirely *forgetting that you had taken a house*, wished you to come and have the election from here.) This persuasion that you have "no house" returns to him, and partly, no doubt, dictated his Monday's note that he could not, though he wished, ask you here to stay.

42 Frederick Calvert (1806-91), QC, only brother of Harry Verney, a former MP, and even more opposed to home rule. Nightingale was staying at Claydon House to help smooth relations. Edmund and Margaret Verney moved to a neighbouring village for the campaign. For further on this unhappy episode see Claydon House Bundle 332.

43 E. Hubbard, the victorious Conservative candidate, who had defeated him also in 1886.

2. He *wishes* you and Margaret to pay flying visits here and so give him a little joy *till the election*. (I should like to tell you that, after wishing me goodbye, he came back again into my room, and said: “I wish you to know, because it gives you joy, that my son Edmund and I have never been on happier terms together than now. There is *no* break between us” or words to that effect.) He *wants* you always to come, but he forgets continually that his notes and letters contradict each other, and himself, because he is so inconsecutive, inconsecutive in all, dear Captain Verney, but his deep love for you and for Margaret, his absolute trust in you and Margaret.

That is never interrupted, never broken: *there* he is never inconsecutive. His health is not good (they say I see him at his worst always and I am sure I hope it is so)—he complains grievously of giddiness to me, and faintness. And sometimes I am glad he is inconsecutive, because otherwise I think he would literally be worried to death.

I fear “*Tom Fremantle’s*” letter affected him much, though I did not see him after he had seen it, and was the real immediate cause of his note to Margaret. I did not know how to make this shorter if I were to give you his real mind at all after your letter, or save him from having a great sorrow in your abstaining from coming here. Have I made things clearer?, or made that darker which was dark enough before? . . . With my love and reverence to Margaret.

ever yours affectionately and anxiously

F. Nightingale

Excuse pencil. Burn.

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9012/237

Claydon

Wednesday night

2 October 1889

Private

Dearest Margaret [Verney]

Sir Harry was quite delighted with your letter of 30 September and impressed with what you told him about the home rulers *not* being separatists. He took it from me, meaning quite eagerly, to answer it the same day, but he cannot remember whether he did answer it or not. So I venture to write it to you.

He was also extremely gratified with Captain Verney’s letter to Mr Calvert⁴⁴ of 27 September, a letter which it would be impertinence in

44 Frederick Calvert had written to say that he would try to undo Edmund’s election victory. Letter of Margaret Verney 2 November 1889, Claydon House Bundle 332.

me to praise. It was shown me by Sir Harry with Mr Calvert's leave. Mr Calvert was impressed by it, but Sir Harry is aware that he has written a letter which I am afraid will appear in a Bucks paper in answer to some remarks of Mr Calvert to him. Sir Harry—he is standing by you stoutly—said: “My son is quite right to stand for N. Bucks. If he wishes to be in Parliament, this is the place for him. And he pledged himself to “stand while I was President of the Liberal Association. And his supporters could not get in anyone else.” In answer again to some remarks, he said: “I do not wish to act ‘strongly,’ but to act rightly.” Great pressure is put upon him to speak at some Unionist meeting, but he steadily refuses, “absolutely” refuses. He deplores that he cannot stop Mr Calvert's talk, but whatever he *can* do, he does, to remain true to his principle of being absolutely neutral and doing nothing against Edmund. He knows of course now that the polling day is on the 11th. I think his memory is failing and he is wearing. Morey is admirable.

3 October 1889

You kindly sent me a note from Ralph,⁴⁵ who has not given me his address or dated his note. But in the envelope was this piece of shorthand (quite safe from me). If it was put in by mistake for a note from you to me, please send it me. Hail to the American travellers and to those who have to take the stormier voyage of an election here. But for those who go in to an election for *Him* of whom Captain Verney speaks, all is safe and He will bless you—He does bless you.

ever your affectionate

Aunt Florence

Sir Harry tells me this morning that he has told Morey that he may have the brake all day on the 11th (as Mr Huntley Greene⁴⁶ lent his carriage) “to take *anyone* on *both* sides to the poll.” Sir H. is quite steadfast. I am so glad you had Gwendolen and Kathleen.⁴⁷ I fear you are very much overfatigued.

45 Ralph Verney (1879-1959), later Sir, son of Fred and Maude Verney.

46 Thomas Huntley Greene (1847-87), vicar at Middle Claydon.

47 Gwendolen Verney (1881-1932) and Kathleen Verney (1883-1966), daughters of Fred and Maude Verney.

Source: Letter appended to letter to Margaret Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy)
Ms 9012/240

10 October 1889

Dear Sir Harry [Verney]

. . . Pardon me for troubling you. Where is Ludgershall? Is not the brake much wanted there? Swanbourne is well provided, is it not? Would you think well to do what you said to me, viz., "The brake can be used to convey voters of *both* sides. I shall not interfere. They shall have the brake in the morning before and in the evening after Parthe's drive. No livery and no colours."

F.

Source: From a letter to Edmund Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9013/21

15 March 1890

Private

I am always so very glad to hear from you, as you I hope know well, and particularly on the subjects which are interesting you most. I wish you all (the highest) success both in the L[ondon] C[ounty] Council and in the House of Commons. I recognize the value of H.M.'s Opposition, on *whichever* side it is, provided it is not "party."

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9013/72

Claydon

20 August 1890

Private

My dear Edmund [Captain Verney MP]

I am so glad that you are here. Thank you very much for your very, very kind note. But be those C[hiltern] Hundreds far, far from you! The general but *not* recorded experience is that men who achieve an early brilliant success in the House of Commons do not become useful ministers to their country and that those who do so become, have often been failures *at first*, or thought themselves so, in the House.

E.g., I knew a man who was offered the chancellorship of the Exchequer in his twenties, in consequence of his immense success in the House. He wisely declined, saying: "He had weighed himself in the balance and found himself wanting." He was never of much use. One would say that one element of success is failure. But another is not to do things for success. A hero is one who does not aim at success. (Gordon was a hero; Parnell is not.) To know how many of the best Cabinet ministers have been failures at first in the House would surprise anyone.

I have lived a long life and been much behind the (political) scenes, though *extremely not* political. I would say, if I might, go on and prosper

on what you call failure, i.e., experience. *Know* the House. It has what is called a “queer temper,” has it not? I don’t want to rob Sir Harry or Claydon or Robertson of your time today. But if you have five minutes to spare between 3:00 and your departure, give them to me, please.

ever your affectionate

Aunt Florence

I feel like a crab who has taken possession of a beautiful shell and turned out the rightful inmate in this charming Blue Room full of sunsets.

F.N.

Not immediate, but have you five minutes to spare this afternoon?

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 68888 f85

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane, W.
28 July 1895

My dear Fred [Verney]

Hurra for the Norwich meeting tomorrow, I say, though you find it oppressive, I am afraid. It is rather trying and touching than oppressive, I think. You meet your friends, you who have fought the good fight⁴⁸ so well and meet them who have also fought it so cheerily, and you encourage yourselves for another time. I should like to be the man of the beer meeting *his* friends, the publicans. If the old noble of past times could say: I had rather “have my dead son than your living ones,” how much more should you whose son Norwich is *not* dead rejoice over your possession though lost for a time—only a time.

One great lesson this general election has or should have taught us, viz., that the working man knows nothing of politics, in the higher sense that Dr Arnold⁴⁹ of Rugby put to them. Religion and politics, he used to say, make up all the world, religion to teach us God, politics to teach us our fellow creatures. I always think of you and your saying: when does the workingman know enough to make him know more by giving him responsibility? This is the question of the age.

When you hear the “Labour” Party contending for more wages, fewer hours, to take the freedom from everybody of taking their work as they please and domineer over everybody to do as the “Labour” Party please, you see they know nothing at all about it. If they had really studied the subject, whatever conclusion they came to, one would have no more right to interfere than to quarrel with a Russian for talking

48 An allusion to 1 Tim 6:12.

49 Thomas Arnold (1795-1842), headmaster.

Russian. But it is vain to think that the elementary schools can teach politics. *We* have to teach them, to teach the village young men, and truly the sooner it is begun, the better. Village clubs won't teach them. All success be yours.

your loving Aunt Florence

Editor: Frederick Verney ran five times unsuccessfully before he was finally elected. The letter above is the last substantive surviving one with him concerning elections but one suspects that Nightingale continued to give him support and advice. She offered him a “very small” contribution for an unspecified political campaign in 1900.⁵⁰

Endorsing Candidates

Editor: Nightingale evidently found it extremely difficult to endorse publicly her friends/colleagues running for political office. Her reluctance to do so extended to Edwin Chadwick, a long-time ally in sanitary causes (indeed a mentor although she had strong differences with him in important respects) and a person who had helped her in her particular projects, notably publicizing her royal commission reports. The first letter in this series is simply on Chadwick's unsuccessful candidacy for Parliament in 1859. Nightingale here takes the long-term philosophical position, that elections are a means of raising public issues and persuading public opinion. Standing for election then can help promote the cause, even if the person is not elected, a point Nightingale made with other defeated candidates as well, notably the Verney sons. The warmth of Nightingale's 1859 letter might well have given Chadwick reason to believe that she would be happy to endorse his candidacy when he ran in 1868. (He and Mill effectively ran together as radicals; Mill was also defeated, although he had won in 1865.)

There are then two (!) contradictory letters/drafts, on the same date, to Chadwick, presumably in response to his request for endorsement in the 1868 election. Were both sent? (They are both in the Chadwick Collection of the University College Archives, which suggests that they did not come from Nightingale's drafts or copies kept at home but were actually sent.) Perhaps the shorter, positive one was sent second, cancelling an initial refusal. Nightingale had reasons for not endors-

50 Letter 20 March 1900, Add Mss 68889 f75.

ing Chadwick, for she profoundly disagreed with the harsh position he had taken in the Poor Law reform of the 1830s, which forced people into the workhouses to get relief.

By the time of the 1886 election (nearly twenty years after that of 1868) Nightingale found it easier to respond favourably, indeed giving public endorsement to two candidates, an ally on Army sanitary reform, Surgeon-Major G.J.H. Evatt and an Indian nationalist leader, Dadabhai Naoroji. The letter to Fred Verney (see p 350 above) was also in a sense an endorsement for it was at least intended for circulation if not publication, and was strongly supportive, if directed to persons (women) who had no vote.

Source: Letter/draft/copy, ADD Mss 45770 ff98-99

West Hill Lodge
Highgate Rise, N.
9 May 1859

Dear Mr Chadwick

I was very glad to see that you had come to the poll. I don't call it a defeat at all. It is the first time that those topics have been tried at an election. And you have only to go on and to make the subjects of your speech on the hustings as popular as possible by making them known in as many county or popular papers as possible. Wherever mooted, those topics are always appreciated and welcome with the working classes though not with their employers. You stand alone now at the head of a party, which party consists perhaps but of one or two now. But go on and it will become a party in the House of Commons. You polled one seventh of the whole number of votes at Evesham, one third of the man above you. I don't call that so bad.

I think your article in the *North British* and at the Social Science meeting, together with your interview with Lord Stanley, has already borne fruits. Lord Stanley has asked Mr Herbert to be chairman to another sanitary commission to do in India what the first has done at home. Pray do not remit your efforts to bring the thing to the people's minds.

yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/51

[printed address] 35 South Street
Park Lane, W.

4 November 1868

My dear Sir Harry [Verney]

Please tell me what I ought to do about Mr Chadwick's request. I have always, as he knows, kept entirely out of political sidings one way or the other. I have served each side just the same.

He puts this however in a different way. I think Mr Chadwick would be a useful man in the House. I think he would be an infinitely better man in the House of Commons than, as he has been, for the last fifteen years, agitating and publicizing and cross and restless. But I don't think he ought to have asked me this. I give my name—I bring down no one knows what controversies upon me—and no sum that I could afford to give would be of any use to him without my name.

To undertake anything *at all* that will bring down any correspondence upon me is past my power. I have more painful cares at this moment than any one human being can or ought to undertake. I am pressed to that degree by Lord and Lady Mayo's departure (*she* too has just been here) that I can hardly breathe. Still, if you thought well, I would send Mr Chadwick my name and £5.

I don't think either Mr Mill or Mr Chadwick or many other men have used me well about many things. They make me take no end of trouble for them. They never do anything for me. Mr Mill has never helped me about India. Then they both of them often say to me, "Give me your name" and leave *me* to bear all the correspondence which *invariably* in my case follows upon it. In greatest haste,

ever yours affectionately

F.N.

Source: Letter, University College Archives, Chadwick Correspondence 1490 ff31-32

[printed address] 35 South Street
Park Lane, W.

7 November 1868

Private

Dear Mr Chadwick

I am so driven and worn with overwork just now—especially with Indian work—and I feel so grieved to refuse your request, especially as I do not think you will enter into my reasons, that it is quite a trial and a task to me to write this note. I have taken time to consider your letter and also I have asked one or two of my political friends their opin-

ion (alas how few have I left) and I have come to the conclusion that, although I wish of all things to see you in Parliament, on account of the great services you will render on social questions, yet it is impossible for me (I only speak for myself) to do as you ask.

This is the reply that, if Lord Palmerston were still among us, I am sure that he would have advised me to give. A lesser consideration—one which would not however weigh with me if it were not for the other—but which will, I believe, weigh with your kindness is that I am absolutely unable to undertake one more care in addition to the already too many cares that I have undertaken. Anything that brings additional and useless correspondence and controversy upon me I must avoid if I am to do my heavy work at all, which never leaves me ten minutes' leisure. Mr Mill says he regrets to see me "so seldom taking a lead (publicly) in public subjects," and he sends me subjects in which he thinks I should do so.⁵¹ He little knows the extravagant correspondence, the useless waste of strength, this invariably entails upon me whenever I consent, me who have not an ounce of strength to spare, depriving me of time and power for my real business. But now I will only add, you have not a heartier well-wisher for your success than
 your ever faithful and sincerely friendly servant
 (as I hope you know)
 Florence Nightingale

Source: Letter, University College Archives, Chadwick Correspondence 1490

7 November 1868

Private

Dear Mr Chadwick

This is not in answer to your letter but only in small token of my friendship. And I wish that it were in my power to make it twenty times as much.

yours ever sincerely
 Florence Nightingale

51 No such statement appears in any surviving letter, nor did Mill ever send her a list. The sentiment that women and men both should act publicly appears in his letter of 31 December 1867 (see p 398 below), but there he also supported her own choice of activity.

Editor: Dadabhai Naoroji⁵² became a close colleague for many years. When he was selected as candidate for Holborn he asked Nightingale for a letter of support and to attend a public meeting at the Holborn Town Hall for him. She asked Fred Verney for advice on the letter,⁵³ and duly sent one, which the candidate read out at a public meeting 24 June 1886, prefaced with: “I cannot place my case better than in the words of an illustrious English lady, whose name for patriotism, philanthropy and self-sacrifice is the highest amongst your race—Miss Florence Nightingale. (*Loud cheers.*) She writes to me in these words:

Source: “Miss Florence Nightingale to the Electors of Holborn,” in *Speeches and Writings of Dadabhai Naoroji 1825-1919* 206-07

London

23 June 1886

My dear Sir [Dadabhai Naoroji]

My warmest good wishes are yours in the approaching election for Holborn, and this not only for your sake, but yet more for that of India and of England, so important is it that the millions of India should in the British Parliament here be represented by one who, like yourself, has devoted his life to them in such a high fashion—to the difficult and delicate task of unravelling and explaining what stands at the bottom of India’s poverty, what are India’s rights, and what is the right for India: rights so compatible with, indeed so dependent on loyalty to the British Crown, rights which we are all seeking after for those great multitudes, developing not every day like foliage in May, but slowly and surely.

The last five or eight years have made a difference in India’s cultivated classes which has astonished statesmen—in education, the seeds of which were so sedulously sown by the British government, in power, of returning to the management of their own local affairs, which they had from time immemorial, that is, in the powers and responsibilities of local self-government, their right use of which would be equally advantageous to the Government of India and to India (notwithstanding some blunders), and a noble because careful beginning has been made in giving them this power.

52 Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917), a Parsi, Member of Legislative Council of Bombay, whom Nightingale described as the “father of the Reformers,” three times president of the Indian National Congress, finally elected to the UK Parliament in 1892.

53 Letter to Maude Verney 22 June 1886, Add Mss 68884 ff68-69.

Therefore do I hail you and yearn after your return to this Parliament, to continue the work you have so well begun in enlightening England and India on Indian affairs. I wish I could attend your first public meeting, to which you kindly invite me tomorrow, but alas for me, who for so many years have been unable from illness to do anything out of my rooms.

your most ardent well-wisher

Florence Nightingale

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9011/34

26 June 1886

First of all let me thank you for introducing Mr Dadabhai Naoroji to the senior whip. I suppose its result has been that Mr Naoroji, as you see, stands for Holborn. He had his first public meeting on Thursday (to which he invited me, and of course only the number of balls on my list prevented my going). It was a very crowded and enthusiastic one. Mr Naoroji spoke exceedingly well, in *beautiful* English. "It was a wise, great speech, a fine expression and intellectual head." This I hear from the persons to whom I gave my platform tickets. I do not know in the least what his chances of success are. It is *most* important for India: he is the father of the reformers.

Editor: Nightingale expressed similar sentiments in a letter to Maude Verney, but curiously expressed regret that he had read out her letter!

She explained that the *Pall Mall Gazette* had published the letter side by side "with its own expression of 'hatred to Chamberlain' and 'detestation of Lord Salisbury,'" asking, "Que diable allais-je faire dans cette galère? [what the devil could I do in this mess?]"⁵⁴

Source: Letter with enclosed letter of endorsement, Boston University 1/8/109B

10 South St.
Park Lane, W.

24 June 1886

My dear Sir [Surgeon-Major G.J.H. Evatt]

You ask me to "write you a line in sympathy with your getting into the House." My deepest sympathy is yours, but I am not at all sure

⁵⁴ Letter to Maude Verney 28 June 1886, Add Mss 68884 f81. The quotation is from Molière, *Les Fourberies de Scapin* II.7.

that it will do your candidature any good for me to express it. It would be life to the cause to have you in Parliament. Goodspeed.

ever faithfully yours

F. Nightingale

London

24 June 1886

Strenuously desiring, as we all of us must, that *administration*, as well as politics should be well represented in Parliament, and that vital matters of social, sanitary and general interest should find there their voice, we could desire no better representative and advocate of these essential matters, matters of life and death, than a man who, like yourself, unites with almost exhaustless energy and public spirit, sympathy with the wronged and enthusiasm for the right, a persevering acuteness in unravelling the causes of the evil and the good, large and varied experience, and practical power, limited only by the nature of the objects for which it is exerted.

It is important beyond measure that such a man's thoughtful and well-considered opinions and energetic voice should be heard in the House of Commons. As Lord William Bentinck,⁵⁵ when governor general of India, said of Sir C. Trevelyan,⁵⁶ one of the ablest administrators ever sent to India: "That man is almost always on the right side in every question, and it is well that he is so, for he gives a most confounded deal of trouble when he happens to take the wrong one." So we must say of you, which to anyone who knew Sir C. Trevelyan as I did, appears the highest of human praise.

You have my warmest sympathy in your candidature for Woolwich, my best wishes that you should succeed, even less for your own sake than for that of administration and of England. Pray believe me,

ever your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

Editor: Nightingale was deeply concerned at the defeat of Dadabhai Naoroji in Holborn and Surgeon-Major Evatt at Woolwich. To Fred or Maude Verney she explained: "Each had a part to play in the House which no one else could do." She had had "such cheery, sensible letters from each of them." Naoroji said that his canvass was "honourably

55 William Cavendish Bentinck (1774-1839), governor general of India 1828-35.

56 Charles Edward Trevelyan (1807-86), former governor of Madras.

carried on, that he can try again,” and Dr Evatt that “much has been done and said that wanted saying and doing.”⁵⁷

Source: Letter, Boston University 1/8/110

London
7 July 1886

My dear Sir (Surgeon Major G.J.H. Evatt, MD)

We are concerned beyond measure at the failure in having you in the next Parliament, but defeat it is not. Where great administrative principles, which so often do not gain a moment's attention in politics or in Parliament—one would think that a country could be administered without administrative principles for the amount of attention the country gives them—where these are presented and discussed, as you discuss them, it is a great educational process; it is a great gain whatever the loss. And to you, too, the instructor, the campaign, as you magnanimously say, has taught much.

Alas! how many victories (so-called) have been losses in this campaign, the woeful ignoring of any principle, the sparring, the personalities, the nasty recrimination—they have been an education backwards, almost as bad as the public houses of old days, though more refined. You know *who* says the Lord's Prayer backwards.

You have nobly kept the canvass in its true sphere, the discussion, for the purposes of enlightenment and improvement, of administrative principles and practical politics, of the needs of the country, of the ways of raising it to better things.

Excuse a brief note. Shall you be coming to London soon? If so, and you can spare me a visit, can you kindly make an appointment two or three days beforehand? Pray believe me,

ever yours faithfully
Florence Nightingale

57 Undated letter, Add Mss 68885 f70.

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POLITICAL NOTABLES: LETTERS AND NOTES

John Stuart Mill

John Stuart Mill and Quetelet were Nightingale's two great mentors on matters philosophical and methodological. Mill's influence began earlier (she read him when growing up) and led on to a number of different subjects. As well as law, free will and necessity, the subject of her first letter to him, they worked together on Poor Law reform, notably the introduction of professional nursing into workhouse infirmaries in London (when Mill was an MP and assisted in getting legislation passed). There is no direct correspondence on this (Edwin Chadwick acted as intermediary) but Mill's role will be seen in *Public Health Care*.

The first set of letters with Mill (below) deals with Nightingale's monumental *Suggestions for Thought*, which she had had printed largely to facilitate his commenting on it. *Suggestions for Thought* itself will appear in a later volume, but its central subject matter of law, free will and necessity is so germane to all of her writing and work that these letters are included here.

The second and better-known set of letters, on women's rights, especially the vote and women in medicine,¹ was exchanged just after the work on the Metropolitan Poor Bill. Nightingale discussed Mill's

1 For the full correspondence see Alfred C. Meyer, "Florence Nightingale as a Leader in the Religious and Civic Thought of Her Time," *Hospitals* (July 1936):78-84. No author's name is given but the source is described as a private collection of Alfred C. Meyer, president of the Board of Trustees of Michael Reese Hospital. Current locations of the manuscripts are given here. Mill's letters are also available in the *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill* vols. 15 and 16. See also Evelyn L. Pugh, "Florence Nightingale and J.S. Mill Debate Women's Rights."

reaction to her *Suggestions* with another reader of them, her friend Benjamin Jowett. Even years later she could not understand his great reliance on *law* without it necessarily implying a Law-Giver.² She also discussed the question of her support of the suffrage association with Jowett.³

All the letters directly between Mill and Nightingale have been published, although the only edition that includes both sides of the correspondence (by Alfred Meyer) is scarcely available. What is new in this *Collected Works* is the inclusion of the wider network within which this correspondence occurred: exchanges with Edwin Chadwick and Helen Taylor⁴ (Nightingale used the former as an intermediary and Mill used the latter) and Clementia Taylor (honorary secretary of the National Woman Suffrage Society, no relation to Helen Taylor). Nightingale's previously unpublished letter to Taylor (see p 404 below), on signing whatever J.S. Mill sends her, is especially amusing.

Here, too, there is a substantial number of previously unpublished notes and letters *by* Nightingale *about* Mill. It is possible that some of these notes, especially on free will and necessity, were draft letters to Mill but not actually sent. Some of the letters, notably to her father and Benjamin Jowett, presumably were sent. These show considerable dissatisfaction with Mill's position. Clearly the debate was not over, in her mind, when the correspondence ceased.

Nightingale's first attempt to meet Mill occurred during the meetings of the International Statistical Congress, presided over by her other great mentor, L.A.J. Quetelet. She wanted the two to meet, but it seems that Mill was unavailable or otherwise declined. The approach was made through Chadwick, whom she had asked to bring Mill to a breakfast. When this failed Nightingale asked Chadwick for an introduction, which he thought was unnecessary, and suggested that she write Mill directly. She thanked him for the "permission" to do so and did.⁵ Chadwick had prepared the way some months earlier by giv-

2 See Jowett's notes of a conversation with Nightingale 1 September 1881, Balliol College Archives 1 H 49.

3 Letter 25 May 1868, Balliol College Archives, in Quinn and Prest, eds., *Dear Miss Nightingale* #166, 144.

4 Daughter of Harriet Taylor (later Mill) by her first husband, Helen Taylor (1831-1907) was, like her mother, a suffrage leader, later a member of the London School Board.

5 Letter 3 September 1860, ADD Mss 45770 f160.

ing Mill a copy of Nightingale's just-published *Notes on Nursing*, so that the first letter in the series is from Mill to Chadwick acknowledging its receipt, and expressing the highest praise of Nightingale as a person. The letters are published in chronological order, with notes and letters *about* Mill's views incorporated as appropriate.

Source: Letter by Edwin Chadwick, ADD Mss 45787 ff4-5

Richmond, Surrey, S.W.

26 June 1860

Dear Mill [John S. Mill]

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

Source: Letter by J.S. Mill, ADD Mss 45770 ff128-29

Blackheath

7 February 1860

Dear [Edwin] Chadwick

I am grieved to hear such an account of Miss Nightingale's health. I shall certainly read her book at the first opportunity, not for any benefit to myself for my ailments have never yet been of a kind to require nursing, but for the reasons you give, as well as others that are obvious. I do not need it to enable me to share the admiration which is felt towards her more universally, I should think, than towards any other living person. . . .

yours truly

J.S. Mill

Source: Letter/draft/copy, ADD Mss 45770 f148

30 Old Burlington St., W.

31 July 1860

Dear Mr Chadwick

Could you come and breakfast here one of these mornings at 1/4 before ten, or earlier, and bring Mr J. Stuart Mill with you? If ever I were well enough to see him, and you had been good enough to bring him here in this way, this would be a sufficient introduction.

Could you besides come and dine here yourself any evening? This would be very good of you. I want very much to have a few minutes' talk from you before you go to Paris.

ever yours sincerely
Florence Nightingale

Source: From a letter by J.S. Mill to Chadwick, ADD Mss 45770 ff153-54

27 August 1860

I beg you to thank Miss Nightingale very particularly for the new edition of her *Notes on Nursing*. I have read the additional matter, and think it quite equal to the preceding. But I confess I wish the sentence we talked of were omitted.⁶ There is nobody that I know of who deserves the stigma it conveys, while it gives the sanction of Miss Nightingale's authority to the attempt to run down those who are contending that the only way in which either women or men can find out what they can and cannot do is by being allowed to try, and that it is a gross injustice to women that men should pass sentence in the matter beforehand, by pre-emptorily excluding them from anything. I am, dear Chadwick,

yours ever truly
J.S. Mill

Editor: Nightingale did not change the offending material in the regular edition of *Notes on Nursing*, but omitted it in the revised *Notes on Nursing for the Labouring Classes*, 1861. She next approached Mill directly to ask for his criticism of her *Suggestions for Thought*. Her letters focus on philosophical issues like necessity and free will, while Mill continued to discuss women's rights, the vote and entry into the medical profession. Nightingale thanked Chadwick for his "defence of, or rather interpretation of me, with Mr J.S. Mill. You have put my meaning more exactly than I had put it myself."⁷ The letter to Mill is also the subject

6 The last section of *Notes on Nursing*, entitled "The two jargons of the day," called on women to keep clear of the *rights* jargon, which "urges women to do all that men do . . . merely because men do it and without regard to whether this is the best that women can do" and the opposite jargon, that women should do nothing that men do but rather stick to "women's work." Nightingale called both listening to the "voices from without," when women should instead go their way "straight to God's work" (165).

7 Letter from Nightingale to Chadwick 8 September 1860, ADD Mss 45770 f165.

of one of the sillier errors F.B. Smith made in his critique of Nightingale in describing her letter to Mill as being “in a laboured schoolgirl hand quite different from her usual . . . on cheap ruled paper” (186).⁸

Source: Letter, Boston University 2/6/1, British Library photocopy RP 2028, handwritten copy ADD Mss 45787 ff1-3

30 Burlington St.
London W.
5 September 1860

Private

Dear Sir [J.S. Mill]

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*,” though whether you would acknowledge the superstructure, I am quite ignorant. At all events, I am inclined to try, although 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 Comte⁹ 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 manuscripts 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.

Florence Nightingale

8 Her letter is in the usual hand and is on normal paper. Smith presumably mistook it for a handwritten copy in British Library ADD Mss 45787 ff1-3; its own photocopy of the Boston letter is RP 2028. Smith also claimed that Thomas Carlyle dismissed *Suggestions for Thought* as “the bleating of a sheep lost in the wilderness” (188), citing Bishop and Goldie on the subject (121), neither of which give a Carlyle source.

9 Auguste Comte (1798-1857) actually designed a “religion of humanity,” complete with saints’ days and a catechism.

I acknowledge the justice of your animadversion (of which Mr Chadwick wrote to me) upon a passage of my little book on nursing [*Notes on Nursing*], if I meant what you think, which I did not. If my words bear that interpretation, and you will kindly point them out to me, I shall be glad and grateful to alter them.¹⁰

F.N.

Source: Letter of J.S. Mill, ADD Mss 45787 ff7-8

Blackheath

10 September 1860

Dear Madam [Florence Nightingale]

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, and 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

10 Nightingale left the section in the next edition but added a supplementary chapter “What is a nurse,” which includes discussion of the calling of a nurse. In her *Notes on Nursing for the Labouring Classes*, 1861, she dropped the section entirely.

Source: [The following paragraph was struck out in a University of Chicago copy, and does not appear at all in the British Library version.]

It is very agreeable to me that you should have found my *Logic* of so much use to you, and particularly the chapter on free will and necessity, to which I have always attached much value, as being the uniting issue of a train of thought which had been very important to myself many years before, and even (if I may use the expression) critical in my own development. Believe me, dear Madam,

very truly yours

J.S. Mill

Source: Letter, Boston University 2/6/2, British Library photocopy RP 2028, handwritten copy ADD Mss 45787 ff9-12

30 Old Burlington St.

12 September 1860

Dear Sir [J.S. Mill]

Taking advantage of your extreme kindness (an article which nobody ever fails to take advantage of) I have sent you, by book post, Volume 1 of the religious work in question. There are, I am sorry to say, two other “devils” (I mean volumes) “worse than the first.”¹¹ 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* and will alter these words in the next edition. But, as a matter of fact, I protest against your 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”¹² 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 the subject, I heartily subscribe and defer. *This* is not the “jargon” I mean. I refer to an American world, consisting of female MDs, etc., and led by a Dr Elizabeth Blackwell, and though the latter is a dear and intimate and valued friend of mine, I reassert that her world talks a “jargon,” and a very mischievous one, that their female MDs have taken up the worst

¹¹ Matt 12:45.

¹² To “scrat” is to use one’s nails or claws in attack.

part of a male MDship of thirty 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 and gratefully yours
F. Nightingale

Source: Letter of J.S. Mill ADD Mss 45787 ff13-18

Blackheath

23 September 1860

Dear Madam [Florence Nightingale]

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 benefited by the recasting 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 scarcely 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. It 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 forms 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 the perfection could only be achieved by a struggle against evil. But, then, a perfect Being, limited only by this 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 conforms as little to this character, as to that of a world without evil. If the Divine intention in making men 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 occurs to me consistent with the facts of the universe except (in some form or other) the old one of the two principles.¹³ There are many signs in the structure of the universe of an intelligent Power wishing well to man and other sentient creatures. I could however show, not so many perhaps, but quite as decided indications of an intelligent Power or Powers with the contrary propensity. But (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 obstacles to the entire fulfillment 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 co-operation with the good Power, of deciding or at least accelerating its final victory. I knew one man of great intelligence and high moral principle who finds satisfaction to his devotional feelings and support 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 that we predicate all 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

13 Zoroastrianism. A letter to her father protests Mill's "Zoroaster proposition" (see p 385 below).

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 inflexible constancy of sequence than in those in which it has. No doubt this instinctive notion 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 in 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 book, 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 of 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 stimulus 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 into 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

Source: Letter, Boston University 2/6/3, British Library photocopy RP 2028, handwritten copy Add Mss 45787 ff23-26

30 Old Burlington St. W.

28 September 1860

My dear Sir [J.S. Mill]

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 the applications of 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 so 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."

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

Had I lived, I should have attempted, probably failed, in some such organization 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 anyone to real good. Whether anyone merely "thinks it good" or not is a small matter.

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 Frederick the Great’s general said to God, “Grant me this one thing and I promise never to pray to you anymore.”

ever, my dear Sir,

yours very gratefully

Florence Nightingale

I QUITE agree that “the more the entrance to the medical profession is widened, the more chance of its being reformed.”

Source: Copy of letter on lined paper, ADD Mss 45787 f27

30 Old Burlington St., W.

29 September 1860

My dear Sir [J.S. Mill]

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

Source: Letter of J.S. Mill, ADD Mss 45787 ff28-31

Blackheath

4 October 1860

Dear Madam [Miss Nightingale]

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 forcibly, 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 never 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 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 wrong 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-Véan, près Avignon, Vaucluse, France, and I am very far from wishing that you should do as

Frederic's general said he would. I have returned your treatise today
by the book post. I am,
yours very truly
J.S. Mill

Source: Copy of note by J.S. Mill, ADD Mss 45787 f6

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

J.S. Mill

Comments on Mill

Editor: Nightingale's high opinion of Mill can be seen also in a letter to her father, where she noted that "if J. Stuart Mill had not taken up one of Comte's doctrines, that of universal law," Comte's contribution to "progress" in the world would have been "*none*" (*Theology* 3:319). An exasperated Nightingale later wrote to her father that it would take the whole of *Suggestions for Thought* "to answer Mill." Mill's letters would be "worth attending to" only if "*experience were exactly the contrary of what it is.*"¹⁴ Nightingale's joking name for her work was "Stuff."

Source: Undated note, ADD Mss 45843 ff296-98, f300

Is it possible for any to be farther advanced, more stoutly engaged, in the opposite road to that indicated by Stuart Mill himself as the best, or the only one, for making progress in religious inquiry, namely, the Jewish, where there were the Hebrew conservatives of the sacerdotal order, and opposed to him and always digging into him the daring, erratic and unconstitutional prophet who became more than a match for kings and priests?

Positivists say we cannot know anything about God. Is not this exactly the same spirit as the Roman Catholic who says we can know nothing about God but through the church, or the Protestant who says we can know nothing about God but through the Bible? Is it likely that the positivist will "know anything about God"? Or he says what good ever came of an inquiry about God? Of course, as long as men said that no good could come of an inquiry into the solar system, men did not

14 Postscript or note to W.E. Nightingale ca. 5 November 1864, ADD Mss 45790 f329.

discover the mechanism of the heavens; they studied astrology instead.

“We cannot but know God.” We see how to J.S. Mill, by his education, it was made impossible that he should know God. The positivists distinctly say that they will not know God, will not inquire about Him, upon principle (they do not deny His existence). It is not meant that the knowledge of God is *forced* upon us. Of course, if we will not look we shall not see. A man (Stuff I, 34) is not to be satisfied that he can find out nothing about God if only his little experience tells him nothing. He may be blind. But here are people saying: We *will not* find out anything about God. Of course they don’t; God never forces Himself; who does indeed? (Stuff II, 171, 113) God is always speaking to us. Different natures hear different things but the wise and good positivist won’t hear at all.

J.S. Mill “started direct from his father’s brain.” He really was what his father had made him. He is the one real example of education made in the “workshop of his father’s mind.”

Source: Undated note, ADD Mss 45845 f118

Mill, by saying that a man’s actions necessarily follow from his character, all that is really meant (for no more is meant in any case whatever of causation) is that he invariably does act in conformity to his character and that anyone who thoroughly knew his character could certainly predict *how* he would act in any supposable case. No more than this is contended for by anyone but an Asiatic fatalist.

Mr Mansel¹⁵ [is] mistaken in thinking that the doctrine of the causation of human actions is fatalism at all. The true doctrine of causation of human actions maintains that not only our conduct but our character is in part amenable to our will, that we can, by employing the proper means, improve our character, that if our character is such that, while it remains what it is, it necessitates us to do wrong, it will be just to apply motives which will necessitate us to strive for its improvement, and so emancipate ourselves from the other necessity. In other words we are under a moral obligation to seek the improvement of our moral character. We shall not indeed do so unless we desire our

15 Henry Longueville Mansel, dean of St Paul’s and the author of *Limits of Religious Thought*, 1858. There are further disparaging remarks about him in correspondence with her father and Jowett (in *Theology* 3:362-63 and 533 respectively).

improvement and desire it more than we dislike the means which must be employed for the purpose. But does Mr Mansel or any other of the free-will philosophers think that we can will the means if we do not desire the end, or if our desire of the end is weaker than our aversion to the means?

According to Mr Mansel, the belief that whoever knew perfectly our character and our circumstances could predict our actions amounts to Asiatic fatalism. According to Kant,¹⁶ such capability of prediction is quite compatible with the freedom of the will.

When we voluntarily exert ourselves, as it is our duty to do, for the improvement of our character, or when we act in a manner which (either consciously or in part unconsciously) determines it, they, like all other voluntary acts, presuppose *that there was already something in our character or in that* combined with our circumstances which led us to do so, and accounts for our doing so. The person, therefore, who is supposed able to predict our actions from our character, as it now is, would under the same conditions of perfect knowledge be equally able to predict what we should do to change our character, and if this be the meaning of necessity, *that part of our conduct is as necessary as all the rest*. If necessity means more than this abstract possibility of being foreseen, if it means any mysterious compulsion, apart from simple invariability of sequence, I deny it as strenuously as anyone.

Source: From a letter/draft/copy to W.E. Nightingale, Add Mss 45790 ff322-24

23 November 1864

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. Mill." 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 Cocles¹⁷ 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 to make me talk, little thinking how I take everything *au sérieux*, too much for my peace in a world which takes *nothing* *au sérieux*. Tomorrow

16 Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), German idealist philosopher.

17 The Roman guard who saved the city in an Etruscan attack.

row you will say just the contrary, and I shall have had all my labour in vain.

Did you, *because* Lord Bacon¹⁸ is a great inductive philosopher (*much* greater than Mill), take all that nonsense for gospel which Bacon calls his religious aphorisms and which you found in the *Athenaeum*? Certainly not. Yet you can swallow all that nonsense of Mill's and 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.

I see you so disturbed by passages 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? Yet you will swallow J.S.M. whole. And what is it he says? I have no patience to look over his letters which have made such an impression as this upon you, but their gist is this: that if evil is to be the means of perfecting the human being, then there is *not enough* evil (!) Then comes his extraordinary Zoroaster proposition. Then that the proofs of law do not prove a *Law-Giver*.

It so happens that, as I think I mentioned to you, I was receiving letters from M Mohl, a greater philosopher than Mill (on my "stuff"), those very same mornings. And without knowing it, he exactly controverted all three propositions of Mill's. As for the first, I have heard you 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 nowadays are always asking what Plato said, what the fathers said etc.—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 today touches my admiration of the sunshine of yesterday.

18 Francis Bacon (1561-1626), founder of British empiricism, notably for his work on induction.

Source: Undated note for Benjamin Jowett, Add Mss 45783 ff203-06

I do not think—do you?—that there is the least interest in going into proofs of “design” which are only evidence of *power* in God. Mill says design is the best argument for a God and uses the example of the eye, exactly as if God were no better than an optician making a telescope. Comte says, too, that the planetary system is very badly made; he could have made a much better one himself.

Requests to Mill about India

Editor: Mill had been an employee of the East India Company until 1858 when the British government took over the administration of India. He was then able to live off his writing and so retired (many other employees became civil servants at the India Office). It is understandable that Nightingale would see him as an expert who could be helpful; it is equally understandable why Mill would not want to act in this capacity since his work as an employee had been entirely confidential. As early as 1859 Nightingale asked Arthur Hugh Clough if he thought John Stuart Mill “would do for the Indian Sanitary Commission as a commissioner,” an inquiry she made “quite privately,” without authorization. She supposed “it would be infra his dig to ask him to be secretary.”¹⁹ Other colleagues did not think he would be a good choice and the matter was not pursued.

Nightingale next tried to involve Mill in commenting on the Indian royal commission report. A letter to Chadwick in 1862 was accompanied by proofs of “my Indian paper” for “John Mill” and a query as to how and where he was.²⁰ It is not clear whether the paper ever did reach Mill, who was then in France. A later letter from Nightingale to Chadwick asked him not to bother sending it.²¹ A still later one stated that copies had been sent to his club, the Athenaeum, for Mill and himself.²² Nightingale tried yet again, through Chadwick, after Mill’s election to Parliament in 1865 (he and Chadwick had both run but Chadwick was not elected). Now Mill might be useful raising questions in the House and committee. A letter on the suffrage society issue in 1867 raises the matter of the India Sanitary Service (see p 396 below). By his death in 1873 she could still regret his non-participation: “He

19 Dictated, signed letter 2 January [1859], Balliol College 305/5.

20 Letter 28 September 1862, Add Mss 45771 f5.

21 Letter 7 October 1862, Add Mss 45771 f7.

22 Original letter 5 January 1863, Woodward Biomedical Library A.6, typed copy Add Mss 45771 f27.

might most materially have helped all my sanitary commissions, irrigation and civilizing schemes for India. He did nothing.’’²³

Source: From a draft/copy to Edwin Chadwick, ADD Mss 45771 ff65-66

[August 1865]

My object in writing is to ask you if I might venture to write to Mr Mill to ask him to consider our case and to help us to the extent he would feel himself justified in doing so from the facts. We do not ask for any particular form of help. All we want is that the work be done. We should have great confidence in anything Mr Mill might be able to do for us, either openly in Parliament or privately to Sir C. Wood,²⁴ but as I should like to act under your advice and write to you first.

Source: From a draft/copy to Edwin Chadwick, ADD Mss 45771 f67

[1865]

A short time ago Dr Sutherland informed me that you had told him that Mr Mill would be glad to assist in the House of Commons with my Indian sanitary reforms in the House of Commons or in pressing them in the Indian government. There can be no doubt of the great advantage of Mr Mill's help and we should accept it with gratitude. At present our chief reliance in the House is Lord Stanley, who has worked admirably for the cause and who, I have no doubt, would welcome Mr Mill as a coadjutor. If Dr S.'s interpretation of your view was correct, would you be so good as to inform me whether Mr Mill would be likely to render his aid, and could then write out a statement of the present condition of the question which would perhaps be the best way of showing what is necessary to be done. I may state, however, generally that at present our dependence is on Sir J. Lawrence, but his tenure of office is uncertain and we desire very much that the great cause of civilization in India should not depend solely on the life or tenure of office of the present noble governor general, who has always done so much for us.

Editor: If the approach was made in 1865 it did not work. Nightingale tried, or tried again, in 1866.

²³ Letter 19 December 1873 to Mme Mohl, cited in Cook, *Life of Florence Nightingale* 2:316.

²⁴ Sir Charles Wood (1800-85), secretary of state for India.

Source: From a typed copy of a letter to Edwin Chadwick, Add Mss 45771 f97

30 May 1866

Would it be of any use now my trying to interest Mr J.S. Mill in our India *sanitary* affairs? And, if so, how?

ever yours

F.N.

Suffrage and Women's Rights

Editor: Nightingale apparently was one of the 1521 persons to have signed the first petition on women's suffrage, proposed to J.S. Mill in fact by her cousin Barbara Leigh Smith (Mme Bodichon)²⁵ and presented 7 June 1866 by J.S. Mill to Parliament.²⁶ Other leading signatories were Harriet Martineau, Mary Somerville and Josephine Butler.²⁷ There is no correspondence regarding this, however, nor has the petition itself survived; its wording as given in a published appendix is reproduced below. Nightingale presumably signed the petition promptly, for there was little time between the idea of presenting a petition to Parliament and its presentation.

Mill presented another petition regarding the vote for women in 1867 when he introduced his amendment to the Representation of the People Bill, to substitute the word "person" for "man" and thus give women the vote. That petition is no longer available, nor is any report of it, or any correspondence regarding involvement of Nightingale. A petition of 1868, which Nightingale is said to have signed, is reproduced below also from the published appendix. Mary Somerville²⁸ is listed as the leading signatory. This petition opens with the point that the community at large is injured by being deprived of the "industry" and "intelligence" of women, not only that the "persons excluded" were injured. The first petition opened with the more legalistic point that property conferred the right to vote, then raising the anomaly that "some" holders of property were not allowed to exercise that right.

Canadians may be perplexed by reference to the word "person" being used clearly to include women for, in the infamous 1928 "Per-

25 Barbara Leigh Smith (1827-91), daughter of Uncle Benjamin Smith and his common-law wife, Anne Longden.

26 Ray Strachey, *The Cause* 105.

27 Josephine E. Butler (1826-1906), leader of the movement for repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts.

28 Mary Somerville (1780-1872), eminent mathematician and physicist, after whom Somerville College, Oxford, was named.

sons Case,” the Supreme Court of Canada declared that women were not “qualified persons” and hence could not become members of Senate. On 20 May 1867 Mill introduced an amendment to the Representation of the People Bill to replace the word “man” with “person” precisely to give women the vote. Nightingale was perhaps picking up on that in her agreement on the importance of a woman’s being a “person” (see p 394 below).

Nightingale also signed a petition to the House of Commons for reform of the Married Women’s Property Act, on which Mill also was working, as is evident in a letter to her from Josephine Butler asking her to sign another petition on it, this time to the House of Lords.²⁹

Source: Petition presented by John Stuart Mill and signed by a total of 1521 persons, although “with the exception of seven, they are all written on slips of paper and pasted on the petition.” *Public Petitions*, Appendix to the Twenty-Seventh Report, House of Lords Record Office 40

7 June 1866

The humble petition of the undersigned sheweth: That it having been expressly laid down by high authorities that the possession of property in this country carries with it the right to vote in the election of representatives in Parliament, it is an evident anomaly that some holders of property are allowed to use this right while others, forming no less a constituent part of the nation, and equally qualified by law to hold property, are not able to exercise this privilege.

That the participation of women in the government is consistent with the principles of the British Constitution, inasmuch as women in these islands have always been held capable of sovereignty, and women are eligible for various public offices.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray your honourable House to consider the expediency of providing for the representation of all householders, without distinction of sex, who possess such property or rental qualification as your honourable House may determine. And your petitioners will ever pray.

Barbara L.S. Bodichon

Mentia Taylor

Emily Davies, etc.

29 Letter by Josephine Butler 6 July [1869?], Add Mss 45802 f47.

Source: Petition submitted by John Stuart Mill, signed by 21,783 persons. *Public Petitions*, Appendix to the Fourth Report, House of Lords Record Office

26 February 1868

The humble petition of the undersigned sheweth: That the exclusion of freeholders, householders and ratepayers, legally qualified in every respect but that of sex, from the power of voting in the election of members of your honourable House, by depriving a considerable portion of the property, the industry and the intelligence of the country of all direct representation, is injurious both to the persons excluded and to the community at large.

That women are competent, by law and in fact, to carry on a business, to administer an estate, and to fill other positions, which, both by investing them with interests requiring representation, and by affording tests of fitness, are usually considered to give a claim to the suffrage.

That the admission of such persons to the privilege of the franchise would be a measure in harmony with the principles of our representative system, while its beneficial effects would not be attended by any possibility of dangerous political consequences.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray that your honourable House will take into consideration the propriety of granting the suffrage to women fulfilling the conditions of property or occupancy required of men. And your petitioners will ever pray.

Mary Somerville and others

Editor: The correspondence next turns to the related question of joining the suffrage society founded by Mill and his stepdaughter, Helen Taylor, with Clementia Taylor as honorary secretary (no relation). A printed form of the London National Society for Women's Suffrage, 6 July 1867, was sent to Nightingale: "A Society has been formed for the purpose of obtaining the Suffrage for Women. The honour of your name as a Member of the General Committee is earnestly requested." It was signed by Mentia Taylor as honorary secretary, and a handwritten note added: "Miss Nightingale, with Mr J.S. Mill's compliments." Nightingale's hesitation in response must then be understood as arising from her reluctance to give her name without her work. She had already signed at least the first petition for the vote, evidently without hesitation. Whether or not she replied to the printed invitation sent by the honorary secretary is not clear. Mill wrote her directly himself a month later and she responded promptly to that letter, agreeing in principle with women having the vote but querying its tactical priority over other sorts of reform legislation.

Mill's reply is, in the opinion of this editor, brilliant, but Nightingale remained unconvinced. She granted his conclusions were "masterly," but disputed his premise. In a note, possibly only for herself, she adduced counter-examples. She asked how the suffering of wives and daughters of men in workhouses were helped by political rights for women. She raised issues of economic rights and the futility of the "workhouse test" and then even to argue for government intervention in the economy, à la Keynes (see p 403 below). After expostulating against Mill she in fact raised problems and possibilities, albeit briefly and without developing them, which seem never to have occurred to Mill.

Benjamin Jowett apologized for "partly" having involved her "in the mess about Mr Mill." He was against her mixing herself up in these "agitations and controversies," but thought she should not render her name "suspicious by its absence" for a cause in which she agreed.³⁰

That both Nightingale and Mill took their correspondence seriously can be seen in the fact of the survival of drafts as well as actual letters. For the invitation to Nightingale to join the suffrage society we have both the draft, probably by Helen Taylor, and the letter as actually sent, at the University of Chicago and the British Library respectively. The draft is not signed but has the initials "B.P." at the end, whose is not clear. They are printed below side by side on facing pages. For Nightingale's reply again we have both her original draft, and the actual letter she sent, again printed side by side on facing pages. In the second set the differences are only slight, and indeed serve to show how reliable Nightingale's own drafts are when the original is not available.

30 Letter from Benjamin Jowett 25 May 1868, Balliol College item 201.

Source: Draft letter from J.S. Mill, archivist's note: Apparently by Helen Taylor

9 August 1867

Dear Madam [Miss Nightingale]

As I know how fully you appreciate a great many of the evil effects produced upon the character of women (and operating to the destruction of their own and others' happiness) by the existing state of opinion and as you have done me the honour to express your regard for my opinion in these subjects I should not like to abstain from mentioning the formation of a society aimed in my opinion at the very root of all the evils you deplore and have passed your life in combating.

There are a great number of people, particularly women, who from want of the habit of reflecting on politics are quite incapable of realizing the enormous power of politics, that is to say, of legislation to confer happiness and also to influence the opinion and the moral nature of the governed. As I am convinced that this power is by far the greatest that it is possible to wield for human happiness I can neither approve of women who decline the responsibility of wielding it nor of men who would shut out women from the right to wield it. Until women do wield it to the best of their ability, little or great, and that in a direct, open manner, I am convinced that the evils of which I know you to be peculiarly aware can never be satisfactorily dealt with and this conviction must be my apology for troubling you now, I am, dear Madams,

very truly yours

B.P.

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 45787 ff36-37³¹

[embossed stationery] Blackheath Park

9 August 1867

Dear Madam [Miss Nightingale]

As I know how fully you appreciate a great many of the evil effects produced upon the character of women (and operating to the destruction of their own and others' happiness) by the existing state of opinion, and as you have done me the honour to express your regard for my opinion in these subjects, I should not like to abstain from mentioning the formation of a society aimed in my opinion at the very root of all the evils you deplore and have passed your life in combating. There are a great number of people, particularly women, who, from want of the habit of reflecting on politics, are quite incapable of realizing the enormous power of politics—that is to say, of legislation to confer happiness and also to influence the opinion and the moral nature of the governed.

As I am convinced that this power is by far the greatest that it is possible to wield for human happiness I can neither approve of women who decline the responsibility of wielding it nor of men who would shut out women from the right to wield it. Until women do wield it to the best of their ability, little or great, and that in a direct, open manner, I am convinced that the evils of which I know you to be peculiarly aware can never be satisfactorily dealt with and this conviction must be my apology for troubling you now. I am, dear Madam,

very truly yours

J.S. Mill

31 See also ADD Mss 45787 ff48-49 for a copy in Nightingale's hand of part of this letter.

Source: Letter, University of Chicago, copy, ADD Mss 45787 ff38-42

[printed address] 35 South Street
Park Lane
London, W.
11 August 1867

Private

Dear Sir [J.S. Mill, MP]

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 anyone who can give me a "considered opinion" since those who were always with me are dead.

That women should have the suffrage, I think no one can be more deeply convinced than I. It is so important for a woman, especially a married woman, especially a clever married woman, to be a "*person*."

But it will be years before you obtain the suffrage for women. And, in the meantime, 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.

Is it not possible that, if woman suffrage is agitated as a means of removing these evils, the effect may be to prolong their existence? Is it

Source: Draft letter ADD Mss 39927³²

[printed address] 35 South Street
Park Lane
London, W.
11 August 1867

Private

Dear Sir [J.S. Mill, MP]

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 yours by asking a question, it is because I have scarcely anyone from whom (as my dear friend Mr Clough, long since dead, said) a "considered opinion."

That women should have the suffrage, I think no one can be more deeply convinced than I. It is so important for a woman to be a "*person*," as you say. And I think I see this most strongly in married life. If the woman is not a "person" it does almost infinite harm even to her husband. And the harm is greatest when the man is a very clever man and the woman a very clever woman.

But it will be years before you obtain the suffrage for women. And in the meantime there are evils which press much more hardly on women than the want of the suffrage. And will not this, when obtained, rather put women in opposition to those who withhold these rights from them so as to retard still farther the legislature which is necessary to put them in possession of their rights? I ask 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 my experience tells me that women, and especially poor and married women, are most hardly pressed upon now. No matron serving on a large scale as I have done, and with the smallest care for her nurses, can be unaware of these. Till a married woman can be in possession of her own property, there can be no love or justice. But there are many other evils, as I need not tell you.

Is it possible that, if woman suffrage is agitated as a means of removing these evils, the effect may be to prolong their existence? Is it

32 A volume of letters to Nightingale's biographer, E.T. Cook, and notes and drafts of Nightingale's, presumably given him by her family.

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 [a] matter of political partisanship—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 ten minutes leisure, not even to be ill) to wish for a vote, to want personally political influence. Indeed I have had, during the eleven years I have been in government offices, more administrative influence than if I had been a borough returning two MPs (notwithstanding the terrible loss I have had of him who placed me there). And if I thus egotistically 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 six 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 on it. It is wrong to take the opportunity of asking you now to ask him for his invaluable help, and so to beg him to believe me (though in haste)

ever his faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

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 required might become [a] matter of political partisanship and so the weaker go to the wall?

I can scarcely expect that you will have time to answer my humble questions. As to my being on the society you mention, you know there is scarcely anything which, if you were to tell me that it is right politically, I would not do. But I have no time. It is fourteen years this very day³³ that I entered upon work which has never left me ten minutes' leisure, not even to be ill. And I am obliged never to give my name where I cannot give my work. If you will not think me egotistical, I will say why I have kept off the stage of these things. In the eleven years that I have passed in government offices, though less even since Sidney Herbert who put me there died, I have never felt the want of a vote, because, if I had been a borough returning two members to Parliament, I should have had less administrative influence. And I have thought that I could work better for others off the stage than on it. Added to which, I am an incurable invalid, entirely a prisoner to my room.

As you have had the kindness to let me address you, I cannot help putting in one more word on a subject very near my heart, the India Sanitary Service. I have worked very hard at this for six years. And, during all those years, my great wish has been would it be possible to ask Mr Mill for his help and influence? But you were so busy. Pray believe me, dear Sir,

ever his faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

³³ When Nightingale started at the Harley St. institution.

Source: Letter by J.S. Mill, ADD Mss 45787 ff43-47

Avignon

31 December 1867

Dear Madam [Florence Nightingale]

You will readily believe that only the pressure of constant occupation has prevented me from replying earlier to the interesting letter I received from you in August. If you prefer to do your work rather by moving the hidden springs than by allowing yourself to be known to the world as doing what you really do, it is not for me to make any observations on this preference (inasmuch as I am bound to presume that you have good reasons for it) other than to say that I much regret that this preference is so very general among women. Myself—but then I am a man—I cannot help thinking that the world would be better if every man, woman and child in it could appear to others in an exactly true light, known as the doer of the work that he does, and striving neither to be under nor overvalued. I am not so “utopian” as to suppose that bad people will very readily lend themselves to this program; but I confess to considerable regret that good women should so often be almost as fond of false appearances as bad men and women can be, seeking as much to hide their good deeds as the others do to hide their bad ones, forgetting probably the while that they are putting somebody, more or less willing, in the position of a false pretender to merits not his own, but belonging legitimately to the lady who delights to keep in the background.

I know that it often appears, in practical matters, that one can get a great deal of work done swiftly and apparently effectually, by working through others, securing perhaps in this way their zealous co-operation instead of their jealous (or perhaps only stupid) obstruction. In the long run, however, I doubt whether any work is ever so well done as when it is done ostensibly and publicly under the direction, or at least the instigation, of the original mind that has seen the necessity of doing it. Whether this is the fact or not, I am quite certain that were the world in general to know how much of all its important work is and always has been done by women, the knowledge would have a very useful effect upon it, and I am not certain that any woman who possesses any talent whatever could make a better use of it in the present stage of the world than by simply letting things take their natural course and allowing it to be known just as if she were a man. I know that this is not pleasant to the sensitive character fostered by the present influences among the best women, but it is to me a question whether the noble and, as I think, heroic enthusiasm of truth and public good ought not in this

age to nerve women to as courageous a sacrifice of their most justly cherished delicacy as that of which the early Christian women left an example for the reverent love and admiration of all future time. I have no doubt that the Roman ladies thought them indelicate.

In regard to the questions you do me the honour to ask me, first, "Are there not evils which press much more hardly on women than not having a vote?" Secondly, "May not this, when obtained, put women in opposition to those who withhold from them their rights, so as to retard still farther the legislation necessary to put them in possession of their rights?" Thirdly, "Could not the existing disabilities as to property and influence of women be swept away by the legislature as it stands at present?" To answer these questions fundamentally would require only to state fundamental principles of political liberty, and to reiterate that debate so nobly carried on in our own history, whether social happiness or dignity, commercial liberty, religious freedom, or any form of material prosperity, is or is not best founded on political liberty. It may be granted in the abstract that a ruling power, whether a monarch, a class, a race, or a sex, could sweep away the disabilities of the ruled. The question is, has it ever seemed to them urgent to sweep away these disabilities until there was a prospect of the ruled getting political power? More than this, it is probably a question of whether it is in human nature that it ever *should* seem to them urgent.

In the same way it may often be a question whether painful symptoms do not press more hardly upon a patient than the hidden disease which is the cause of them. And undoubtedly if the symptoms themselves are killing, the physician had better address himself to them at once, and leave the disease alone for a time. But if the oppressions and miseries under which women suffer are killing, women take a great deal of killing to kill them. God knows I do not undervalue these miseries for I think that man, and woman too, a heartless coward whose blood does not boil at the thought of what women suffer, but I am quite persuaded that, if we were to remove them all tomorrow, in ten years new forms of suffering would have arisen, for no earthly power can ever prevent the constant unceasing, unsleeping, elastic pressure of human egotism from weighing down and thrusting aside those who have not the power to resist it. Where there is life there is egotism, and if men were to abolish every unjust law today, there is nothing to prevent them from making new ones tomorrow and, moreover, what is of still greater importance, new circumstances will constantly be arising for which fresh legislation will be needed.

And how are you to ensure that such legislation will be just, unless you can either make men perfect, or give women an equal voice in their own affairs? I leave you to judge which is the easiest.

What, however, constitutes an even more pressing and practical reason for endeavouring to obtain the political enfranchisement of women, instead of endeavouring to sweep away any or all of their social grievances, is that I believe it will be positively easier to obtain this reform than to obtain any single one of all the others, all of which must inevitably follow from it. To prefer to sweep away any of these others first is as though one were to prefer to cut away branch after branch, giving more labour to each branch than one need do to the trunk of the tree.

The third question, whether there is not danger of political partisanship and bitterness of feeling between men and women, is also a question which I think has been asked, and answered, in other departments of politics. It has been asked and answered, too, though the answer has been different from that which we most of us approve of in politics, in the case of marriage. To prevent quarrels, it has been thought best to make one party absolute master of both. No doubt, if women can never do anything in politics except for and through men, they cannot be partisans against men. No doubt, when you have death, you have none of the troubles of life. But if women were to prove possessed with ever so great a spirit of partisanship, and were they to call forth thereby ever so intense partisanship on the part of men, and were they, as the weakest, to be driven to any extremities, I don't see that the result could be very different from what it is at present, inasmuch as I apprehend that the present position of women in every country in the world is exactly measured by the personal and family affections of men, and that every modification for the better in women's absolute annihilation and servitude is at present owing—not to any sense of abstract right or justice on the part of men—but to their sense of what they would like for their own wives, daughters, mothers and sisters. Political partisanship against the mass of women will not, among civilized men, diminish the sense of what is due to the objects of their private affections. But, I believe, on the contrary, that the dignity given to women in general by the very fact of their being able to be political partisans is likely to be itself a means of raising men's estimation of what is due to them. So that if men come to look upon women as a large number of unamiable but powerful opponents, and a small number of dearly loved and charming persons, I think men will think more highly of women, and will feel less disposed to

use badly any superior power that after all they themselves may still possess, than if they look upon women, as I think men generally do at present, as a few dearly loved, pre-eminently worthy and charming persons and a great number of helpless fools.

On the whole then I think, firstly, that political power is the only security against every form of oppression; secondly, that at the present day in England it would be easier to attain political rights, for such women as have the same claims as enfranchised men, than to obtain any other considerable reform in the position of women. Thirdly, I see no danger of party spirit running high between men and women and no possibility of its making things worse than they are if it did.

Finally I feel some hesitation in saying to you what I think of the responsibility that lies upon each one of us to stand steadfastly and with all the boldness and all the humility that a deep sense of duty can inspire, by what the experience of life and an honest use of our own intelligence has taught us to be the truth. I will confess to you that I have often stood amazed at what has seemed to me the presumption with which persons who think themselves humble set bounds to the capacities of improvement of their fellow creatures, think themselves qualified to define how much or how little of the divine light of truth can be borne by the world in general, assume that none but the very elite can see what is perfectly clear to themselves, and think themselves permitted to dole out in infinitesimal doses that daily bread of truth upon which they themselves live and without which the world must come to an end. When I see this, to me, inexplicable form of moderation in those who nevertheless believe that the truth of which they have got hold really is the truth, I rejoice that there are so many presumptuous persons who think themselves bound to say what they think true, who think that if they have been fortunate enough to get hold of a truth they cannot do a better service to their fellow creatures than by saying it openly, who think that the truth that has not been too much for themselves will not be too much for others; who think that what they have been capable of seeing, other people will be capable of seeing, too, without a series of delicately managed gradations.

I even go so far as to think that we owe it to our fellow creatures and to posterity to struggle for the advancement of every opinion of which we are deeply persuaded. I do not however mean to say that there is any judge but our own conscience of how we can best work for the advancement of such truths, nor do I mean to say that it may not be right for any of us endowed with special faculties to choose out

special work and to decline to join in work for which we think others better qualified and which we think may impede us for our own peculiar province. Therefore, while I have seen with much regret that you join in so few movements for the public good I have never presumed to think you wrong, because I have supposed that your abstinence arose from your devotion to one particular branch of public-spirited work.

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45787 ff50-53

30 January 1868

Mr Mill's letter: 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 and 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 thirty years has been signalized by nothing so much as by having no ideas and no force of principle.

To return to the advertisements (taken permiscuous) in today's *Times*. (1) The course of *railway legislation*, "capital authorized to be raised, £228 millions ordinary shares," £134 millions preferential shares (I take merely the rough outlines). We all know what the course has been. We all know how Parliament has passed railway acts without the slightest inquiry. We all know what the result has been. We all know that it has fallen heaviest on Englishwomen, whose investments were perhaps half of all that capital, that there is scarcely an Englishwoman 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, etc., fill our House of Commons.

2. Advertisements: *East End distress*. Poor Law completely broken down, private charity completely broken down and 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 and the people are starving.) And *the least harm* of the overflowing workhouse is the burden on the rates (9/ in the pound). The harm is the withdrawing all these heads and 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 and 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 shipbuilding is an irregular and fluctuating employment), pitch their expenditure at the maximum rate of their wages and 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 railways, Poor Law, trades unions legislations, or non-legislations, are the working of the reformed Parliament, of the *freest* Parliament we ever had (not the result of that freedom, of course—but the result of the greater difficulty in blending 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 and then you may offer us liberties. I want my bread first—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 workman 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 and 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 seem to me as great a blunder as the trades' unions ever made. [breaks off]

Source: Letter of Helen Taylor, Add Mss 45801 ff37-38

[embossed stationery] Blackheath Park
Kent

22 April 1868

Dear Madam [Florence Nightingale]

A petition is now in course of signature which has already been signed by upwards of 15,000 persons, and which will be presented to Parliament by my stepfather, Mr Stuart Mill, in the course of the present session. The first signature to it is that of the first of living English women, Mrs Somerville, who consents that it shall appear as the petition of "Mary Somerville and others" and who has signed it for that purpose from a sickbed.

Having the deep gratification of knowing that you have consented to join the National Society for Women's Suffrage, I venture to beg that you will add your name to the honoured one of Mrs Somerville.

Apologizing for troubling you, and begging that you will kindly return me the enclosed copy of the petition (whether with or without your own signature), without troubling yourself to write in reply, I am, Madam,

yours respectfully
Helen Taylor

Editor: Nightingale responded the following day with her signature. Helen Taylor promptly acknowledged it in the last letter we have on Mill's behalf, which closed with cordial wishes and openness to further correspondence. Mill the following year had his publisher send Nightingale a copy of his *Subjection of Women* (left to Girton College, Cambridge, by Rosalind Nash, with Nightingale's underlinings and one comment, noted above).

Source: Letter, Columbia University, Presbyterian Hospital School of Nursing C90

[printed address] 35 South Street
Park Lane
London, W.

23 April 1868

Dear Madam [Helen Taylor]

I do (in these things) exactly as Mr Stuart Mill bids me. If he bids me sign after Mrs Somerville, I do it. If he bids me sign a great deal

lower down, which I think would be much more proper, I do it. (I am quite afraid that this candid confession will deprive me, in his mind, of all title to his esteem and even of all title to a vote—as an independent “female.”)

Will you kindly tell him (at a convenient season) that nothing but the feeling that I had not the time to write anything which was worth his time for reading prevented me from answering the most kind and noble letter with which he honoured me (from Avignon), that I sent my “adhesion” to the women’s suffrage to Mrs P.A. Taylor;³⁴ instead of to him, not liking to trouble him, that, although I entirely adhere to his admirable principles, I don’t think he quite understands my position, which is a lackadaisical word. I mean my work. Perhaps, when this busy session is over, if I am still alive, I may venture to trouble him with an answer. And, if I am not, it does not very much matter. With thanks for your kind note, pray believe me, dear Madam,

ever your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

Source: Letter of Helen Taylor, Add Mss 45801 ff41-42, draft, Columbia University, Presbyterian Hospital School of Nursing O25

[embossed address] Blackheath Park

Kent

25 April 1868

Dear Madam [Florence Nightingale]

Allow me to thank you earnestly for your kind and prompt answer to my request. I know I may say that, little worthy as Mr Mill thinks himself of the place with which you honour him in your esteem, yet the rare power of feeling deep respect and enthusiasm is one of the strongest titles to reverence from him, as from all those who know how rare it is.

He thanks you warmly for the confidence you have placed in his judgment as to the best means of promoting our common principles, and he holds himself at your disposal, either personally or by letter, for any communications you may wish to make to him. I am, dear Madam,

yours respectfully

Helen Taylor

34 Clementia or “Mentia” Taylor (1810-1908), Mrs Peter A. Taylor.

Source: Letter of Clementia Taylor to Nightingale, ADD Mss 45802 f130

[printed address] London National Society for Women's
Suffrage
Aubrey House
Notting Hill, W.
26 April [1870]

Dear Madam [Florence Nightingale]

I enclose a cheque for your subscription of 1.1.0 with thanks. Allow me at the same time to thank you most cordially for your admirable letters in the *Pall Mall [Gazette]* signed Justina.³⁵ I remain,

yours truly
Mentia Taylor

Editor: Nightingale subscribed again to the suffrage society at least in 1871, for we have a letter and receipt thanking her.³⁶

A statement she wrote was on the first page of a pamphlet, *Opinions of Women on Women's Suffrage*, 1878 (immediately below). Her support was as lacklustre as ever: she did not expect much from it, citing the wide (male) suffrage of the United States with, in her view, its lesser degree of freedom and progress. Both men and women required better education for the vote. But the vote remained a "first principle, an axiom," for "there can be no freedom or progress without representation." Even peasants in India had the vote in local government, according to the principle that taxpayers should be represented so that they would "rate" [tax] themselves.

The letter following it shows that Nightingale signed another suffrage petition in 1884, although she continued to think the vote less important than practical economic advances for women. She may have declined to sign a petition in 1889, for there is an exasperated note (to whom, if anybody, is not clear) about the need to prepare women for the vote and unhappiness with the position taken on Ireland, both by women supporting home rule (which she did, at least in its moderate form) and those opposed (see p 408 below). See also the letter to Fred Verney, above, on women participating in the election in Bath (see p 350 above).

35 Letters to the editor opposing the Contagious Diseases Acts (see *Women*).

36 Letter from Mentia Taylor, London National Society for Women's Suffrage 28 March [1871], ADD Mss 47716 ff181-83.

Source: *Opinions of Women on Women's Suffrage*. Manchester: A. Ireland 1878:1 (in Cook, *Life of Florence Nightingale* 2:451)

July 1878

You ask me to give my reasons for wishing for the suffrage for women householders and women ratepayers. I have no reasons. The Indian ryot should be represented so that the people may virtually rate themselves according to the surveys of what is wanted, and spend the money locally under certain orders of an elected board. If this is the case, that we wish to give to the Indian native, peasant and zemindar alike such local representation *as we can* in spending the taxes he pays, is the educated English taxpayer, of *whichever* sex, to be excluded from a share in electing the imperial representatives?

It seems a first principle, an axiom: that *every* householder or taxpayer should have a voice in electing those who spend the money we pay, including, as this does, interests the most vital to a human being—for instance, education. At the same time I do not expect much from it, for I do not see that, for instance in America, where suffrage is, I suppose, the most extended there is more (but rather less) of what may truly be called freedom or progress than anywhere else. But there can be no freedom or progress without representation. And we must give women the true education to deserve being represented. *Men* as well as women are not so well endowed with that preparation at present. And if the persons represented are not worth much, of course the representatives will not be worth much.

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9010/11

20 March 1884

Dearest Pop [Parthenope Verney]

I have put in a modest signature. If you sign, you must put yours *above*. (I suppose I sign about twenty³⁷ of these petitions every year, besides requests to “write a letter” which “can be published,” which I refuse. They are like the rats of Ehrenbreitstein.³⁸ They get in at one’s windows and my windows are always open.)

³⁷ One hundred was struck out.

³⁸ According to a medieval legend, the bishop succeeded in driving the rats of Ehrenbreitstein out of his palace on an island in the Rhine, but they found their way back. See Edward Brown, *A Brief Account of Some Travels in Divers Parts of Europe*.

I honestly hope that the women's franchise will succeed and do good. But I ask myself: in three countries where the franchise is most extended, *are* the right and the good and the true most in power? Does a larger "representation" secure the highest objects? That depends, I suppose, upon *WHAT is "represented."* When the women's franchise societies published the "opinions of representative women," on the subject I thought, if anything could convince one that women ought *not* to be "represented," these would. But now women do so much for themselves, instead of writing and talking about their "rights," "the same as men's," their wrongs and that they should "do the same as men," they are showing what they *can* do—and God speed them—and doing it. And certainly it is now ludicrous not to give them the franchise, when "agricultural labourers" too have it. Only let women *look to what they want to be "represented in."*

As for righteous laws in favour of women, e.g., married women's earnings and the like, I don't think they will be won sooner by women than by men for them. While entirely agreeing in the women's franchise question, I fear more is expected from its results than will be gained, looking to analogous extensions of franchise.

F.N.

Will women voters contribute to noise or quiet at elections?

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45809 f160

30 June 1889

As for signing the petition (women's suffrage) people asking me to sign, the postman resigned his situation—it was too heavy. But I could not sign it either. Someone must "prepare the way of the Lord,"³⁹ *prepare* the women to have the suffrage. That I *would* vote for, but this Irish business makes one see that to "prepare the way" is necessary.

Nearly every woman unionist, nearly every woman home ruler has shown herself unfit for politics at present, neither knowing what she or the other wants, or knowing who she is really asking for, what is feasible, what has been done, what has failed, what is historically true or historically false, and the more ignorant the more furious. There has been fury, *not* discussion, on *both* sides.

Training has become almost a fashion for every other walk of woman's life, but is there any training in politics, administration, contemporary political history, for women?

39 John 3:3.

Editor: Oddly, less than a month before she died Nightingale received a letter from the campaign against the vote, asking her to sign an open letter to the newspapers “asking for funds to organize resistance to the movement.”⁴⁰ Nightingale’s name was used in the final, successful, campaign for the vote to counter that of Queen Victoria, a known opponent.⁴¹ Millicent Fawcett referred to Nightingale, along with Somerville and Martineau, as “distinguished women” who supported the vote.⁴²

Mill’s Death

Editor: Not surprisingly, Nightingale expressed her sorrow to Chadwick, among others, at Mill’s death at sixty-seven, the first item below. A subsequent letter or draft repeats much of that draft, but adds details about how medically unnecessary Mill’s death, in a swampy area of Avignon, was. Nightingale’s efforts to ensure that people important to her were properly remembered can be seen here also with regard to Mill.

Source: Letter/draft/copy, ADD Mss 45771 f154

[after 7 May 1873]

Dear Mr Chadwick

The loss we have in John Stuart Mill is irreparable. I think there must have been a goddess called “the Passion of Reason” in olden times, and *he* was that goddess returned in the flesh to life. And he would not at all have considered the gender humiliating. For he was like neither man nor woman, but he was Wisdom “thrilling with emotion to his fingers’ ends” (which last was truly said of him), impassioned Reason, or reasonable Passion in the sense which one supposes the Greeks had in their mind when they made wisdom a woman, or shall we call him Sancta Sophia [Saint Wisdom]? There were none like him. And as he said himself with tears at Mr Grote’s funeral, “Oh we might have kept him ten years longer,” so may we of him. Well, he is gone to “rejoice at the fidelity and smile at the simplicity of his earthly toils” and to continue them gloriously.

40 Letter from Lord Cromer 16 July 1910, Columbia University, Presbyterian Hospital School of Nursing O14.

41 Laurence Housman, “Florence Nightingale,” in *The Great Victorians* 367.

42 Jane Lewis, ed., *Before the Vote Was Won: Arguments for and against Women’s Suffrage* 394.

Source: From a letter/draft/copy to Edwin Chadwick, ADD Mss 45771 ff155-56

21 June 1873

I have to thank you for your paper . . . and also for your former kind note on John Stuart Mill. His loss is irreparable. . . . Once I knew Avignon. No doubt damp is a predisposing cause of cellular inflammation but, in cases of apparent endemic seizures, there has always been, has there not?, unseasonable cold moist east wind. Is there much doubt that this local climate was one cause of our irreparable loss? We still want particulars as to the exact nature of the attack. But it is too late now to do anything but grieve.

A Viennese lady (authoress), Madame von Littrow-Bischoff, who has been a great help to me sometimes in sending me statutes of German and Russian institutions for women, and to whom I have sent J.S. Mill's works in former years, writes to ask me whether I could obtain for her with a view to her publishing an article on J.S. Mill, of whom she is an immense admirer—some account from personal friends of his ways and character. Could you help me in this? (She publishes under a "nom de plume."⁴³)

ever yours most truly

Florence Nightingale

Queen Victoria and Prince Albert

Editor: Like other British people, Nightingale followed the life events of Queen Victoria (see *European Travels* for observations on the coronation). Her views on the Queen's abilities and personality evolved over life. She met her on several occasions, apart from being presented at court in 1837, and there is correspondence at various stages. A letter to her sister, October 1839, recounted a journey to town with Colonel Buckley: "Full of the Queen's virtues and Lord Melbourne's easy and good term with her. He calls her dog a frightful little beast and sometimes contradicts her flat, all which she takes in good part. She reads all the newspapers and knows all that the Tories say of her and makes up her mind to it, but hates 'em cordial."⁴⁴ A letter to her sister the

43 Otto Auguste, nom de plume for Auguste von Littrow-Bischoff; her *Die Sociale Bewegung und dem Gebiete der Frauen*, 1868, which she gave to Nightingale, is at the British Library.

44 Letter October 1839, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8991/106.

next year recounts walking home Sunday from chapel with Uncle Oc: "I saw the Queen, a capital view, she a careworn, flabby countenance, poor soul, I thought, he a remarkably agreeable looking youth."⁴⁵

Nightingale described to a Swedish friend how the Queen manipulated the return of the Whigs to government:

She cried bitterly on accepting the resignation of her friends, dined upstairs that day, which she had never done before, with her mother, Baroness Lehzen and Lady Flora Hastings and then, when she was obliged to send for Sir Robert Peel to form a Tory administration, she took advantage of his mistakes so cleverly and managed the matter so that he found too many difficulties in his way and threw up the affair in disgust. She seems to have managed this herself in the little *partie carrée* upstairs, and the consequence is that the Melbourne ministry is in office again with some small changes and that the Queen, who was growing very unpopular, was enthusiastically cheered on Saturday night at the opera, where she had been taken no notice of for months, and again yesterday coming from chapel. We hope to go on to the end of this session without a dissolution of Parliament. But enough of politics. Our little Queen looks pale and worn but is now perfectly idolized among our party for her firmness and spirit.⁴⁶

Observations about the Queen in correspondence to the same person note that the Queen was "so fond of music she only missed going to the opera two nights all last season," that she herself sang very well,⁴⁷ was "flourishing," getting on better with her mother, knew what was said against her but made up her mind "that a Queen must be abused," and that she was much loved by her household.⁴⁸ Later her happy marriage, amiable husband and the expectation of an heir to the throne were all passed on to the Swedish friend.⁴⁹ So also was her

45 Letter to Parthenope Nightingale postmarked 10 March 1840, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8992/8.

46 Letter to Selma Benedicks 13 May [1839], in Henning Wieslander, "Florence Nightingale och Hennes Svenska Ungdomsväninna" 35-36.

47 Letter to Selma Benedicks 13 May [1839], in Henning Wieslander, "Florence Nightingale och Hennes Svenska Ungdomsväninna" 36.

48 Letter to Selma Benedicks 27 September 1839, in Henning Wieslander, "Florence Nightingale och Hennes Svenska Ungdomsväninna" 38.

49 Letter to Selma Benedicks 6 October 1840, in Henning Wieslander, "Florence Nightingale och Hennes Svenska Ungdomsväninna" 42.

growing popularity with the Tory ladies, “now in power,” when the Queen finally had to accept a Tory government.⁵⁰

During the Crimean War (20 January 1856) the Queen had a brooch presented to Nightingale, inscribed: “Blessed are the Merciful.” The brooch had a St George’s cross in red enamel with the royal cipher surmounted by a crown in diamonds. The letter below opened the door to Nightingale’s campaign for a royal commission on the mistakes of the Crimean War. Queen Victoria’s letter awarding it invited her to a meeting at Balmoral Castle in Scotland, and which Nightingale used to lobby for a royal commission. Following the letter are extracts from the Queen’s journal of the visit to Balmoral. Other material on the politics of this visit is related in *Crimean War*, as is other correspondence with the Queen.

Nightingale was always a political realist, and a democrat, so that she soon learned that the support of the Queen or any other royal personage in a democratic system did not count for much. Her efforts after that post-Crimea trip to Balmoral were directed overwhelmingly to prime ministers, Cabinet ministers and senior officials and the public at large.

There is correspondence from 1861 on a proposal to offer Nightingale an apartment at Kensington Palace (see *Life and Family* 1:246-47 and 564-65 for correspondence with her family on her objections). A letter to Harry Verney expressed: “How grateful to the Queen’s feelings it will be, even in this slight degree, to be able to mark her respect and regard for this most excellent lady, of whom everybody in this country must be proud.”⁵¹

Source: Letter, *The Letters of Queen Victoria: A Selection from Her Majesty’s Correspondence between the Years 1837 and 1861* 3:170

Windsor Castle

[January] 1856

Dear Miss Nightingale

You are, I know, well aware of the high sense I entertain of the Christian devotion which you have displayed during this great and bloody war, and I need hardly repeat to you how warm my admiration is for your services, which are fully equal to those of my dear and brave soldiers, whose sufferings you have had the *privilege* of alleviat-

50 Letter to Selma [now] Björkenstam 11 September 1842, in Henning Wieslander, “Florence Nightingale och Hennes Svenska Ungdomsväninna” 43.

51 Letter of C.B. Phipps to Harry Verney 19 April 1861, Add Mss 45791 ff10-12.

ing in so merciful a manner. I am, however, anxious of marking my feelings in a manner which I trust will be agreeable to you and therefore send you with this letter a brooch, the form and emblems of which commemorate your great and blessed work, and which, I hope, you will wear as a mark of the high approbation of your Sovereign!

It will be a very great satisfaction to me, when you return at last to these shores, to make the acquaintance of one who has set so bright an example to our sex. And with every prayer for the preservation of your valuable health, believe me, always,

yours sincerely

Victoria R.

Source: Extracts from Queen Victoria's Journal, Royal Archives, Windsor Castle

Balmoral

21 September 1856

At 3:00 we received Miss Nightingale, the celebrated Florence Nightingale, whom Sir J. Clark⁵² brought into the drawing room, leaving her with us for nearly an hour. It is impossible to say how much pleased we were with her. I had expected a rather cold, stiff, reserved person, instead of which she is gentle, pleasing and engaging, most ladylike and so clever, clear and comprehensive in her views of everything.

Her mind is solely and entirely taken up with the *one* object to which she has sacrificed her health and devoted herself like a saint. But she is entirely free of absurd enthusiasm, without a grain of "exaltation," which so often leads to overstrained religious views—truly simple, quiet, pious in her actions and her views, yet without the slightest display of religion or a particle of humbug. And, together with this, an earnest wish never to appear herself—travelling under a feigned name so as not to be known, and refusing all public demonstrations. Such a character, and one so singularly forgiving, is in a woman most rare and extraordinary!

She talked principally of the want of system and organization which had existed and been the cause of so much suffering and misery—the necessity for this being improved. Albert stated in his usual clear, comprehensive way where, in his opinion, the root of the evil lay, and how

52 Sir James Clark (1787-1870), physician to Queen Victoria and at whose residence, Birk Hall, Nightingale was staying. See *Life and Family* (1:130-33) for Nightingale's visit in 1852 when Clark was treating her sister for a nervous breakdown.

instead of improving this all that had been done had made matters even worse, being a step backwards instead of forwards.

Miss Nightingale spoke of the nurses, how some had answered so well, and others not—both Roman Catholic and Protestant—of the men, their conduct, patience, forbearance and self-denial, for which she had the greatest admiration. She thanked me for my support and sympathy saying that, to a man, the soldiers had *all* deeply felt and appreciated my sympathy and interest. She is tall and slight, with fine dark eyes, and must have been very pretty, but now she looks very thin and careworn. Albert saw her again afterwards, and then we took rather a late walk, finding it pleasant and not cold. . . .

22 September 1856

[Description of the ball, decorations, dances] At first people were shy, but afterwards the dancing became very animated. There were quadrilles, reels, country dances, jigs and a pretty Sir Roger de Coverley [a dance]. . . . Miss Nightingale came, dressed in black with a simple little cap tied under her chin, her hair having been cut off (actually on account of the insects with which the poor men were covered in the hospitals!) All was over by 1:00.

26 September 1856

[Queen Victoria drove to Birk Hall] At the commencement of the approach we met Sir J. Clark and Miss Nightingale, so we got out and walked with them to the house, and I had much conversation with her. She is so simple, pleasant and agreeable. In speaking of the poor men, she said that those suffering from disease were much the saddest to see, that my gifts had been so immensely valued. She herself had always attended to the night work. We took tea and then drove back.

4 October 1856

[Nightingale had come to Balmoral to stay the night; Lord Panmure stayed until the Queen left] Had some long conversation with excellent Miss Nightingale, whose affection for my poor good soldiers is really most touching, and whose philanthropy and truly Christlike spirit of *true* charity are beautiful. She spoke with much interest of Corporal Courtney of the 44th, whom we were much interested in at Chatham last year. He had had three bullets in his head and Miss Nightingale discovered him under a staircase, where he had been overlooked, getting the surgeon to remove the bullet out of his eye. For five months the poor man's life was in danger and she told him that if he drank he would be a dead man. She has since heard from

him and says that *my* notice and kindness has not been thrown away upon him. Indeed she is sure that it will generally keep these poor men straight.

Source: Notes by Jowett of conversations with Nightingale in 1879, Jowett commonplace book 1 H 37 ff6

[Queen Victoria] had her to stay with twenty years ago alone; [she was] full of interest in great subjects though stupid—the least self-reliant person she had ever known. If left alone ten minutes [she] would send for her husband to entame [begin] the conversation—so superior to all her surroundings. He [Prince Albert] seemed oppressed with his situation, full of intelligence, well up in every subject, yet evidently P[anmure] and not he in the right in all this controversy. Had he gained his way there would have been no united Italy or united Germany. He thought that the world could be managed by prizes and exhibitions and good intentions. He did not understand the providential [illeg] of events. He was like a person who wanted to die. They used to play with the children in a clumsy sort of way, not knowing what to say to them.

Prince Albert

Editor: Nightingale's views of Prince Albert were consistently positive. She quoted Sidney Herbert late in life with approval on the choice of Albert as the Queen's consort: "We went about fishing in the German states for a Queen's husband and we fished up an Albert."⁵³ Nightingale was advised by her colleague, Colonel Lefroy, to confide in Prince Albert, and Lefroy recounted an interview with the prince in December 1854, "his views as to a more concise, comprehensive and *logical* system of returns for the Army in the field, which the Duke of Newcastle wished me to put into shape," explaining that he "exhibited such a remarkable knowledge of the subjects he was inquiring about, so strong and clear and businesslike a capacity, that you will, I think, find it both expedient and necessary, or rather unavoidable, to enter into a full and unreserved communication of your observations and conclusions, and be tempted irresistibly to let fall such suggestions as are most likely to germinate in that high latitude."⁵⁴

⁵³ Letter to Fred Verney 26 November 1890, Add Mss 68886 f181.

⁵⁴ Letter of Colonel Lefroy to Nightingale 28 August 1856, Add Mss 43397 ff244-51.

Nightingale involved Prince Albert in difficulties with the move of St Thomas' Hospital in 1860. She got "the great Baggallay himself [the treasurer] an interview with Prince Albert."⁵⁵ The prince dictated a letter to the governors of St Thomas' Hospital on the site, even using her words.⁵⁶ Nightingale was the intermediary with the Queen later for the opening of the new St Thomas' Hospital.

Source: Letter, Royal Archives, Windsor Castle RA PP/Vic/1860/6403

30 Old Burlington St.

London, W.

21 December 1860

Dear Sir Charles Phipps [Colonel the Hon Sir C.B. Phipps, KCB etc.]

I should not venture to trouble you, were it not that the health of some thousands of Her Majesty's subjects depends upon the success of this application. I write in great anxiety about an occurrence regarding St Thomas' Hospital, which arose only this morning.

It is, as you are aware, a royal foundation, and the Prince Consort is a governor. The Prince was so good as to send for Mr Baggallay, the treasurer, upon this same matter, to Buckingham Palace. And I hope that you remember how kind you were in enduring a correspondence from me about it.

By the decision of the House of Lords, last July twelvemonth, the Charing Cross Railway can take a corner of garden ground belonging to St Thomas', within 8 feet of the north wing wards, at a valuation. This is ruin to the hospital. And, I understand, could not be done in the case of private property carrying on a business. Any company would be compelled to take the *whole*. The directors of the railway in question yesterday sent a notice to the hospital to the effect that, intending to proceed with the railway, they must know the governors' decision within twenty-one days.

The treasurer has called a special meeting of the Grand Committee for tomorrow morning, and a General Court of Governors for Monday NEXT (a general holiday!). The want of consideration of this proceeding, I am told, is unprecedented, as well as the shortness of the time given, especially at Christmastime, when everybody is out of town. I need hardly say to you that if the Prince would write to Mr

55 Letter to Arthur Hugh Clough 3 September 1860, Balliol College 305/15.

56 Letter of C.B. Phipps 25 December 1860 to Nightingale, and copy of dictated letter 22 December 1860, Add Mss 45750 f36.

Baggallay, the treasurer, calling upon him and the governors to take an enlightened view of the subject, as regards the following consideration, it would probably make the whole difference, viz., there are among the governors some whose interest leads them to throw away the finest opportunity ever offered of obtaining for the present site a very much larger sum than would rebuild St Thomas' Hospital in a healthy suburban site, with all the best sanitary improvements.

The Prince is himself so well informed on all these subjects that I hardly like to insist further. But it is quite impossible for the hospital to remain where it is, with trains every seven minutes at least, running to and fro. To remove the north wing to any part of the present site, when three fifths of the whole hospital require rebuilding, is mere waste of money.

Pray do not suppose my meaning to be that the Prince could interfere with Acts of Parliament or even with hospital constitutions. As a governor of St Thomas', His Royal Highness will receive the notice, of which I venture to enclose a copy. He might then, if he considered it a proper occasion, cause Mr Baggallay, the treasurer, to be written to (referring to the conversation which he had with the treasurer), calling upon him to exert his influence to induce the governors not to lose the present opportunity of selling the whole site and rebuilding elsewhere.

I have the best reason for knowing that a few words from the Prince to Mr Baggallay would be all-sufficient. I have real reproaches to make to myself for this long and confused letter. But I write from a sickbed and only the urgency of the case induces me to trouble you at all. May I add that I am giving every moment of my spare energy to the plans of the *Lisbon* Hospital, and that I am quite ashamed of myself that the suggestions and questions, partly written, are not already sent to the architect. Believe me to be,

faithfully and gratefully yours

Florence Nightingale

Source: From a letter to Sir Charles Phipps, Royal Archives, Windsor Castle RA PP/Vic/1860/6403

31 December 1860

I am sure the country owes a deep feeling of gratitude to the Prince for the influence he exerts in favour of its sick poor, for whom St Thomas' Hospital is the oldest and largest foundation except one. General Grey's letter *has* had a great effect upon Mr Baggallay, the treasurer, who is the autocrat in those parts, and who, by all accounts, is rather a "sly old fox."

I return his letter, which contains most important information, viz., that the governors expressed their opinion that the railway is incompatible with the interests of the poor in hospital. They can hardly recede from this opinion. And it is well to have it in writing, addressed to His Royal Highness. I believe that the Prince's interest in the question will be the means eventually of effecting one of the greatest possible reforms in hospital life, not only by the removal of St Thomas' but by the example which it will give to other hospitals.

I need hardly say how much obliged to you I feel for the trouble you have taken in corresponding with me. Believe me to be

sincerely yours

Florence Nightingale

Editor: On Prince Albert's death the Queen sent Nightingale a book of his speeches as a memento: *The Principal Speeches and Addresses of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort*, with an inscription: "To Miss Florence Nightingale in recollection of the greatest and best of Princes from the beloved Prince's broken-hearted widow, Victoria RI, Osborne 13 January 1862." Nightingale left the book to her cousin, Henry Bonham Carter. The Queen sent also a *Life of the Prince Consort* with her autograph in it, which Nightingale left to Margaret Verney.

When Queen Victoria sent Nightingale her sympathy on the death of her mother she used the opportunity of acknowledging the kindness to raise a serious political issue. The Queen got a characteristically full account of Mrs Nightingale's death (see p 420 below).

Prince Albert: Death and Reminiscences

Source: From a letter to W.E. Nightingale, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8999/46

18 December 1861

The loss of the Prince [Consort] is incalculable. The Prince of Wales is nobody. Albert was the only *man* about the Queen, the only influence to which she deferred.

On Sunday ministers were quite appalled. It was thought she might turn out a Joanna of Spain. But she has rallied and is actually doing business. (My news comes from Lord de Grey.) How little characters are known. Here is this nervous, anxious, fidgety woman behaving with a firmness which would dignify a hero. And others I have seen this year, completely off their balance with sorrow, whom I should have pointed out as types of the highest kind of character.

Source: From a letter to W.E. Nightingale, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8999/48

22 December 1861

One of the causes which brought on Albert's illness, and about which he talked when delirious, was the shortcoming of the Prince of Wales. The Queen continues to act like a hero. She sent for Lord Palmerston who could not go, because of the [breaks off]

Source: From a copy of a letter to W.E. Nightingale, ADD Mss 45790 f242

6 January 1862

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 enough to feel it very much, and Lord Palmerston said: "Better for England to have had a ten-years' war with America than to have lost Prince Albert."

Source: From a letter of John Martin 20 March 1912, extract from a letter to Mme Mohl from her sister, ADD Mss 45815 ff183-84

21 October 1863

She was struck with the difference between the minds of the Queen and Prince Albert and the fine folk about them, and how little the latter were capable of appreciating them. For instance the Duchess of Wellington and Lady "Someone" did nothing but complain what a dull place it was and how tiresome. They seemed occupied with nothing but trifles, but the Queen and Prince A.'s whole thoughts were about Europe, the Crimean War, etc., and all things of importance. She says the Queen is a remarkably conscientious person but so mistrustful of herself, so afraid of not doing her best, that her spirits are lowered by it, this judgment was before his (i.e., Prince Albert's) death, and that now she is even doubting whether she is right or wrong from the habit of consulting him. This is a very touching trait and shows how she has not been spoiled by power."

Source: From a letter to Frances Nightingale, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9001/83

23 November 1864

I have a great enthusiasm for our royalty. I could have kissed the feet of our Queen and Albert. But it was in her shabby little black silk gown that I conceived such a feeling for her. When I heard him and her always talking about the highest interests, thinking nothing but the noblest thoughts, *so* superior to all those fools around them!! As for her in her drawing room, it represents nothing but frivolity, noth-

ing but the meanest thoughts instead of the highest, with those big fat Cambridges, whose naked backs I used to see from my windows at Cleveland Row, for my misfortune, with that silly little girl, Alexandra (what does his procession into London represent? What did *she* ever do to represent or deserve anything?) with all those—pah! The only things *I* ever saw at a drawing room worth a thought were those brave Guards, who had fought and died and endured in the Crimea, and whose representatives fitly surrounded their Queen.

I do so little wonder that the Queen, who really *has* high thoughts, cannot now go through the vain show of a drawing room. But Sir J. Lawrence's durbar⁵⁷ represents the poor, the noble, man who, by his own worth, has conquered the highest position in the world, who is *rightly* "loved and feared throughout India," which he is regenerating. Even the Maharajah's diamonds obtain a real significance at *such* a drawing room!

Letters and Notes: 1880s

Source: Letter, Royal Collection, Windsor Castle RA VIC/W 86/417

10 South St.

Park Lane, W.

27 February 1880

Her Majesty the Queen, Madam

Your Majesty's gracious sympathy is extended to all who are in distress of sorrow: it gives help and courage, but to none more than to me, broken down by six years and more, without one day's rest of body or mind, ending with the death of my beloved mother.

When it came to the last (but I am trespassing on Your Majesty's goodness), she closed her own eyes, folded her hands, and went home without a sigh, like a child falling asleep, or rather like a child passing into the Immediate Presence of the Father and His smile rested on the lovely old face: the "rapture of repose" was there. She was surrounded with sobs and tears, but with *her* all was peace, more than peace, blessedness, "thrice blest to go."⁵⁸

Your Majesty will deign to excuse my lingering on the last days. Her people, even the children, liked to stay by the coffin, and give one holy kiss, as long as the dear old face was there, encircled with all

⁵⁷ A public audience held by a prince.

⁵⁸ Probably from a hymn by John Neale, "With Christ We Share a Mystic Grave": Thrice blest, if through the gate of death/ All glorious and free/ We to our joyful rising pass/ O risen Lord, with Thee.

white spring flowers, telling of spring and rising again, or rather the young immortal's face, for it was the "mortal coil" not of death but of immortality. It was buried by my dear father, borne by the people of the estate as she wished, the church and the churchyard crowded with the people and the tenants (the poor), not one person there out of mere form, but *all, all* had ten, some twenty, some thirty, some fifty years of her kindnesses to remember. The coffin was quite covered with beautiful wreaths and crosses of flowers, some sent by our "Nightingale" trained nurses, in whom Your Majesty takes a gracious interest, and violets and rosemary: "that's for remembrance."⁵⁹ When our ever-to-be-loved and lamented Princess Alice went home, our trained nurses, whom she had visited, put their mites together and ventured to send a flowery cross and crown to her tomb.

Your Majesty's goodness is over all your people and your devoted people do not forget Your Majesty's sorrows to feel for them as if they were our own. They *are* our own. Three and twenty years of overwork and illness have been mine. She, my dear mother, always wished me to be about Your Majesty's business if I may say so, rather than her own. Some of her last words to me, all the more pathetic because she scarcely knew me, were, "Filomena" (alluding to Longfellow's poem of Sta Filomena), "And so she works at the hospitals still: that's *quite* right. I *am* so glad," with all the enthusiasm of youth.

I was unable to write at first myself my poor grateful tribute of thanks for Your Majesty's gracious message of sympathy, conveyed through Lady Clark. I was sent away from home and ordered complete silence and rest.

I have long been humbly desiring to address Your Majesty upon one of the Indian matters which interest me greatly—Indian matters have employed me for twenty-one years—and I would greatly prize a gracious permission to do so. ("I speak as a fool"⁶⁰ but Your Majesty is wise.) May God bless Your Majesty, as she always will be blessed, in the hearts of her people, is the unceasing prayer (and may *she* grant *my* prayer!) Madam, of the most devoted and humble of Your Majesty's devoted subjects,

Florence Nightingale

59 An allusion to Ophelia's speech in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Act 4, scene 5.

60 2 Cor 11:23.

Editor: According to Cook, Queen Victoria noticed Nightingale's attendance at the royal review on the return of troops from the Egyptian Campaign, at the invitation of Gladstone, 18 November 1882. She then invited Nightingale to attend the opening of the Law Courts, noted her attendance there and sent her a message to say how pleased she was to see her there, "looking well" (Cook, *Life of Florence Nightingale* 2:336). The Queen's diary, however, only notes: "Not far from the dais I recognized Florence Nightingale, whom I had not seen for years, but who had come out on purpose."⁶¹

Nightingale used the occasion of the Queen's conferring upon her a Royal Red Cross to raise the complex and contentious issue of War Office organization, so crucial for her own concerns.

Source: Letter, Royal Collection, Windsor Castle RA VIC/E34/23

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane, W.
26 July 1883

Private

Madam [Her Majesty the Queen]

May I offer my humble thanks for the decoration of the Royal Red Cross which Your Majesty has been pleased to confer upon me? And, yet more, may I most humbly present my earnest gratitude for the gracious invitation to stay the night at Windsor Castle which I was compelled by the state of my health to decline with the deepest regret, for possibly I might have been allowed by Your Majesty's gracious command to report in a few words on the subjects for which, in the autumn of 1856 after the Crimean War, Your Majesty summoned me to Balmoral, and graciously granted to my prayer the Royal Commission on the Sanitary State of the Army under Sidney Herbert.

May I recall to your Majesty that this Royal Commission of 1857 laid down the principles upon which the medical departments of the Army were to be organized. These principles were that the status of the medical officer was to be raised and his professional skill to be cultivated, but that he was to be relieved from all duties not strictly professional, and that all matters connected with the lodging, dieting and general care of the sick were to be managed by a special department, termed the Purveyor's Department, subordinate to the medical officers, and independent of the other Supply Department of the Army;

61 Entry 4 December 1882, Royal Archives, Windsor Castle.

that the Sanitary Service was to be thoroughly organized and that such an organized Sanitary Service was, when an Army took the field, to look after the sanitary condition of the camps and permanent quarters of the troops.

Your Majesty is aware that, in the China War under Sir Hope Grant, this Sanitary Service was put in force and proved efficient. Your Majesty will recall that these principles were embodied in regulations (during Lord Herbert's tenure of office) which were fully tested and successfully acted upon during the years between 1859 and 1870 and in the only war which took place under the English War Department during that time, viz., the China War (the Abyssinian War was conducted from India). May I now recall to Your Majesty that in 1870 and subsequent years the regulations were changed: the Purveyor's Department was abolished, the regulations for the Sanitary Service were discontinued, and almost all the safeguards were lost (in the new regulations) which the Royal Commission of 1857 had devised for preventing the occurrence in war hospitals of the evils from which the soldiers had suffered in the Crimea.

Your Majesty will have perceived from the evidence given in the recent inquiry on the Army Hospital Services (in Egypt) that, solely in consequence of the abandonment of these regulations, the *management* of the hospitals, and also the *sanitary* condition of the camps and quarters and hospitals was very defective, both in Egypt and at the Cape. The sick and wounded soldiers suffered far more than was necessary. The complaint is not against the skill of the medical officers in their capacity of surgeons or of physicians, but against the hospital management which they have undertaken to superintend. Your Majesty will doubtless say that it is now impossible to revert to Sidney Herbert's regulations, but that it is essential that a revision be made of the duties of the Army Medical Department to secure the objects which were obtained by the regulations founded on the Report of Your Majesty's Commission of 1857, viz., that the hospital services should be carried on in a manner calculated to relieve the medical officer from the care of details *not* belonging to his professional work (or indeed if he *is* to superintend these details, that he should be fully trained in them, instead of being fully *untrained* in them, as he is now). And, above all, that there should be an efficient Sanitary Service to accompany every body of troops in the field and garrisons.

May I venture so far as to hope that Your Majesty may read an article on the Army Hospital Services in Egypt, by Captain Douglas Gal-

ton, in the *Fortnightly Review*, which I have been encouraged to send for Your Majesty's perusal? And may I hope that the Queen will pardon the intense interest of twenty-nine years, fostered by Her Majesty's own hand, which urges me to address the Queen on such a subject, and trust to be considered, Madam Your Majesty's

most humble, earnest and devoted subject and servant

Florence Nightingale

On India and the Ilbert Bill

Editor: At the end of her letter on her mother's death (February 1880) Nightingale had sought permission "to address" the Queen on Indian matters. The letter below, on the Ilbert Bill, dealt with another fundamental issue for Nightingale, the sabotaging by British nationals in India of a promised reform in the judicial system. The Ilbert Bill gave Indian "native" magistrates the right to try British subjects, in accordance with Victoria's proclamation, but a matter much resisted in India, including by the organization of petitions by British ladies.

Nightingale's efforts to interest the Queen in the welfare on her Indian subjects proved to be ineffective. Queen Victoria was Queen and Empress, and politically quite conservative. The letter below, as the one above, was answered by Sir Henry Ponsonby on the Queen's behalf. He conveyed the Queen's thanks for "the two very interesting communications you have been good enough to address to Her Majesty. With regard to the 'Ilbert Bill,' which is now being so vehemently discussed, the Queen cannot but deplore the acrimony with which the question has been treated, but as it is a matter under the consideration of Her Majesty's government, the Queen is unwilling to express any opinion upon the measure at present."

The response was as disappointing concerning the War Office. The letter conveyed the Queen's "regrets" on the abolition of the Purveyor's Department and the change from the regimental to the general system, but notes that they "were both effected on the recommendation of the medical officers, and the Queen observes that those who gave evidence before the late Committee of Inquiry consider these steps to have improved the efficiency of their department." The letter dealt also with the selection of a new commandant at Netley Hospital and the Queen's being "extremely sorry to have missed the opportunity of seeing you at Windsor." The Queen would "always be glad to receive any communications from you" (Cook, *Life of Florence Nightingale* 2:341).

Source: Letter, Royal Collection, Windsor Castle RA VIC/E 34/24, partial draft
ADD Mss 45750 ff10-11

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane, W.
6 August 1883

Private

Madam [To Her Majesty the Queen]

I again venture with Your Majesty's gracious leave to address the Queen. It is on the subject of the so-called Ilbert Bill, intended to give limited powers to try Europeans, outside of the Presidency towns, to native magistrates and judges who, after long trial of their judicial qualifications in corresponding positions, have shown themselves worthy to be intrusted with this duty and have risen to that grade where for their official responsibility such powers are required, that is, to give to a very few trained, tested and experienced native judges, selected by government, the powers to fulfill such responsibilities. It is no mere experiment but has been tried on the Bench of the High Courts and in the Chief Magistracies of the Presidency towns.

It would be impertinent in me to recall to Your Majesty the gracious Proclamation of 1858, more telling words never announced a nobler sovereign mother's will to a more grateful and law-abiding people. It fell like dew upon the thirsty souls of India and it would be unnecessary for me to refer to the Queen's own words that, "So far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge." These glorious words have proclaimed that the Queen will admit the natives of India to share in their own government without distinction of race and creed. The sovereign herself has invited them to educate themselves to qualify for her service, as Englishmen do. In the teeth of difficul[ty] they have, competing with our ablest, obeyed her invitation, and by trial in long service, proved themselves and *not* been found wanting. They know that the Queen's government will not on its side be found wanting.

One more tribute for that truly heaven-sent proclamation it may possibly not be disagreeable to Your Majesty to receive. It is stated that there is now scarcely a village among the Queen's 200 millions of subjects in India where it is not known (in the wonderful way in which news flies in Eastern countries) that now is the time when their beloved "sovereign mother's" proclamation is receiving practical effect, nor where that noble proclamation which "becomes a monarch

better than her crown”⁶² is not mentioned *thus* by grateful natives, often with tears of joy and hope.

They refer particularly to the two measures, long promised, now coming at last into more perfect execution of local self-government and of due employment of natives in official positions, together with encouragement of *local industries*.

It is known that a largely signed petition of European ladies of Calcutta and elsewhere in India against the so-called Ilbert Bill, a part, but by no means the most important, of the present just and generous policy, so wisely carrying out Your Majesty’s proclamation, is to be presented to the Queen. May I be permitted to add my deep regrets, to those of many worthier than I, that such a movement should be possible, with which the Queen can have no sympathy, and which would find a sufficient answer, were the movers referred to the Queen’s own words in that gracious Proclamation. Suffer, Madam, me to be the most humble and devoted of Your Majesty’s subjects,

Florence Nightingale

Late Letters

Editor: Nightingale wrote the Queen or more likely an official to try to obtain a dinner invitation for the visiting Prince Prisdang of Siam in 1883, but was unsuccessful. She was reminded that the “approaching anniversary of the Prince Consort’s death makes this a bad time.” Frederick Verney’s letter, which she had enclosed, was returned with the comment “very interesting.” Nightingale commented: “I know how very difficult it is for anyone now to persuade or bring about these things.”⁶³

Nightingale greatly disapproved of a demonstration on nursing given to Queen Victoria and one of her daughters in 1893: “Sham patients in a sham hospital in Windsor Park, before the sovereign and the princess her daughter!”⁶⁴ She was wary about “speaking the truth” to Queen Victoria’s daughter, Princess Christian, regarding a proposed Nurses Volunteer Corps: “I don’t want to speak truth to her. Royalty never hears the truth, unless it is fallen. Fashionable royalty hears only fashionable truth, that is, what is not truth at all. But I must be civil.”⁶⁵

62 Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice* Act 4, scene 1.

63 Letters to Frederick W. Verney 5, 9 and 11 December 1883, ADD Mss 68883 f69, f71 and ff73-74.

64 Letter to Frederick Verney 20 October 1893, ADD Mss 68887 f132.

65 Letter to Henry Bonham Carter 1 May 1894, ADD Mss 47726 ff3-4. See the second nursing volume for the contentious issue of registration.

Nightingale asked Henry Bonham Carter what to do about “illuminations” on the anniversary of the Queen’s accession, Commemoration Day in 1897. She could not do much and wondered “would a V.R. hanging to the drawing room . . . balcony do?” He thought that would be “quite enough—add some red calico on the balcony,” and that the “lighting should be carefully done.”⁶⁶ She bought tickets for nurses, Joan Bonham Carter and her maids to attend the Queen’s Procession, for a total of £27.6, “an awful sum,” although it went to St Thomas’. She asked Henry Bonham Carter to “point out the *best colours?* And make any *suggestions?*” Would it be “*safe* for these women to go alone? How I hate processions.” She also worried about the “poor Queen.”⁶⁷

On the Queen’s death Nightingale consulted Sibella Bonham Carter on the need to give her maids mourning, as she was undecided: “I should like to do something to show that one cares, and this is the only thing that it seems one can do (it would of course be only a simple black gown, not expensive).”⁶⁸

Queen Victoria was succeeded by her son, King Edward VII. His spouse, Queen Alexandra, sent birthday greetings to Nightingale in 1901. Nightingale’s draft reply is quite shaky and is not included here.⁶⁹ In 1907 Nightingale became the first woman to receive the Award of Merit, at the instigation of Edward VII.⁷⁰ In 1910, when Nightingale’s body was taken from London to Wellow for burial, the procession passed Buckingham Palace and Bird Cage Walk, where “the sentries presented arms and the guards turned out.” There was a bearer party of a sergeant and eight guardsmen.⁷¹

William Ewart Gladstone

Editor: Nightingale had dealings with Gladstone, who was four times prime minister, on many issues (see the biographical sketch in Appendix A). She, like other reformers, saw the Liberal leader as a potential ally: he was an ardent Christian, a serious intellectual and a

66 Note 16 June 1897, ADD MSS 47728 f129.

67 Note 8 April 1897, ADD MSS 47728 f83.

68 Letter to Sibella Bonham Carter 23 January 1901, Hampshire Record Office 94M72/F583/7.

69 Draft 13 May 1901, ADD MSS 45750 ff12-13.

70 See correspondence in Woodward Biomedical Library C.12.

71 Letter of Louis Hilary Shore Nightingale to Margaret Verney 23 August 1910, Claydon House Bundle 363.

prolific writer as well as a leading political figure. Yet he carefully chose the causes he would support and often disappointed activists in whose causes he in fact believed but for which he did nothing. Nightingale's brother-in-law, Harry Verney, served in the House of Commons with Gladstone for many years and was a close friend. The comments selected below show Nightingale's exasperation, but also her desire, on his death, to see him given just recognition for his undoubted accomplishments.

In a note to Jowett Nightingale said that Gladstone had "an inexhaustible readiness in reasons for his fancy of today and for his opposite fancy of tomorrow." He could invent reasons for any line of action which might suit him, on any public question whatever.⁷² Another note similarly shows her dismay at his political machinations: "It is no use praying for the *High Court of Parliament* while Mr Gladstone is premier."⁷³ In referring to administrative decline in 1871 she said: "I look upon Mr Gladstone as not very far off Louis Napoleon in the mischief he has done, especially in the War and Colonial Offices, but I might add other offices to the list. It is impossible to estimate this falling off unless one has had the backstairs knowledge of sixteen years."⁷⁴

Yet Nightingale always respected Gladstone's competence and other politicians were compared unfavourably with him. For example, in a letter to her brother-in-law she complained that the War Office was drifting into the "hands of the Horse Guards," i.e., the Army command, instead of being controlled by the political head. The ministers (Cardwell and Childers) were "not ministers nor put there to be ministers; they are Mr Gladstone's secretaries."⁷⁵

It seems that Gladstone wrote Nightingale on her departure for the Crimean War, but the letter is not extant (possibly she did not receive it), and likely it is no more than good wishes.⁷⁶ Richard Monckton Milnes in 1855 sent Gladstone his poem (see p 480 below) on Scutari which ends with a tribute to Nightingale's work, but without naming her. Gladstone in turn thanked him for the poem, commenting that

⁷² Undated note to Jowett, ADD Mss 45783 f206.

⁷³ ADD Mss 45843 f249.

⁷⁴ Letter to Emily Verney 9 February 1871, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9005/17.

⁷⁵ Letter to Harry Verney 13 February 1869, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/86. Hugh Culling Eardley Childers (1827-96) was a distinguished Cabinet minister and Army reformer, responsible for such reforms in 1881 as the abolition of flogging.

⁷⁶ Note 19 October 1854, *Gladstone Diaries* 5:654-55.

he wished that among the thousand who justly celebrated Nightingale, one would say a word for Sidney Herbert, “the man of ‘routine’ who devised and projected her going.”⁷⁷ This brief note serves also to show the high esteem in which Gladstone held Herbert, a point on which Nightingale was frequently to depend. Nightingale obviously tried to use this regard and fondness to prompt him to implementing the War Office reforms for which she and Herbert had worked. On this she was fundamentally unsuccessful. To Dr Farr she wrote: “Gladstone attends his funeral and then writes to me that he cannot pledge himself to give any assistance in carrying out his friend’s reforms.”⁷⁸

The relationship between Gladstone and Nightingale was long and complex, if never warm. Commentators have tended to centre on her unsuccessful appeal to him to reform the War Office,⁷⁹ with which we begin, while ignoring the other matters on which she may have had some effect.

Sidney Herbert and War Office Reform

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 44397 ff28-31

8 August 1861

7:00 P.M.

Private

Dear Sir [W.E. Gladstone]

From causes of illness, your letter of 6 August was only this moment given to me. I hope tomorrow early to send you the materials you require. You will judge about using them. I say this not out of courtesy: I had rather you defended my dear master than I.

The first part of HER [Elizabeth Herbert’s] letter could be contradicted by Lord Panmure (Dalhousie⁸⁰), if he chose, the second part by Lord de Grey, if he did not love him. Any recrimination would be most painful now. As to the second part, deep disappointment with himself, especially as regards his not having reorganized the War Office, according to his plan (laid before the Cabinet in November or December 1860) hastened, I am certain, my dear master’s end. I have letters

77 Gladstone letter to Richard Monckton Milnes 15 October 1855, in T. Wemyss Reid, ed., *The Life, Letters and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes First Lord Houghton* 1:519.

78 Typed copy of letter 10 September 1861, ADD Mss 43399 f41.

79 Richard Shannon, *Gladstone 1809-1865* 449, and F.B. Smith, *Florence Nightingale: Reputation and Power* 105.

80 Lord Panmure (1801-74) of the Crimean War had by then become the 11th Earl of Dalhousie.

from him in his own hand, marked “Private,” up to 16 July, seventeen days only before the day which took him from us, which prove this—prove, i.e., not that it hastened his end (you know he never talked of *himself* in that way) but that so far from his thinking that “a child could complete it” (the reorganization of the War Office), he thought it was not even begun.

You will not let any word or sense of this go beyond yourself to *any human being*. That I know. My dead master would at this moment approve of what I am doing in appealing to you. If you saw fit, and what you saw fit to do, to further his purposes, you would do. If you thought I was romancing, you would say nothing and I should have done no harm. My object is to give *his* plan a chance, which he would have wished—wished, oh! far more than his own defence. His was the purest ambition I have ever known.

I would gladly accept the kindness of your promised visit, because I could perhaps *say* about him better than I could write—but that I am now quite confined to my bed. I have not seen the newspapers since his death, so that I was not aware of what they were saying. If you are going to his funeral, would you kindly give a verbal message to the bearer as to *where* I should send you the materials you desire.

yours faithfully

Florence Nightingale

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 44397 ff34-39, enclosure ff41-47

9 August 1861

PRIVATE

My dear Sir [W.E. Gladstone]

I send the enclosed to use or not to use, or to use any part of it, as you like. The facts I can vouch for; you will judge about the rest. I would gladly you left out the mention of Lord Panmure, whose name is an abomination in my ears. I did not see how it could be done. For if my dear master (justly) took credit for things done by those under him, Lord Panmure might complain, *and would*, if he had not the credit of commissions, etc., issued under him.

2. The first paragraph in *her* letter she does not answer herself. The second will be (*and has been*) answered by everybody: what was he doing then from March 1855 to February 1857—two years? The last paragraphs of the third and fourth pages are a natural blunder between administrative reform and organization—a blunder which *he* never made. He did improve the War Office administratively at every step. He did not reorganize it and, alas! he knew it. He never said: “I have

left my mark.” *She* said it and *he* did not feel it. (Nor has he, alas! unless those who would and can will reorganize the War Office now for his sake.) At the fatal date she names, he wrote to me the reverse of this which he is supposed to have said.

3. It would be better to put quite generally the list of reforms effected (on her page 4). But this is one matter on which you will judge so much better than I. Some of them I know might be disputed by Lord Panmure and General Peel. Some of them I know from my own knowledge to be incorrect. Some I do not know enough about. And of some you might as well say that his appointing Colonel -- was a “reform.”

If he reads our newspaper articles now, the two things which would distress him most are: to give him credit for things *which are not done*, and for things which *he* has not done (or at least which others might dispute). I have written the facts, in view of what *he* would wish, as they were. (He did not tell his dear wife what he felt of disappointment at not having reorganized the War Office.) His was a great simplicity—heroic almost, it was so playful. I would not offend against this now. We shall never see another like him.

Now, at this moment, if he sees us, I am certain he is caring far more for his reforms for our good than for his reputation. I would fain tell you of three things I know he had much at heart (besides the reorganization of the office) which he talked of, and wrote of, to me the very last times I ever saw him or heard from him. But if you say to me, don’t tell me—I had better not know—I am sure you will have some good reason. At all events, I know you will never talk of what I have said of him *to any soul*.

yours sincerely

Florence Nightingale

P.S. I need hardly add that, if you can say anything most strong as to his guiltlessness of the sufferings of the troops in the first winter of the Crimean War, it will be most true. Had the greatest statesman the world has ever seen been in his office then, these sufferings could not have been averted. I was cognizant of all Sir J. McNeill’s inquiry, as it went on, and of all the other inquiries. And we *knew* this, while others only believed it.

F.N.

[Enclosure, in another hand]

It has been said that Sidney Herbert was in some sense responsible for the breakdown of our military administration at the beginning of the Crimean War. The fact was that, up to the beginning of the Crimean

War, England had never had a military administration at all, properly so-called. As in the Crimea, so in all our former wars, including even the Peninsula, the administrative catastrophes were retrieved solely by the valour of the Army itself. The British Army has always been successful *in spite of* its administration. The forty years of peace had made matters worse. And (“speaking as a man”) no other result could have followed under any other administrator. The country in short went to war without preparation, without military system at all.

Lord Panmure entered among the ruins. He saved the Army and our honour in the only way in which it could be saved, by lavish expenditure, by destroying all that there was left of the former system, radically defective. But Lord Panmure recreated no system.

From the Crimean catastrophe dates the rise of military administration in this country. The old had passed away; the new had to be constructed, and in the reconstruction who did so much as the great and good statesman we so loved and have lost? After the return of the Army from the Crimea, Lord Panmure issued the Royal Commission on the “Sanitary State of the Army.” Its members were all men whose knowledge and experience fitted them to deal with the whole subject, of which the Crimean calamity was but one aspect. Its chief, its main-spring was Sidney Herbert.

Everyone now knows the zeal, the patience, the ability with which he carried through the work. His report, a report which gives the data (forever) of the internal reform of the Army, was a masterly condensation of a minute, laborious and effective inquiry. It has already borne fruit which is multiplying a hundredfold⁸¹ and will last forever.

Lord Panmure, aware of the importance and immense value of the report, immediately gave effect to it by issuing four commissions, consisting chiefly of members of (or witnesses examined by) the Royal Commission. One of these was for the reform of barracks and hospitals, one for reorganizing the Army Medical Department and for passing a new Code of Regulations of the Sanitary and Hospital Services of the Army, a third for reforming the Army medical statistics, a fourth for organizing a school at Chatham in which all candidates for Army Medical Service should be instructed in Army hygiene and in the specialties of that service.

Sidney Herbert was head and actual working chief of all these commissions up to the time that their work was done or that he himself

81 An allusion to Matt 13:8.

became secretary for war. He visited (with the other commissioners) all the principal barracks and hospitals in the kingdom and also at Paris. He shared the responsibility of advising the large expenditure required to make our military establishments fit for human habitation. The requisite works were sanctioned by Lord Panmure, General Peel and, lastly, by Lord Herbert himself after he took office. The result of the improvements has been that just one half of the Englishmen die who enter the Army that formerly died.

Again, Sidney Herbert framed a new warrant for the Army Medical Service, which was issued by General Peel. The Army medical statistics have been completely reformed and are now far the best in Europe. Lord Herbert himself opened the medical school at Chatham in October 1860 and already its result has been great. The new medical and sanitary regulations, which are a model code, were issued by him in October 1859. In January of the present year he issued a new Code of Purveyors' Regulations. Later, he appointed a committee for reconstructing the whole hospital service and for organizing general hospitals so as to prevent the recurrence of such calamities as that of Scutari. He practically embodied the results by entirely reorganizing the Army Hospital Corps just before his death. And the very day which took him from us opened a general hospital on his new system at Woolwich, which will be transferred to the magnificent general hospital about to be built there—of which he is the founder and which will bear his name.

He recently established a school for the practical teaching of soldiers in barracks and hospital cookery at Aldershot, where 200 cooks will have been trained before the year is out. Shortly before his death, he called together a committee to provide soldiers day rooms and institutes, in order to struggle with the great moral evil which has hitherto been supposed inseparable from camps. Its labours are not yet finished, but it is to be hoped that the country will support this cherished scheme of its dead statesman.

Lastly, and as the crowning testimony to the great national importance of the new system inaugurated by Lord Herbert, the Chinese expedition (where these reforms were first practically tested) showed a result without precedent, viz., an Expeditionary Force sent half across the globe into an enemy's country notoriously unhealthy—and this force, including wounded, dying at the rate only of six per hundred per annum. Whereas, for the first seven months of the Crimean War, *sixty out of every hundred men* died per annum, until means were taken (by civil commissions) to prevent this awful sweep of death.

During the Chinese War the “constantly sick” in hospital was barely more than the sick in hospital at home. In the Crimean War during the same seven months, the sick were just seven times this number. Besides all this, he undertook the presidency of the Royal Commission on the Sanitary State of the Indian Army, but was obliged to relinquish it to Lord Stanley, on account of official business and alas! failing health.

Such then have been the labours and the successes of Lord Herbert’s administration. The sterile farce of appointing commissions under him was unknown, for he realized their labour all, as fast as completed. Every step of his in the War Office was an administrative improvement. His other works are known to all. He organized or reorganized the national defences, the militia, the volunteers, the Indian Army. This was enough in itself for the lifetime of a minister. But not for this alone, or so much for this as for the rest, will he be remembered. He will be remembered chiefly as the first war minister who ever seriously set himself to the task of saving life, who ever effectually applied himself to husband the resources of this country in which human life is more expensive than in any other, more expensive than anything else, and to preserve the efficiency of its defenders. This is the work of his which will bear fruit in all future times. This it is which will cause his name to be remembered forever.

Source: Copy of Gladstone letter to Nightingale, ADD Mss 44397 ff49-50

11 Carlton Terrace

10 August 1861

Dear Miss Nightingale

The funeral was very sad but very soothing, simplicity itself in point of form. It was most remarkable from the number of people gathered together and especially from their demeanour. Many *men* were weeping; not an unconcerned face among several thousands could be seen. But it all brings home more and more the immense void that he has left for all who loved, that is for all who knew, him. Lady Herbert and five children headed the procession.

I saw her afterwards. She is calm and resolved, looking forward not without dread, backward with a sense of immeasurable loss, but accepting the will of God and trusting to know hereafter at least the secret of this dispensation. The bishop himself, no mean judge among the men of this generation, was astonished at the perfect beauty of the closing scene, the particulars of which he had pretty fully learned.

I read last night with profound interest your important paper. I see at once that the matter is too high for me to handle. Like you I know that

too much would distress him, too little would not. I am in truth ignorant of military administration and my impressions are distant and vague. It is your knowledge and authority more than that of any living creature that can do him justice, at the proper time, whenever that may be: do him justice as he would wish it without exaggeration, without defrauding others. I shall return the paper to you, but *of* it I venture to keep a copy.

I *think* that it is now understood and even desired by the family that nothing should be done for the moment. There is an idea that after a short time some spontaneous movement may begin, which would create an opportunity.

With respect to your making known to me the “three subjects” I will beg you to exercise your own discretion after simply saying this much: my duty is to watch and control on the part of the Treasury rather than to promote officially departmental reforms. To him I could personally suggest: I am not sure that I should be justified in taking the same liberty with Sir G. Lewis, especially while new to his work. On the other hand, even my desire to promote Herbert’s wishes, as his wishes, was not stronger than my confidence in his judgment as an administrator. (If I now seem reluctant to touch that subject it is for fear I should spoil it.) In the conduct of a department he seemed to me very nearly if not quite the first of his generation.

I remain your

(signed) W.E. Gladstone

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 44400 ff183-84

[printed address] 4 Cleveland Row, S.W.

15 April 1863

Private

My dear Sir [W.E. Gladstone]

You knew Sidney Herbert. It is my only excuse for writing to you. You know perhaps, but you cannot know so well as I do, how earnestly he wished for Lord de Grey to succeed him. Up to the last fortnight of his life, he mentioned it to me again and again. All his favourite reforms, excepting those which Lord de Grey could carry out as under secretary [of state] have been standing still during Sir G. Lewis’s time of office.

You know that Sidney Herbert never overlooked the disadvantage of a secretary of state being in the House of Lords. Yet, with all that, he said over and over again, “de Grey is the only man to succeed now in the War Office.”

yours apologetically but most eagerly

Florence Nightingale

Please turn over. You once wrote to me that Sidney Herbert was the best administrator you knew. If being the best administrator he recommended Lord de Grey as being better in some respects than himself, which he did, may not his word be taken?

F.N.

Contagious Diseases Acts

Editor: Comprehensive coverage of Nightingale's efforts to prevent the enactment of, and later to repeal, the Contagious Diseases Acts, legislation intended to reduce the incidence of syphilis in the Army and Navy, appears in *Women*. Syphilis was known as the "disease caused by vice," or prostitution, and was to Nightingale and other women activists the natural result of recourse to prostitutes. Their object remained the curtailment of prostitution, not the mere avoidance of disease as a consequence. The first letter here shows Nightingale writing Gladstone early, when rumours were going around about possible legislation to impose police regulation of prostitution, with no inspection or compulsory treatment of the men. Gladstone was unhelpful then and later. His immediate response was to favour coercion. The legislation was in fact passed in 1864 and extended in 1866 and 1869. A serious campaign to repeal it was launched in 1869 (at which point Nightingale played only a peripheral role). Gladstone continued to be evasive.

The acts were finally suspended in 1883 on a Liberal motion to cut spending for police inspection and lock hospitals. Repeal occurred in 1886. Gladstone was prime minister in this period so must have given at least quiet support behind the scenes; the Conservatives were even more supportive of police regulation. The repeal campaign had succeeded in getting the support of the National Liberal Federation, which seems to have influenced Gladstone's final acquiescence. Possibly Nightingale's early appeal to him succeeded at least in keeping him silent instead of actively supporting the legislation. He spoke neither in the House nor publicly on the issue. A letter to Harry Verney stated that she had heard from Gladstone twice (letters missing), presumably in response to hers below, that he was "evidently impressed by my facts *against* the French system, for which he was before in favour."⁸²

⁸² Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9000/44.

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 44398 ff213-16

9 Chesterfield St.
26 April 1862*Private*

Dear Sir [W.E. Gladstone]

There is a strong influence at work to introduce into our Army the French system of police regulations and lock hospitals, in order to prevent the disease caused by vice. The enclosed paper⁸³ I prepared at the request of the War Office.

In India, it is wished to do the same thing for our troops, and in our Indian Sanitary Report (that commission of which Lord Stanley is now chairman) I mean to reproduce the same figures, with this addition which I find in the "Replies" from the Indian stations. Those stations which were most eager to introduce lock hospitals, and which have done so, give in evidence that the number of cases is *not* diminished, although their severity appears to be so, by these measures.

You will be much surprised at my writing to you on this subject. You are known to have seriously considered the growing evil in civil life. And I have been told that you would not throw aside any evidence (on either side) which could be offered you.

Unfortunately it is impossible for a life spent (as mine) in foreign and in English armies, in foreign and in English hospitals, for this subject *not* to have been forced upon it as a duty. Most unhesitatingly do I wish that the French police system of preventing unnecessary temptations to young persons, held out in the streets, could be introduced here. Most unhesitatingly do I say, better 1000 times our hideous exposure of vice than the French, legalized, protected vice (holding out promise of protection where God has said that none is possible), if it is proposed to introduce the *whole* French system in this particular here.

The enclosed paper refers solely to the Army, but much might be done in civil life to prevent vice. The French do not succeed even in preventing disease, while pretending to do so encourages vice. Pardon me for writing to you on such a subject. Perhaps you will be so good as to return my paper to me, as I am not able to reproduce it. If you are not occupied with the subject at this moment, I shall not at all events, I hope, have wasted much of your time. Believe me,

very faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale

83 Likely a handwritten version of the "Note on the Supposed Protection Afforded against Venereal Disease," printed in 1863.

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 44398 ff239-42

9 Chesterfield St., W.

4 May 1862

My dear Sir [Rt Hon W.E. Gladstone, MP]

I cannot help venturing to answer a few words to your very kind letter of 30 April [missing], though I am afraid you will hardly have time to read them.

1. A great deal *is* being done (thanks to my dear master) for the “industrial” employment of our soldiers. It is the subject of a War Office committee at present. Extensive changes are taking place in India. And it constitutes a very large part of the present inquiry of our “Indian Sanitary Commission,” which will urge the carrying out, not only of industrial occupations but also of active recreations, on a very large scale.

In fact, the sanitary reform of the Army, effected by my dear master, was only entered upon as being half the moral problem. And the “industrial employment” is a *sine qua non* of both.

That the present secretary of state for war knows nothing at all about what is to be done with his own Army is (not our fault but) our very great affliction. God’s will be done. But, had it pleased Him to keep Sidney Herbert but one short half-year more in the War Office (and in the House of Commons) his reforms would have been placed beyond the reach, not of progress, but of retrogression. They would indeed have been *safe* for progress then.

2. “Direct coercion” is indeed, as you say, necessary for diminishing the special evil (of vice) as far as possible. Why should not the law declare an infamous trade penal?, i.e., the trade of one person exposing another person for sale. We cannot prevent her exposing *herself* for sale (i.e., not by law) but surely we can prevent others from doing it, without endangering public liberty. And we can prevent the evil from impudently parading itself, also without endangering public liberty. Why not treat it like any other similar evil? We prevent people keeping gaming houses. We prevent temptations to gaming in the public streets. We cannot prevent gaming in private houses and we do not try. The cases are parallel.

People say, no, they are not parallel: you forget the passion. And I say, you forget the temptation. To one third of the former there are two thirds of the latter in producing the cases of vice, as may be seen in those places where the local authorities *do* remove glaring temptation.

From an Army medical officer of great experience and high in his department, now quartered in one of our worst seaport stations, I

received (written the last few days) a letter with these words: "As it is, it is to be feared that many instances occur of *town authorities* deriving revenue from the very sources which it is desirable to suppress." This I *know* to be true in more places than his.

3. As to the "French system," the evil of it is:

(1) There is no proof of utility.

(2) It is impossible to carry it out. It is so disgusting and degrading to both man and woman that there is constant relaxation.

(3) When Lord Herbert obtained reports from abroad about it, they were filled with complaints of the great amount of disease and the laxity of the police arrangements. It is natural, inevitable and right that it should be so.

Note. In looking over his War Office minutes on this subject, I saw one from a man, now holding one of the highest offices in the Horse Guards, urging upon him to introduce the "French system" among us, *because* he (the writer) had been over the French — military hospital on —, and had not seen a single venereal case (sic). So men assert and argue away the lives of men.

4. About Corfu: the short experience of one corps or of one year is of no use *by itself*. It is only when we put altogether the facts for a series of years and a number of corps that we arrive at any conclusion to be depended on.

5. Lock hospitals have been constantly tried in India and have always failed, and been tried again only to fail.

May it please God that the government may now try to give the soldier an opportunity at least of keeping out of mischief.

Pardon me for trespassing on your patience and believe me,
faithfully and gratefully yours

Florence Nightingale

On India

Editor: Nightingale made concerted efforts over many years to engage Gladstone's attention to the plight of India, calling on his liberalism as demonstrated on Ireland, his compassion on the persecutions in Bulgaria, and variously flattering him and challenging him to devote his considerable talent at chancellor of the Exchequer to India.⁸⁴ She began by sending Gladstone a pamphlet with a preface by her, remind-

84 On Gladstone's prowess as chancellor of the Exchequer see Francis W. Hirst, *Gladstone as Financier and Economist*, and Sydney Buxton, *Mr Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer: A Study*.

ing him of their mutual association with Sidney Herbert. She wasted no opportunity to turn the focus to India: for example, a mistake he made in an article on another subject, which peripherally discussed Indian mortality statistics (see p 443 below). She used their old association with Sidney Herbert (immediately below), a mutual connection with Miss Irby on Bosnia (see p 442 below) and his attendance at the funeral of John Lawrence (see p 459 below). Yet she remained aware of how bad the Liberal government's record was. On Gladstone's election in 1880, "this amazing success of the people," she had nevertheless to acknowledge that "under no government have Indian questions been so systematically ignored as under Mr Gladstone's" (see p 465 below).

The letters go into enormous detail and Nightingale obviously worked very hard preparing them, extracting statistics from reports, citing his speeches and articles. It is difficult to estimate what impact they might have had for, while it seems that he was not put off by the length or tone of her letters, Gladstone never replied in detail. He did undertake to pursue information in the House at her request, but thought he could do but little on the issue (see p 449 below). Nightingale was appalled that spending in India was cut, even for measures against famine, to support war in Afghanistan (see p 444 below). Gladstone opposed the war in Afghanistan and agreed (see p 450 below). Nightingale was pleased with the Queen's speech opening Parliament in February 1886 mentioning an inquiry into Indian government: "Mr Gladstone, I think, did exactly as his best friends expected of him."⁸⁵

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 44404 ff102-04

[printed address] 27 Norfolk Street
Park Lane, W.

9 November 1864

Dear Sir [Rt Hon W.E. Gladstone, MP]

It is only under the name of Sidney Herbert that I shelter myself in daring to write to you. From him I gathered that you thought of the Army, much as the old schoolmaster thought of women: that "they're only the evils that belong to this state o' probation, which it's lawful for a man to keep as clear of as he can in this life, hoping to get quit of 'em forever in another."

I ask you just to read the short preface of the pamphlet I enclose. For me it is enough to have lived to hear the Rifle Brigade, marching

85 Letter to Frederick Verney 10 February 1886, ADD Mss 68883 f184.

into Meean Meer, say: "Please God, we *won't* have cholera" and they actually gardened away and worked away cholera. Much more I could have told and much more precisely; but I have been prevented, because these things are contained in *private official* documents.

What you said in closing the North London Industrial Exhibition made me bold to send you this—the more as I have been myself, for the last ten years of my life, under the sentence of hard labour quite as much as (or more than) any workingman and with the addition of constant pain and illness, which make the intervals between work and work only one of "unnatural endurance." Few *men* can sympathize with what you said as I do.

The beginning that has been made in India is entirely due to Sidney Herbert's royal commissions and to the hero whom I am proud to call my "noble friend," Sir John Lawrence. I am, dear Sir, Sidney Herbert's constant mourner.

Florence Nightingale

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 44404 ff122-23

[printed address] 27 Norfolk Street
Park Lane, W.
19 November 1864

Dear Sir [Rt Hon W.E. Gladstone, MP]

I do feel deeply the kindness which prompted you to answer my Indian sanitary tract [which letter is missing]. You will find that we ourselves, so far from disagreeing with you that it is "a dangerous error to make the soldier's life a life of luxury in relation to that of the class from which he comes," have shown that half at least of the death rate, of all the sickness and inefficiency in India, is due to this most "dangerous error." For example, animal food is provided for men who never, or rarely, taste it at their homes; drink is *provided* for them, and they are encouraged to be intoxicated. Every kind of servant is provided for them so that all such work as they would do, even in barracks everywhere except in India, is done for them—they absolutely do nothing whatever for themselves. Spending the whole day on their beds is actually enjoined on them, for they are shut up in their barrack rooms.

We hope to put an end to this, and to make the soldier in India a self-acting and thinking being, make him help himself, as Sir John Lawrence himself wrote to me—give him back his state of activity and even more than he has at home. I am, dear Sir,

yours faithfully and gratefully
Florence Nightingale

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9007/161

12 August 1878

I entirely agree about Mr Gladstone's ill-fared attack on sending for the Indian troops. It was powerful, but powerful like the ram of the König Wilhelm, which sank her unhappy consort.

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 44459 ff56-71

[printed address] 10 South Street

Park Lane, W.

22 January 1879

Private

Dear Sir [Rt Hon W.E. Gladstone, MP]

I should hardly venture to presume upon your remembering poor old Florence Nightingale, even with the long friendship of Sidney Herbert to remind you of me, were it not that you were so very good as to send me a kind message by Miss Irby (of Bosnia) last autumn. But it is not upon Bosnia but upon India and the late famine that I now trespass upon you. In your noble paper in this month's no. of the *Nineteenth Century*, you say: "impoverished India in which but a year ago we were told that 1,400,000 persons died of famine."⁸⁶ The papers moved for and presented to Parliament, just before it rose in August last, gave the famine deaths at 1,350,000. The deaths "presented to Parliament" were the *registered* deaths. It was asked at the time what was the probable proportion of *registered* deaths to *actual* famine deaths, but no answer was made. That answer can now be given.

The famine commissioner of Mysore has given the loss in Mysore alone as *one million and a quarter deaths*. This is accepted by the India Office itself. It was ascertained by actual enumeration that the *registered* deaths in Mysore were 22 percent of the *real* number of deaths. (Included in the papers that were presented to Parliament but *not* presented to Parliament—it reached me from Simla—was the above statement.)

Now for *Madras* Presidency: the completed reports are now officially coming in (they reached me some months ago). (I would thankfully send you an abstract and analysis of them, but do not like to trouble you unasked.) The figures may be shortly stated: By the Test Census which was taken in March 1878 the probable decrease of population due to

86 Gladstone's article, "The Friends and Foes of Russia," attacked Conservative foreign policy, especially in Afghanistan. The cited section (p 189) was only a brief mention of the recent famine in India (the Conservatives were in office and failed to take measures against it in time).

famine up to March 1878 is 3,273,527. (This $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions allows for five years' increment of population from 1872 to 1876 at *one* percent only per annum, though by the Test Census of non-famine districts the population without doubt increased at the rate of at least $1\frac{1}{2}$ percent.) The $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions loss is upon a population of $17\frac{1}{4}$ millions (17,259,290), as by the 1871 census, to wit, districts of *Salem*, the *whole* of which district was taken by the *Test Census*, *Bellary*, *Kurnool*, *Cuddapah*, *Nellore*, *Coimbatore*, *Chingleput*, *Madera*, *N. Arcot* and four districts of partial famine.

This was the result of the Test Census. Now for the *registered* deaths: the seventeen months' RETURNS from November 1876 to March 1878 show an EXCESS of deaths of 1,140,048 over the average of same months in former years. But such was the disorganization of village life and communal administration that *not one half* of the actual deaths were ever recorded.

Also, facts *ascertained* do not account for more than 100,000 of the missing people by *migration*. It therefore stands thus: mortality *returns* show an EXCESS of DEATHS from November 1876 to March 1878 of 1,140,048 while *Test Census* would indicate a *probable decrease of population of at least 3 millions*, 3,000,000. Of these rather more than 2 millions may be reckoned roughly as *deaths*, 2,000,000; 1 million may be accounted for as *diminished births*, 1,000,000, for famine cuts away population at both ends. And we have yet to know the consequences of the famine in diminished births. It will be well if the census of 1881 does not show the loss to have been nearer 4 million than 3.

At one time the birth rate was down to 7 per 1000. There was no connection between famine and excessive population: districts with sparse population suffered the utmost intensity of famine, while districts with excessive populations not only grew enough for their own populations but for material help to the famine districts. May I give you the figures of these? Briefly, then, and not to annoy you with figures:

Madras: our probable losses of population are more than 3 millions, 3,000,000 (to wit, over 2 millions deaths, 1 million diminished births). (I could send you all the detailed figures of this.)

Mysore: deaths officially estimated at 1,250,000. *Bombay and Hyderabad* losses must have been more than two millions, 2,000,000. All these figures came to me from the various headquarters in India. (I have telegraphed to India for detailed figures of *Bombay* and *Hyderabad*. The others I have and have had for months.) Would it be too much if I were to *hope*—do not take from me *hope*—that Mr Gladstone himself would move in the House of Commons for the famine mortality figures?

2. People's minds are so taken up with this Afghan War on one side or the other that they forget the far deeper tragedy than any that can be acted there that took place but one short year ago here in Southern India, not to speak of what has even later been enacting in the North West Provinces. O that Mr Gladstone would take up the statesmanship of India is the cry of all hearts, of all that really care for India, the only kind of man who could really deal with it is such a minister as yourself.

I feel how impertinent I am in saying these things, but people with intense interests at their hearts are impertinent even with God. The only way to interest the people of England in India would be if an Indian Dickens could arise or if the *Daily News* would send out a McGahan or a Forbes to "discover" the interior of India as "Special Correspondent" or, nobler far than any of these, if Mr Gladstone would write some of his greatest papers on *India*, such a paper as "England's Mission"!⁸⁷ Instead of this, we are appealed to by the meanest and most claptrap of motives to support a policy which, in private life, even in such private life as the bank failures lay open, would be esteemed base and swindling. This policy has its majority in the House of Commons, it is true, but such a majority, such a superstructure without any foundation on a rock, a majority built on the shifting sands cannot last.⁸⁸ It could not last for six months if the people of England really knew anything about India.

The great Indian officials—many of them *truly* great men—returning home, do not interest England about India. They speak of English apathy and indifference. But we English people know nothing about the matter and it is not in human nature to be as much affected by what happens 3000 miles off as by the distress of Sheffield and Manchester. The great Indian officials know these things but they do not really speak about them or convince the country of them, not at least in the same way that the anti-slavery people used to agitate about slavery, or the Anti-Corn-Law people about the repeal of the Corn Laws.

We may say that bread is nearer to us than Hindus but we cannot

87 "England's Mission" objected to the acquisition of Cyprus, complained England was using the "principles of Metternich," had reversed past policies of supporting liberation movements and was wrongly extending "our military garrisons." Citing Roman examples Gladstone declared: "Of all the Empires whose rise and fall have been recorded in history, there is not one that has owed its ruin or decay to checking the lust of unmeasured territorial acquisition" (584).

88 An allusion to Matt 7:26-27.

say that Hindus are farther off from us than slaves. What a field for a statesman like Mr Gladstone to be at the head of an India League to convince the country of—India! The great Indian officials returning home do not interest England about India; can you interest the India Office unless you interest the people of England? It is not enough for an experienced man to come to the India Office to be listened to; must he not have enlisted the people of England first and be able to move the people of England?

An ex-vice-roy thinks he has a responsibility; he is afraid of being an agitator, of exposing evils. He *has* a responsibility indeed, but is it not that of interesting England in India? As the Cabinet must have a Parliamentary majority at its back, must not the great Indian who in England wishes to benefit India and move the I.O. have a majority of the people of England at his back? And who could give him this majority but you?

Would that I might give you facts about this strange India which for nineteen years I have had unusual opportunity of knowing and for twenty years I have had all sorts of “confidential” reports, not only from headquarters, not only from our own officials in India—men of the highest character and ability as most of them are—but of late years from native Hindu, Parsi and Muhammadan gentlemen.

But to return to the facts of the last famine. For example,

1. No connection between famine and excessive population: districts with sparse populations as

population per sq. mile

Kurnool 130.4

Nellore 162.7

Cuddapah 161.5

Bellary 151.5 suffered the severest famine while

Tanjore 540.1 (saved by Cauvery irrigation)

Godavery 255.9 (saved by Godavery irrigation)

not only lived in abundance themselves but, as I have almost incredible figures (*official*) to show (which I should be only too honoured to abstract for you) supplied their neighbours to an extraordinary extent. So with:

Malabar 376.7

and Trichinipoly 341.5 saved wherever Cauvery irrigation extended, saved but crowded with famine-stricken wanderers from Coimbatore and Salem.

The official figures with regard to the grain supplied by these districts are really remarkable but, what is worst, is that in many parts the

grain famine has now been followed by *money famine*. This can only be relieved by *government advances and public works* and all this is *suspended for the war!*

2. With regard to the registration of deaths: except in municipal towns, there is no legal power compelling people to register births and deaths. Every village is a commune—there are more than 50,000 villages—each village has a separate “accountant” (the man who keeps the accounts of the government for the lands cultivated by each ryot and the tax due on them) who is *ex officio* registrar. In ordinary times about two thirds of the deaths are registered, in famine times, not one half.

(We have destroyed the village communities and kept only their worst part and we have destroyed the panchayats and their cheap justice.) The village accountants suffered starvation with the rest and went away in search of food and work. Thousands upon thousands of people dropped down dead by the wayside or in desert places and were of course *unregistered*. The registration of the *causes* of death was yet more strange and curious. *Famine* deaths were registered under “*All Other Causes*” because it was announced that “no death was to be allowed from famine,” sometimes under “fevers,” yes, but *famine* fever (although it may have spread among the well-to-do), sometimes under other affections, these affections being, especially among children, the very type or characteristic of the famine state.

Their only rule of registration often is: how to please the English masters. (I have all these figures.) In camps and relief houses, at least *three fourths* of the mortality was the direct result of “in-nutrition” (in English, starvation).

3. The decrease of population is *not* to be accounted for by *migration*. All the population movements were in definite directions to find food and work, e.g., from the districts surrounding Madras to Madras, from Coimbatore to Malabar or Trichinopoly, from Salem to Tanjore (the great irrigated Cauvery delta) and Trichinopoly, from Kurnool and N. Nellore to Kistna (irrigated), etc. For example, in Madras, out of some 130,000 in relief camps not a dozen came from Salem; the great bulk were from Nellore, Chingleput and N. Arcot. (N.B. from Bellary and Cuddapah emigration was encouraged to “Buckingham Canal” works on Nellore Coast but this was out of the usual population course. It was full of disaster to the people and had to be abandoned.)

The Madras famine affected a population of about 20 millions; they did not go into Mysore, for all Mysore was famine, nor into Bombay, nor into Nizam’s dominions, for these were worse off than our own.

(The Nizam's and Mysore people came into Bellary for relief.) Before the end of 1877, the great surplus of emigrants, including even those who went to Ceylon and Travancore, i.e., those who were not dead, had returned to their villages.

The Mansion House Fund hastened the resumption of village life by its grants for repair of houses, purchase of implements, seed grain, cattle, etc. (Would that there were a similar fund to *re-home* Miss Irby's poor repatriated, expatriated Bosnian fugitives, now starving and dying in their worse-than-exile homes: twice fugitives.)

We have in actual, ascertained figures that children under ten years disappeared in double the proportion of persons over ten years. Now these children could not have emigrated—they must have died. The migration theory as accounting for the decrease of population is disproved. Facts *ascertained* do not account for more than 100,000 of the missing people by *migration* as has been said above.

4. Native official corruption filters through every pore of the Indians peasant's daily life. Were this the case in England, should we say: the first thing is to revise the Constitution on paper, the "Law and the Prophets"? Or is it to look to the network of daily life, of every vital want, of every moment? (We have destroyed native public opinion as far as we could in its power for good; we should not like now to hear what is said "under the village fig tree" but we could even now take the opinion of village "experts.")

The famine reports show unscrupulous headmen and village officials unashamed sending in barefaced lists for relief: lists of persons long since dead, lists of their own relatives as constituting the village. Do English people know what these words mean? "defrauding of government," "insufficient supervising agency of Europeans," "Indian native officials not above suspicion." They mean crowds being slowly and tamely starved to death, because they would not expose the munsif who misappropriated the funds entrusted to him, not only this but even when questioned, the dying lips, like Desdemona, "told deliberate lies to exonerate their unscrupulous headman."⁸⁹ (What might not be made of this heroic false "witness even unto death," if we knew how to manage the natives?)

This sounds incredible to English ears, but nevertheless it was done. They mean: wealthy villagers obtaining the munsif's connivance to their drawing from six to ten rations daily, making about 67 rupees in six months and the Reporter adds with great naïveté: "Only the

89 Presumably in Shakespeare's *Othello*; no exact quotation.

more respectable (?) inhabitants could command sufficient interest to secure a large number of shares.” They mean this: *any* number of “retractions” by “persons whose only chance of getting any food at all would have been lost if they had ‘peached’ [informed].” And this: “All evidence exonerating their tyrants would be backed up by the statements of respectable (?) inhabitants who perhaps had during a long period received their share of the plunder.” They mean this: that “special relief officers morally certain of the guilt of the parties,” but “powerless to remove the oppressor, even for an hour, or to check his powers of mischief,” could only “report.” “Imagine reporting that a number of people are at the point of death!”

They mean this: that “village magistrates” “swindled” the government, *assisted* by the “village inspectors by entering as paupers the names of the friends and relatives of the munsif and other influential residents,” by recklessly distributing money to well-to-do Brahmins, by keeping fictitious registers, etc.

O for a “free vernacular press” to bring the power of public opinion to bear on these myriads of native officials whom, as you say, there are only 70,000 Englishmen to manage. We who have abolished their panchayats have hardly any check upon them. We are like children; we have forgotten to learn our lesson (on the state of the people of India) in order to run to the window at the sound of the drums and fifes in the street going ah me what devil has done this to Kandahar and Jellalabad?

Our prayers and blessings are yours for your efforts to avert the meanness of the policy or impolicy concerning poor dumb India. *May we not ask for more?*

ever your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

I forgot to say that I am under the severe pressure of overwork and illness constantly increasing. This is my excuse. I am shocked at the length and at the impertinence of this letter. I will not make it longer by apologies.

F.N.

And yet I have so much to add. I will only say: (1) it is incredible how completely *the most awful facts of the famine* have been left out of all the official papers; and (2) *more than one million* persons, according to the official returns, were “supported” by the system of village relief, above described, “a proportion receiving a money dole at their own homes.”

F.N.

Source: Letter by W.E. Gladstone, ADD MSS 45805 ff136-38

[printed address] Hawarden Castle
Chester

26 January 1879

Dear Miss Nightingale

How many years have elapsed since your name used to sound daily in my ears, and how many such events, events of varied sadness, have happened in the very places where I used to hear it. All through this Eastern controversy—the most painful of my life—it has been a consolation to know that I was in sympathy with you. Especially I remember your most striking declaration about the war against Turkey.

I am glad that you approve of my article on the “Friends and Foes of Russia,” glad that the error you notice is one of understatement. I had not the means of complete references when I sent off the sheets and 1,400,000 sounded to me so awful that I trembled but I should be overstating. The first correction I received put four millions, then you raise it higher still.

The Indian question, midst most vicious handling, is growing gigantic and most perilous. Depend on it I will do what I can in it, but I fear this must be little. I fear that, apart from other means weighty enough, my taking a leading part in it would not only poison its atmosphere, now that it has come to be at once a main ground of the controversy between government and opposition. When I dealt with the Vernacular Press Act last year there was no Indian controversy and I took all the care in my power not to treat it as a contentious issue. All this is now changed, and whatever I recommend about India the Tories will oppose.

You can hardly be aware of the extraordinary degree in which prejudice and passion have gathered round my very name (as well, I am bound to say as favour and affection) since the Eastern question came up. [illeg] my fault or not, I can hardly say, but such is the fact. In the line I have followed I must *steadily* persist to the end of the conflict, but I have [illeg] forever the likelihood that it would *probably* disable me, even if age and other circumstances did not, rendering any other serious public service in the way of acting, which it must always be remembered is so different from that of objecting and censuring.

I think, however, there can be no difficulty in the way of obtaining the fullest official accounts of the deaths from famine which it may be in the power of the government to give. The grounds will become most contentious when it comes to show in the way in which the Famine Fund has been appropriated and the public works arrested in order to supply means for supporting this ever more foolish (if it is

possible) than criminal war. The whole Indian question will however force itself forward and there will be plenty of hands to deal with it.

Mr Bright is coming here in two [?] days and I hope to have full conversations with him about it. Believe me,

with warm regard and respects

sincerely yours

W.E. Gladstone

Editor: Gladstone subsequently called on Nightingale without an appointment and she could not see him.⁹⁰ She sent down a note (immediately below) with her excuses and offered virtually any other time. Gladstone presumably sent a message back with a date. Nightingale then prepared a long letter (the second item below) of what she wanted to discuss with him. There is also a draft (the third item). These letters evidently cost Nightingale some grief, for she told her brother-in-law that summer, “I do not like writing to Mr Gladstone.”⁹¹

The meeting took place 14 May 1879, at which many subjects were covered. We know that they discussed Post Office Savings’ Banks for Nightingale recounted to Frederick Verney that Gladstone had explained to her “that in the P.O. Savings’ Bank every shilling costs the government eleven pence.”⁹² Nightingale also drafted a letter to Gladstone after the visit, reflecting on it (see p 455 below), but it is not certain if it was sent or not.

Source: Note, ADD Mss 44456 f208

10 South Street
Park Lane, W.
[10 May 1879]

My dear Sir [Rt Hon W.E. Gladstone, MP]

I am so overjoyed with your kindness in coming to see me. But most unfortunately I have an Indian lady who has appointed herself and I cannot put her off. Any day, *any* afternoon, at 5, 4 or 6, that you will kindly appoint, I would put off the universe to see you.

F. Nightingale

90 See his diary entries, *Gladstone Diaries* 10 May 1879 14:412, for the unsuccessful call, where Nightingale’s name is not mentioned but only a call on “others” and 14 May 1879 14:413 for the second one.

91 Letter to Harry Verney 5 July [1879], Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9007/247.

92 Letter 23 June 1879, ADD Mss 68882 f100.

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 44460 ff33-38

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane, W.
12 May 1879

My dear Sir [Rt Hon W.E. Gladstone, MP]

I was so distressed at your having the goodness to make an unnecessary call at my door on Saturday [10 May], or that one minute of your invaluable time should have been spent in vain. I hope I explained to you how it was not my fault. I shall gratefully expect you on *Wednesday at 5* [14 May].

I read with tears of joy your great speech of 28 April: "What this nation (England) will do in considering its own interests and in making provision for its own fortunes." India can neither consider her own interests, nor certainly make "provision for her own fortunes." She *must* look to us.⁹³ O that we could enlist the magic of your eloquence on her side.

Do people know what this stoppage of government works means? It means throwing one hundred thousand labourers out of work (in the south of Madras alone). It means leaving half a million of souls to distress and death when food is still from 50 to 100 percent higher than usual. It means making recovery from famine impossible. And all this for what? That the Government of India may be able to show that the so-called "surplus" exists, may appropriate Indian funds to pay the cost of the war, may sweep in the "Famine Insurance Fund" with the ordinary revenue, may show a surplus to justify the recent concessions to Manchester—is it not?

Military charges are *not* to be cut down but public works are, cut down or stopped. If English people could even realize for a moment what the distress is in India of a stoppage of government works! I merely mentioned the south of Madras as one instance, because just in that part the people are suffering nearly as much as during the worst part of the famine. But then, "*officially*" the famine is *OVER*, so we do not think about them. Think of what it would be to throw a place larger than Liverpool out of work, the only work they could get.

In the letter you were so very good as to write me [which is missing], you said that India's subjects must now "force their way to the front." You cannot think what comfort that gives. If it were not for the vastness of the subject, I should not dare to take up the time of the greatest financier of the day. Do you think that:

93 Nightingale noted this statement from Gladstone's speech on an envelope 28 April 1879, ADD Mss 45805 f191.

1. *Co-operation* could be introduced into India (among the measures to cope with this terrible poverty and indebtedness)? I venture to send you a number of the “National Indian Association” if you could find time just to glance over the report of meeting on “co-operation” as applicable to India. Do you think that:

2. A *National Bank* could be formed, a private joint stock institution, but under the supervision of the government, starting with a paid-up capital, say £5 millions, hoping that the gold and silver lying dormant in India may ultimately be deposited with it; branches to be opened in every collector’s district and afterwards other branches at every central group of villages; bank to make small advances of capital to the ryots for seeds, tools, wells and tanks, advances to form a *first charge* on the land. (What will the government say to that?) Interest to be charged at 10 percent, native landowners to form in every collector’s district a local honorary Board of Directors, the collector to be *ex officio* chairman, Englishmen to manage the branches at first. Would it be possible?

In Madras and Bombay presidencies the “moneylender” is often the headman of the village who, as head of the village community, and as the servant of government, is all-powerful. The fact that the headman is frequently the “moneylender” explains what seemed utterly inexplicable that, while ryots refused government loans for works of improvement at 5 percent, they readily accept loans from the “moneylender” at rates varying from 15 and 20 to 100 percent and more. The village headman, when he is the “moneylender,” would of course permit no ryot of the village to accept a loan from government on terms *lower* than those he usually exacts.

The headmen have enormous powers: their corruption, especially during the famine relief, was and is hideous. In the olden times, a bad headman would have been quietly “got rid of.” But now they are government officials and collect the revenue for government and their power is great, for evil. And *we* have removed all check upon them. It stands in the way of letting the ryot see his true interests.

It is a perfect irony to wait till education has enabled the ryot to see them. The school cess [tax] is all on the *land* and the ryot pays that the richer classes may be educated; *he* cannot afford to send his children to school. Even in Bengal, the total number of male cultivators of all ages was 17,000,000. There should be 3,400,000 sons of cultivating ryots at school. There *are* 270,000, or only about one in twelve or thirteen of those of a school-going age. In Madras and Bombay the ryots pay—the rich man profits. Do you think:

3. That *Monts de Piété* could be instituted? *Monts de Piété*, *Indian National Bank*, *co-operation*—would these have any effect on Indian poverty? The quantity of bullion available for pledges (in the silver ornaments of every man, woman and child) must be almost incalculably large. (It was stated in the House of Commons that the “wear and tear” of these alone is £30,000,000 a year. This sounds incredible.)

Is it true that there is no country in the world where larger sums of gold and silver lie dormant, that during the past twenty-five years Europe has sent to India nearly £300,000,000 in gold and silver, which has gone to swell the large quantities of gold and silver already in India? Could the half-starved or wholly-starved millions of poor Hindus not benefit by having even a part of this capital, lying buried away, “energized” into a wage or mobilized fund? In India money runs to moneylending; capital produces pauperism.

I am so ignorant but I address myself to the greatest master of finance in existence. Do statesmen sometimes ignore that the execution of public works is a perfectly distinct thing from the state of the finances? The finances are one thing, the investment of money is another. Are these two jumbled together in one account? The more defective the finances, the more urgent are public works, which alone can enable the people to pay a higher revenue.

Very many years ago, I had the honour of dining with you at Sidney Herbert’s. Poor Lord Lincoln⁹⁴ was there. You were talking about Italy. You said that the “man of Naples” was the first offender against law and order and government, but “Italy would be free.” They gently laughed at your hopes, but you were nothing daunted. *Now*, all those hopes have been fulfilled. In real horror at the length of this letter, pray believe me

ever your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

Source: Draft letter to W.E. Gladstone, Add Mss 45805 ff208-10

[after 22 May 1879]

Sir: After Mr Fawcett’s masterly speech on Thursday,⁹⁵ allow me to make some remarks on the effects of the late order of the Government of India cutting down or stopping all public works in India. In

94 Henry Pelham-Clinton, later the 5th Duke of Newcastle.

95 Henry Fawcett’s resolution viewed “with apprehension” the current state of Indian finance and supported reduced expenditures (the revenue was all raised in India).

Bombay Presidency works are generally stopped, but barrages, dams and embankments cannot be stopped *at once* without destruction. In Madras one hundred thousand labourers were turned off, leaving half a million of people dependent upon them, including old people and children, with prices of food grains 50 to 100 per cent higher than usual at a time when no other work was to be had, to distress and death. These works are generally tanks, roads and buildings.

We know something of the serious folly and waste of stopping works for the repair of tanks in 1877. In the autumn of 1876 works were stopped; in May 1877 the thrice-prayed-for rains came in torrents. Could no use for it be found? No, the tanks had been left, were still in disrepair—they would not hold water and millions of tons of precious water, which might have produced thousands of tons of precious food, were lost. We all know the dreadful history of the scarcity—which might not have been famine but for such things as this deepening into famine which lasted from 1876 to 1878. But the official remark was that, when the rain came, it was too much and therefore did more harm than good. Too much rain! generally means too little wisdom, foresight and labour in a country like India.

The people were thrown out of work in Madras at a time when there was no work to be had. In Bombay there is no work to be had, at least on the Deccan till June or July, when the cultivating season is fairly on, in the eastern Deccan, not till about August. And in the meantime there is scarcity already in Bombay: there may be famine. And useful labourers now are then converted into relief receivers.

But this is not the worst. Already the administrative staff of order seems to have almost fallen out of our hands. At the great city of Pune bands of dacoits⁹⁶ or gangs of armed robbers seem to have taken the power into their own hands, have burnt our government offices, courts and schools and are threatening the governor's life, if public works, etc., are not instituted. A greater misfortune could not well have happened to us, for it justly sets the government against granting what is thus asked. And yet much of what was thus asked was just what we ought to have.

And what are these poor men doing thus thrown out of work till July or August? They are squatting in front of their huts and grumbling as well they may. Afterwards they begin to steal, in a small way certainly. And some will join the bands of dacoits. Eventually those

96 Hindi term for robbers.

who do not succeed as robbers will come upon famine relief, whereas by working on the public works, not only might they have maintained themselves but have staved off impending general distress. This is what stoppage of public works means. It is the very reverse of a strike in England.

As to whether these public works are remunerative in a revenue, direct or official sense or, if not, remunerative in a commercial, indirect or “condition of the people” sense—roads never do give a direct return. Yet facility of communication with open markets raises the price of grain and other products and thus directly benefits the cultivators small and big and cheapens the few articles of import: salt, piece goods, etc. Irrigation and water transit, roads and railways directly increase the productive power and trade of the cultivator. But railways do not, like canals, produce as well as carry food; nor do they carry drinking water, the great want in the famines of western India where there was nothing but the foulest remnants of puddles to drink. But delta and river irrigation works do give a safe, sure and very large direct return to the revenue. The Indus Irrigation Works pay from 5 to 20 percent, the Godavery Delta Works 21 per cent, the Kistna 15 [percent], Soivai Buntham [?] [breaks off]

Source: Draft letter, ADD Mss 45805 ff212-17

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane, W.
28 May 1879

India

My dear Sir [Rt Hon W.E Gladstone, MP]

I remember your words that the day of India must come, even through the very means taken to increase her burdens and to “poison” our minds. I pray that it may and believe that it has come, but it may be a dreadful day. You see however that you and Mr Fawcett have not only convinced the House; you have convinced the government also. Why were they not convinced before?

In Bombay the reins of government seem to have fallen out of their hands almost as much as in Russia. O when we take them up again, may we have learnt our new lesson! We have to learn a new language, even to make a new alphabet, to write and speak about India. Sir R. Temple⁹⁷ admits dire distress in Deccan—this burning down the

97 Sir Richard Carnac Temple (1850-1931).

government offices in Pune (the country capital of the Bombay Government) and the manifesto which the armed gangs have sent to government are the direct result of and lighted up with an awful light our broken promises to the poor indebted people who rose four years ago against the oppression of the moneylenders. We promised to redress their grievances and we have done nothing—nothing but report and lay fresh ones on.

Those who knew prophesied that when the public works, essential to the people's employment *now* in this second time of scarcity, were stopped and there is no work, no natural work to be had before July or August, the people would squat before their huts, then they would steal a little, then they would form the armed gangs, and those who were unsuccessful as robbers would starve and come upon famine relief. So the last state would be worse and more costly than the first.⁹⁸ It was prophesied that it would be so and *it has been so*.

O poor indebted Deccan peasantry—can nothing be done for this fine people? It does not signify whether an assessment is light or heavy for they have nothing. They must go to the moneylenders to pay it. That makes them slaves. But such were the exigencies of the Government of India that, whereas the “remissions” were enormous and necessarily so in Madras, in Bombay the government boasted that it would make no “remissions,” only “suspensions” and would finally collect nearly all the revenue. And it *has* done so. It was prophesied by those who knew that, if this were done, the people ground down would rise at last. And this much-enduring, patient Mahratta peasantry *have* risen at last, twice—this is the second time. It is now prophesied by those who know that, should there be another Sepoy Mutiny⁹⁹ (which there *will* be I suppose), the Mahratta peasantry, formerly our staunch friends, will join it to a man. This is prophesied. May it *not* be so. May we learn in time.

I rejoice with “silent delight” that the Indian Budget debate is only adjourned. I mean to live till 12 June *to read your speech*. Might not the “Home” charges and the military expenditure be cut down much more than Mr Stanhope¹⁰⁰ says? Sir Richard Airey¹⁰¹ (Lord Airey I mean), if

98 An allusion to Matt 12:45.

99 The Mutiny of 1857, or the First War of Independence.

100 Edward Stanhope (1840-93), under secretary of state for India.

101 Sir Richard Airey (1803-81), later Lord, quartermaster general in Crimea.

he is to be President of the Commission for the Indian Army, will not do much for us in your sense and ours. O for a Sidney Herbert now.

I bear in mind what you said, that Mr Fawcett's motion will be the prelude to much greater things—*retrenchment*, but retrenchment to *spend* more wisely and more well. Meantime, the accounts from the East and from the West, from the North and from the South of India are terrible. It *is* a dreadful day that is come. In the East one fifth of the whole cultivated land of Madras was let out of cultivation in 1877-78. (What would it be if one fifth of the corn lands of Eastern Europe were let out of cultivation in consequence of the poverty of the people? Yet we should be very angry if we were compared to Russia or Austria.)

In the West of India there are these awful riots—real “agrarian” disturbances, whatever Sir Richard Temple may say, at the very seat of government. We are horrified at the Communists destroying Paris, but *what is this?*

Bengal has a terrible year before it. The government has been obliged to shelve for another year an “Arrears of Rent Realization Bill.” Some leaders of the ryots wrote to me about this declaring this bill to be in favour of the zemindars, *which it was*, though it pretended like the “Greeks” to be “bringing gifts” to the ryots. I dare not take up your time with describing this bill.

I have a delightful account from Behar (Mozufferpore) where the zemindars, landlords, had by a certain act, to go and record in a government Register Office (Magistrate's Court) the rents they received from their ryots. (I need not say that these were generally put down at a far lower figure than the truth.) The ryots got wind of this registration (at least some of their leaders who could read and write did). They came trooping in from every part of the district, paid their inspection fee and took copies (certified) of the rents at which they were said to hold their lands. And not a man has paid a rupee more than the amount from that time. This is the true reform. (This would not have astonished one in Eastern Bengal, where one in five or six of the ryots' sons learns to read and write. But in Behar and other parts of Bengal, where not one in twelve or thirteen of the boy-ryots goes to school, it is truly refreshing.)

There *is* some use at last to India from education, after all. But in Bombay it is a mere cruel irony to talk of our educating the peasantry. I saw in a late *Times of India* a despatch from Lord Cranbrook brushing up Bombay about this and it was time. But what can be done when

the people have *nothing*? It is the moneylenders and our own government that want educating.

The schools are shut because the people can't pay the cess. The people can't pay the cess because every pie is screwed out of them to pay for the *war*. (Insert Mr Chatfield's from "To us" to "undertakings.") The licence tax, worse than any income tax, is screwed out of them, not to pay for famine, but to pay for *war*. (More going to moneylenders to pay it.) The wicked salt tax is raised 40 percent and just in this famine time. (Lord Lawrence says that *this* salt tax grinds down the people, weakens the cattle and strangles manufactures more than anything else.¹⁰² (More moneylending to pay for salt.) In Bombay the people could not pay the cess, the school cess.

The people, the land, support the schools by which the richer classes profit and when they could not pay the schools were discontinued. Owing to the famine the loss for government schools alone was 177 schools closed, with nearly 16,000 children. The closing of indigenous schools was, I am told, beyond counting.

Pardon me that I cannot stop when I have the great honour of reaching your ear about India. I shall never forget your goodness in coming to see me, never. I venture to send you two letters of mine in the *Illustrated News*, though not perhaps directly bearing on this subject.

An official writing to me from the East of India says of the Famine Commission: these are the men who with few exceptions are directly responsible (for the poverty and famine) because they have reported for years: "That the country was flourishing and the people prosperous." They ought to be on their trial, instead of being the *judges*.

Thank you for introducing me to the *Chronicles of Budgetpore*. I got it and read it at once. It is too true, but I have to acknowledge very humbly a stupid blunder. This gives me the pleasure of asking your pardon and the privilege of repeating the warning. I fancied you were speaking of the *Chronicles of Dustypore*. That is the book by Mr Justice Cunningham, one of the famine commissioners. The author of this *was* a very good man, like Mr Pritchard, but is now "enguirlandé" [garlanded] by the viceroy. I dare say you don't remember this stupid mistake but I do.

O that we had an Indian Dickens or a *Daily News* (Bulgarian) correspondent in India, but an Indian Dickens would be hung in a fort-

102 The salt tax was to become a major focus in the later, successful independence movement led by Gandhi.

night and an English correspondent would not know the languages. The *Times* correspondent, or rather General of the *Times*' correspondents, General Vaughan, now at Gandamak, denies in private letters—on the faith of what he sees in railway journeys—all the poverty and says: "India is quite well off. And it is quite a mistake to say the contrary." Once more pardon me and believe me,

ever your faithful and grateful servant

Florence Nightingale

Write to Mr Gladstone about the Madura new traders in connection with National Bank. Write to Mr Fox for copies.

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 44460 ff234-39

[printed address] 10 South Street

Park Lane, W.

6 July 1879

6:00 A.M.

Lord Lawrence

My dear Sir [Rt Hon W.E. Gladstone, MP]

I heard that you were yesterday at Lord Lawrence's funeral and not knowing how far you were acquainted with the story of his last days, I have ventured to think that you might care to hear of them from one who has been privileged to know and serve with two such men as Sidney Herbert and John Lawrence—very different but alike in the "one thing needful,"¹⁰³ the serving with all their souls and minds, and without a thought of self, their high ideal of right.

Lord Lawrence's last years were spent in work: he did not read, he studied. Though almost blind, he waded with the help of a private secretary (who was a lady) through piles of blue books, chiefly but not wholly Indian, bringing the weight of his unrivalled experience to bear upon them. Up to Tuesday night, though very ill (he died on the Friday) he worked. On the Thursday before, he had spoken in the House of Lords on the Indian finance question.

The disease, tedious and trying, of which he died, was brought on by his London School Board work. He used to come home quite exhausted, saying that he could have done the whole thing "in half an hour" himself, yet having entered into with a patience very foreign to his nature all the little niggling crotchets of everybody on the Board—every one of whom *would* speak and *would* be noticed. The extraordi-

103 Luke 10:42.

nary virtue, the self-denial, the love of duty of those three years of hard work on the London School Board by the viceroy of the Indies, the organizer of the Punjab, will they have been wasted?

He gave an impression, I believe, of such sternness in public, but the tenderness, the playfulness of his intercourse in private were beyond a woman's tenderness. He had the blue eye and the expression in it (before the most painful operation to his eyes) of a girl of sixteen, and the massive brow and head of a general of nations rather than of Armies.

You remember in 1863 in December, when he was summoned at a few days' notice to go to India as governor general, to replace the dying Lord Elgin¹⁰⁴—we had just concluded our Royal Commission on the Sanitary State of the Indian Army (of which Sidney Herbert was the first chairman, Lord Stanley the second). He, Sir John Lawrence, came to me in those last hurried days, and we sketched out the whole plan of sanitary proceedings not only for the Army but for the native populations for all India, which he carried out and which has resulted in so much. Thank God for it.

I received a letter from him, received it the day *after* his death—dictated, but signed by himself—sending me some recent Indian reports, private papers, which he had read and wished me to read, all marked and the page turned down where he had left off. This was his legacy. Afterwards, a paper, one of the same series, which arrived from India the day he died, and which they sent on to me. O that I could do something for India for which he lived and died. The simplicity of the man could not be surpassed, the unselfishness. It was always: Is it right? If it was, it was done. It was the same thing, its being right and its being done.

The end came thus at last. He was very ill on the morning of 24 June, the Tuesday before his death. But he insisted on getting up and going into the city (with his son—he could go nowhere alone because of his blindness) about some business, I believe connected with the Oxford Indian Institute of which he was trustee. (He could not be trustee like any other man; he *must* see to the investing of all the money himself, look into every detail of accounts himself.) On Tuesday evening he received Mr Monier Williams¹⁰⁵ and went through

104 James Bruce (1811-63), 8th Earl Elgin, formerly governor general of Canada.

105 Monier Williams (1819-99), later Sir.

every point of the Indian Institute with him till a rather late hour. He had a bad night, then three days and nights of constant suffering from sickness, then the end. It was perfect peace—at 10.30 on Friday night, 27 June.

A photograph was taken a few hours after death; Lady Lawrence sent it me. If it had been an Annibale Caracci, a Leonardo, or a Michaelangelo sketch,¹⁰⁶ we should have said: how far art transcends nature, in the holiest pictures of the old masters. I have never seen anything so beautiful or so holy. The lips are slightly parted (like those of a child in a rapture of joy on first awaking), with a childlike joy at entering into the presence of the heavenly Father whom he had served so well. The poor eyes are looking down, but as if they were looking inward into the soul to realize the rapture of surprise that is there: God for the first time dwelling in it, like Milton's "And joy shall overtake him like a flood."¹⁰⁷ The face so worn (I think sometimes the youth, the physical beauty in the old Italian pictures of Christ do not give the full meaning of: "It behoved Him to *suffer* that He might enter into His glory."¹⁰⁸ Or else like Titian's "Moneta," it is the *mere* ascetic, but) here it was the joy *arising out* of the long trial, the toil, the cross out of which came the crown. The expression was that of the winged soul, the child soul, as in the Egyptian tomb paintings, rising out of the wornout body. (He said on the Sunday: "I can't tell you how I feel: I feel worn out.") "Shuffling off the mortal coil," and passing into the Immediate Presence of God.

All India will feel his loss; no one now living knows what he did there—in private, I mean, as well as in public, the raising of the people by individuals as well as by institutions. Who will write his life?—the letters and messages from Sikhs to him, the Indian gentlemen who used to come to see him here, and all treated him as their father. And how the little curs here have barked and bit round the heels of the old lion. He heard them but he heeded not. And now he is gone to undertake yet greater labours, to bless more worlds in the service of God.

Lady Lawrence wished to give everyone something which had belonged to his personal use. But it was found he *had* nothing. There were some old clothes and a great many boots, patched, but nothing else, not even a pin, except his watch, twenty years old, and his walk-

106 See *European Travels* for Nightingale's comments on art.

107 Milton's sonnet, "On Time."

108 A paraphrase of Luke 24:46.

ing stick, which she kept. The lady who served as his secretary after his blindness had his old shoehorn. This is *so* characteristic of him.

Pardon me if I have taken up your time with my thoughts of John Lawrence. I felt as if I were paying him a last tribute in commending his memory to you—a tribute how unworthy of him is all I can make. May I venture to write to you in a day or two about the revision of the Rent Law of Bengal? Pray believe me,

ever your faithful and grateful servant

Florence Nightingale

Editor: Although in the letter above Nightingale asks if she might write Gladstone regarding the Bengal Rent Bill, in fact the letter she sent the following day is a proposal for a national agricultural bank in India, which she related to an idea he had been “so good” as to discuss with her.

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 44460 ff242-46

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane, W.

7 July 1879

Proposed “Indian Agricultural National Bank”

My dear Sir [Rt Hon W.E. Gladstone, MP]

I venture to send you the sketch of the “National Bank” of India, proposed by a Mr Fox, a great engine maker at Bristol, which you were so good as to discuss with me. It has been submitted to Lord Northbrook, who “thought that government would hesitate to interfere with the existing business of the native bankers,” and to Mr Pedder, one of the ablest collectors of India, the new revenue secretary at the India Office, who has only just returned from the Deccan. He recommends that English “capitalists should enlist the co-operation of some of the best of the native bankers who he thinks would be more qualified to manage the details of the business than Englishmen,” and to manage the ryots.

I remember that you did not discourage such an institution, and I fancied you might perhaps allow me to submit to you some details I have received, about a new association of native traders, and ask how they strike you in connection with Mr Pedder’s suggestion.

The people in question are called “Nattankothia Chetties,” so named from an obscure town in the Madura district (Madras) from whence they sprung. They are I imagine of local origin, and were originally I believe a cultivating class, but of recent years they are almost

entirely traders, dealing especially in grain and Manchester goods, also lending money to zemindars and ryots on usury. These people, I am told, have gradually absorbed nearly the whole of the local trade in grain. Originally confining their dealings between the southern districts of Madras and Ceylon, they have now their agencies and branch houses on all our coast ports, and in Burma, Singapore, *China* and Mauritius. Now these people as regards our government schools are, I believe, entirely untaught. They do not know English and the arithmetic they learn on the native methods is so accurate that no other class can compete with them in keenness of trading.

In personal expenditure they spend no more than a common coolly, and while a man may be turning thousands every day, his monthly housekeeping would probably be not more than ten rupees.

My informants do not quite understand as yet whether the clan or community work on a system of division of profits, but in regard to charity it is a point of honour to set aside a fixed proportion of profits for this purpose. These people at the present time are spending large sums of money in restoring the great temple at Madura, and lately in South Arcot a man told me that they had determined to repair the Chitambaram Pagoda, and to spend 12 lakks of rupees (£120,000) on it. He infers in these cases that the contributions for religious and charitable objects must be thrown into a common fund.

My banking friend informs us that these people are keenly alive to the advantages of our commercial system, that their money engagements are faithfully kept and that fewer losses occur in doubtful bill accounts with them than in any other class of the community. He admits, however, that any *combination* amongst the clan to repudiate their engagements would be very unpleasant to the banks.

Now these people are samples of the pure Oriental trader, money-lender and usurer. With external peace, order and contentment, their trading instincts reach a high development. Up to this time they have not felt the want of an English education but, with the extension of their commerce beyond Indian limits, they will find it to their advantage to avail themselves of our schools. Having established a reputation for keeping to their engagements, they can make use of the facilities the banks give to traders, and in this respect they have not been backward. These people are essentially the monied classes of Tanjore and Madura. Their wealth and importance has received a new development from the grain trade of the famine year, and they bid fair to become a power in the state—for good or evil who shall say?

Now, could these people but be enlisted in a national bank scheme, of what benefit might they not be? (Just as I have always thought, what missionaries would the Hindu women not make? Girls who insist upon being burnt with the mistresses they love as suttee—and *are* still in native states—what instruments of devoted love and charity they might be, if we could but enlist them? if we did but know how?)

But, to return to my Madura traders: Indian races have such extraordinarily strong instincts both of co-operation and combination and of trading and *business*—what a pity it is that we never know how to utilize these for the good of the people. And on the other hand what a power for evil may not these native traders from Madura become, if we do not succeed in utilizing them for some national good!

Could not Lord Lytton write them a note, and as they have little matters of “12 lakhs of rupees” frequently to spend, suggest to them to spend one or two on a useful public work, a tank, or a canal, or road? or port?

ever your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

Miss Irby: She has left Knin and her work there and is now on her way to Sarajevo in Bosnia, a still higher and more difficult work, I think, this going on with education there. Have you seen the enclosed letter on Bosnia?

F.N.

Source: Letter from W.E. Gladstone, ADD Mss 45805 f236

Harley St.
26 July 1879

Dear Miss Nightingale

I am sorry to be reduced to the necessity of sending you as I now do bare written thanks for your interesting letter and the assurance that it does not pass unnoticed.

I had hoped from day to day to call but an incessant precession [?] has prevented me until now when I am on the point of starting for Hawarden with uncertainty as to the date of return. Accept all my best wishes and believe me,

yours sincerely

W.E. Gladstone

Editor: Gladstone’s “Friends and Foes of Russia,” other articles and his speech as the newly elected rector of Glasgow University (5 December 1879) were written when he was out of government, in semi-

retirement. In 1880 he made the bold move to run for election himself in a traditional Conservative constituency, Midlothian, a rural area near Edinburgh. Contrary to the custom of the time, he campaigned actively; his series of public speeches on foreign policy were attended by thousands. These speeches include only occasional references to India, but these are all sharply critical of Conservative policy and raise the principles for which Nightingale was working. In his speech as rector he was indirectly critical of Queen Victoria's assuming the title "Empress of India," noting that the "transaction" would only be completed by increasing the franchise, augmenting benefits for the vast Indian people and "by redress of grievances and corrections of abuse."¹⁰⁹ Whether or not Nightingale influenced him we do not know.

Gladstone's campaign resulted in a majority Liberal government in 1880, which he again led. He was then prime minister of the United Kingdom when he called on Nightingale unexpected, again!, in 1884. She again wrote him a long letter to say the things she was unable to say in person, but without an explicit invitation to call again. The short note second below was presumably taken down to him and was followed by the detailed letter a day later. It seems that no further meetings were held.

Source: Undated note, Add Mss 45806 f27

[1880]

After one's great delight at this uprising of the people, at this amazing success of England's glorious hero, Mr Gladstone, one feels a little disappointed at the Indian side of his government. We must never forget that under no government have Indian questions been so systematically ignored as under Mr Gladstone's.

Phillip II of Spain is made to say: O but for one pulse's beat of omniscience. I say, O but for one pulse's beat of Mr Gladstone as chancellor of the Exchequer for India! I only mention this that you may keep him up to the mark.

Retrenchment has now reached its utmost limit in India in cutting down everything that has to do with the welfare, the agricultural improvement, that is, the very existence of the people. We take 20 millions a year revenue out of the land and we put nothing back. I could give the most frightful instances of this. The people are beginning to

109 W.E. Gladstone, *Midlothian Speeches* 199.

see it, or rather to feel it. Meanwhile the bill for the war is four millions more than they told us. And who is to set this right? The new viceroy?

The member for India (MP for Hackney), Mr Fawcett, considers everything about the people but the people. How can *social* questions be separated from *finance* questions in a country like India, a country where social problems have *no* representation, *no* voice? Finance *is* their voice, the only voice of India's appalling social state.

F.N.

Source: Note, ADD Mss 44488 f196

3 December 1884

My dear Sir [W.E. Gladstone]

I am in bed with inflammation of the eyes. I am overwhelmed with the honour you have done me in calling upon me. How I should have liked to have seen and heard you. What shall I do?

ever your devotedly loyal servant

F. Nightingale

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 44488 ff204-13, draft ADD Mss 45807 ff138-43

[printed address] 10 South Street,
Park Lane, W.

4 December 1884¹¹⁰

Private and Confidential

My dear Sir [Rt Hon. W.E. Gladstone, MP]

I have no words to tell my regret that when you were so very good as to call and offer me a moment of your most precious time I was unable to avail myself of it. To hear a word from you upon India and Lord Ripon's¹¹¹ policy would have been priceless to me.

1. Upon the *Bengal Rent Law Bill*—the whole matter will be brought up to the latest point before Lord Ripon leaves, and any farther postponement of the bill would be most mischievous. There are so many points of resemblance between Bengal and Ireland. Land questions—but also of course some most momentous differences.

2. Upon *Oudh* land tenure problems—the Oudh case is the worst but then the settlement with the landlords is much more recent and definite and our obligations much stricter.

110 Nightingale's date was 1864; the archivist corrected to 1884.

111 Lord Ripon was governor general of India 1880-84, earlier Lord de Grey and war minister.



Portraits of Florence Nightingale and major correspondents in this volume. Nightingale portrait courtesy of Claydon House; all other portraits courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Clockwise: Florence Nightingale by her sister, Parthenope Nightingale, or her cousin, Hilary Bonham Carter; J.S. Mill, 1865 by John and Charles Watkins; W.E. Gladstone, 1839, by Heinrich Müller; Queen Victoria, 1838, by W. Warman; General Charles George Gordon, by Lady Julia Abercromby.

TO THE
ELECTORS
OF
ANDOVER.

GENTLEMEN,

You are about to determine, by the exercise of your Elective Franchise, a point in which every member of the community is deeply interested.---I do not scruple to assert that the very **REFORM ACT** itself, for which we have been so long contending, is now at stake.

The **TORIES**, perceiving your determination to be free and unshackled, are driven nearly frantic---They would mislead and ensnare your judgment---They throng you---They threaten you---They flatter you---What will they not do to bias your votes?

Their **PROMISES** are vain ; give them the power, and once in Parliament, they will give you in return what they term
“**WHOLESOME MEASURES OF REFORM.**”

Their **THREATS** are impotent---only remain firm, and those threats must vanish like a vapour !

Their **FLATTERIES** are fulsome and empty, and will be scorned by every Independent Elector.

The zeal of a Tory begins with *hypocrisy*, and ends in *treachery* ; at first they deceive, at last they betray..

The time is come for all real Reformers boldly to assert their rights and express their sentiments with Freedom and Firmness. Bear in mind that in proportion as the Representative Body is impregnated by Tories and Tory principles, in the same proportion will it become vitiated and corrupt !

Brother Electors, Friends to the cause, throw the whole of your weight and influence into the Scale of Freedom ; divide not your votes with a Tory Candidate. Had the Immortal Hampden trimmed thus, instead of hazarding his whole fortune in a lawsuit with the Crown, he would quietly have paid the Twenty Shillings demanded of him, and ship-money might have been levied to this hour !

ELECTORS, remain firm and faithful, and make manifest the independence of your principles by

VOTING FOR

Etwall and Nightingale,
THE FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE,
The Enemies of Slavery---The Opponents of
Unmerited Pensions---The Defenders of your
Rights.

ELECTORS

OF THE

Borough of Andover.

GENTLEMEN,

IN consequence of the respectable and numerous signed invitation which I received from you, and my previous knowledge of your opinions on the cause of Reform, I unhesitatingly came forward as a Candidate for your suffrages at the late Election.

Since the first moment of my arrival among you, I have witnessed all that alacrity, energy and patriotism which I had been led to anticipate from those Gentlemen who have so fearlessly stood forward in the cause of Freedom and Reform; and most happy should I have been, had your unparalleled exertions been crowned with the success which they so well deserved;—not, indeed, for the gratification of my own personal ambition, but exclusively for the great principle which you have so much at heart, which you have so zealously supported, and which ought not to be neutralized in this highly respectable Borough.

I refrain from entering into a detail of the various circumstances which have led to our *apparent* defeat; it is not for me to point out the means resorted to by our opponents, since the manner in which they gained their feeble majority is too notorious.

But, my excellent friends, let us not despair; the cause which you have so strenuously supported will, I am confident, be faithfully upheld by *one* of your Representatives, and become ultimately triumphant through the successful exertions of the Reformers of the United Kingdom.

Gentlemen,—for the personal kindness which I have experienced from you individually and collectively, I beg you to receive my heartfelt acknowledgments; and when I consider the peculiar aspect of the times, I do so with the sanguine expectation that the period will shortly arrive when you may have an opportunity of renewing your exertions under more auspicious circumstances.

In the interim, I have the honour to remain,

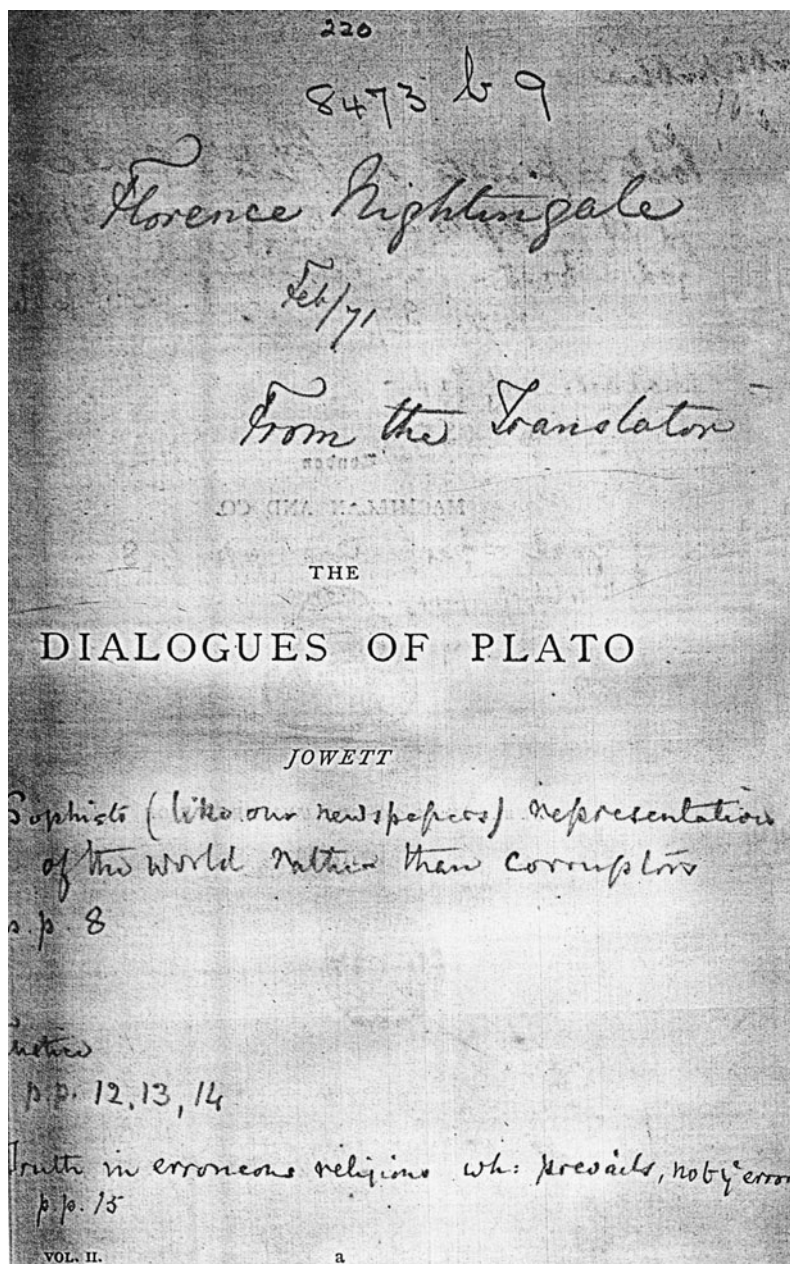
Gentlemen,

Your much obliged and devoted Servant,

W. E. NIGHTINGALE.

*Star Inn, Andover,
Jan. 8, 1835.*

B. BENSLEY, PRINTER, ANDOVER.



Title page of Benjamin Jowett's translation of *The Dialogues of Plato*, with Florence Nightingale's annotations. Reproduced courtesy of the British Library.

Justice without its
consequences:
Justice only for
its consequences

THE REPUBLIC.

Happiness
is the only
not directly
but indirectly

perfection

X { their consequences. Adeimantus remarks that they are regarded by mankind in general only for the sake of their consequences. In a similar vein of reflection Adeimantus urges at the beginning of the fourth book that Socrates fails in making his citizens happy, and is answered that happiness is not the direct aim, but the indirect consequence of the good government of a State. It is Adeimantus again who volunteers the criticism of common sense on the Socratic method of argument, and who refuses to let Socrates pass lightly over the question of women and children. It is Adeimantus who is the respondent in the more argumentative, as Glaucon in the lighter and more imaginative portions of the Dialogue. For example, throughout the greater part of the sixth book, the causes of the corruption of philosophy, and the conception of the idea of good are discussed with Adeimantus. At the end of the book, Glaucon resumes his place of principal respondent; but he has a difficulty in apprehending the higher education of Socrates, and makes some false hits in the course of the discussion (526 D, 527 D).

Cephalus: stages of morality, beginning with the Athenian gentleman of the olden
Polemarchus: time, who is followed by the practical man of that day regulating his life
Thrasymachus: by proverbs and saws; to him succeeds the wild generalization of the
Glaucon & Sophists, and lastly come the young disciples of the great teacher, who
Adeimantus know the sophistical arguments but will not be convinced by them, and desire to go deeper into the nature of things.

The character of Socrates in the Republic is not wholly consistent. In the first book we appear to have more of the real Socrates, such as he is depicted in the earliest Dialogues of Plato and in the Apology. He is ironical, provoking, questioning, the old enemy of the Sophists, ready to put on the mask of Silenus as well as to argue seriously. But in the sixth book his enmity towards the Sophists abates; he acknowledges that they are the representatives rather than the corruptors of the world (vi. 492 A). He also becomes more dogmatic and constructive, passing beyond the range either of the political or the speculative ideas of the real Socrates. In one passage (vi. 506 C) Plato himself seems to intimate that the time had now come for Socrates, who had passed his whole life in philosophy, to give his own opinion, and not to be always repeating the notions of other men. There is no evidence that either the idea of good or the conception of a perfect state were

Construction =
not Speculation.

perfection
the time has now come for Mr. Rowett

Florence Nightingale's answers to a parlour game (see p. 807-08), from a Nightingale notebook, courtesy of Dr George Ebers.

<p>1. Geniality 2. Loquacity 3. Generosity 4. 1st 5 a Prince Albert b. Charles James Fox. a None of 'em b. — 6 a Buchanan b George IV 7 Making vistas: Domestic Accounts: Reading 8 Tacitus 9. Cowper: Mozart: Ruysdael. 10 Turtle soup. 11 Combe 12 "Don't." 13 14 Foxglove 15 A thorough-bred Alderney 16 a Gavroche b.</p>	<p>1. Favourite quality 2. Most disliked quality 3. Strong point 4. Weak point 5. Favourite man 6. Most disliked public character 7. Favourite occupation, amusement 8. Favourite prose author 9. Favourite poet, musician, painter 10. Favourite food 11. Favourite residence 12. Favourite motto 13. Point of attraction in others 14. Favourite flower 15. Favourite animal 16. Favourite characters in fiction as man 16. Favourite characters in fiction as woman</p>
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Favourite quality: Geniality

Most disliked quality: Loquacity

Strong point: Generosity

Weak point: ditto

Favourite character:

Man, Living: Prince Albert; in History:

Charles James Fox; Favourite Woman,

Living: None of 'em; in History: —

Most disliked public character:

Living: Buchanan; in History: George IV

Favorite art, occupation, amusement:

Making vistas, domestic accounts, reading

Favorite prose author: Tacitus

Favorite poet, musician, painter:

Cowper, Mozart, Ruysdael

Favourite food: Turtle soup

Favourite residence: Combe

Favourite motto: "Don't"

Point of attraction in others: —

Favourite flower: Foxglove

Favourite animal: A thorough-

bred Alderney

Favourite characters in fiction:

Man: Gavroche;

Woman: —

Richard Monckton Milnes's answers to a parlour game (see p. 807-08), from a Nightingale notebook, courtesy of Dr George Ebers.

<p>1. Justice.</p> <p>2. Contented ignorance.</p> <p>3. Metaphysical perception.</p> <p>4. Mathematical faculty.</p> <p>5. ¹ Washington. ² Frederic Maurice. ³ Lucan Elizabeth. ⁴ Man.</p> <p>6. Francis the First. Louis.</p> <p>7. Poetry. Arrangements. Whist.</p> <p>8. Voltaire or Dr Johnson.</p> <p>9. Goethe. Mendelssohn. Titian.</p> <p>10. ¹ Macaroni & ² l'Italienne.</p> <p>11. London.</p> <p>12. Ne depensez votre argent que dans les folies qui vous amusent beaucoup.</p> <p>13. Sense Sense of Humour.</p> <p>14. Roses.</p> <p>15. Cats.</p> <p>16. Parson Adams. Elaine.</p>	<p>1. ¹ Favorite quality</p> <p>2. ¹ Most disliked quality</p> <p>3. Strong point</p> <p>4. Weak point</p> <p>5. Favorite man { character Man { living in history</p> <p>6. Most disliked public character { living in history</p> <p>7. Favorite occupation, amusement</p> <p>8. Favorite Prose Author</p> <p>9. Favorite Poet. Musician, Painter</p> <p>10. Favorite food</p> <p>11. Favorite residence</p> <p>12. Favorite motto</p> <p>13. Point of attraction in others</p> <p>14. Favorite flower</p> <p>15. Favorite animal</p> <p>16. Favorite characters in fiction as man as woman</p>
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R. M. M.

Embley. 3th Jan. '63

Favourite quality: Justice

Most disliked quality: Contented ignorance

Strong point: Metaphysical perception

Weak point: Mathematical faculty

Favourite public character: Man, Living: Frederic Maurice; Man, in History: Washington;

Favourite Woman, Living: Mme Sand; in History: Queen Elizabeth

Most disliked public character: Living: Louis Napoleon; in History: Francis the First

Favourite art, occupation, amusement: Poetry, arrangements, Whist

Favorite prose author: Voltaire or Dr Johnson

Favorite poet, musician, painter: Goethe,

Mendelssohn, Titian

Favourite food: Macaroni

al'Italiane

Favourite residence: London

Favourite motto: Ne depensez votre argent que dans les folies qui vous amusent beaucoup

Point of attraction in others: Sense of humour

Favourite flower: Rose

Favourite animal: Cat

Favourite characters in fiction: Man: Parson Adams; Woman: Elaine



Florence Nightingale's house, 10 South Street, London (house with balcony). From the collection of Margaret K. Leighton, Woodward Biomedical Library, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada.

3. Upon a *settlement* for the people of the temporarily settled provinces of India—a settlement upon definite principles which would give them such security as would be afforded by a knowledge that their revenue would only be raised upon certain fixed and easily intelligible grounds.

4. Upon the matter of the *Bombay Land Revenue*, which seems tending to a good settlement of the question, as it has been decided that the Survey and Settlement Department (so justly called by Lord Hobart¹¹² in Madras the “*Unsettlement*” Department) which carries out those irritating revisions and enhancements, is to be abolished in a short time, only work in hand being actually completed. (Some of the establishment will be absorbed in the Agricultural Department whose business it is to collect facts and help the ryot in all practical ways.)

5. Upon Land Improvements Act (Agricultural Advances) and above all *land banks*, of which one at least is only waiting home sanction to be started near Pune. So far for land: what would we have given to have heard Mr Gladstone but for five minutes upon these problems, which dwarf all other problems in India in importance, which we had hoped to have seen solved by Lord Ripon, but which are so far advanced that Lord Dufferin might solve them. Then upon Lord Ripon’s

6. *Local Self-Government Acts*, his cautious development of the ancient municipal institutions of the country, the necessary bills for all parts of India have been passed; in some of the provinces the new municipalities and local boards are actually at work: in others they will come into existence before Lord Ripon leaves India. In none seems a retrograde step now possible. Is not the success obtained up to this time really remarkable by Lord Ripon treading in his great chief’s steps? Then

7. Upon *Elementary Education*, the resolution of the government embodying the main principles contained in the report of the commission is out, dated 23 October, and has reached home. (A copy is now before me.)

8. Upon the age and length of probation at the universities, of competitors for the covenanted civil service.

9. Upon the *encouragement of native arts and industries*, in which Lord Ripon has done so much, making government the great consumer, buy whatever can be [“best” struck out] as well bought in India: glass, leather, cloth, paper, metal work, etc., have been thus as it were discovered, in India.

112 Lord Hobart (1818-75), governor of Madras.

10. Upon the employment and *promotion of natives* who have worked their way up—not to be intercepted by local patronage of the higher officials, for young Englishmen who never have passed and never can pass any examination. Lord Ripon has been the first to carry out the many despatches of secretaries of state at home on this matter. How much more I could say and ask!

Has not Lord Ripon shown your Liberal policy on the most colossal scale in the world?, with the result that 200 millions and more of this vast empire have for the first time confidence in our rule. No other governor general has yet been able to conciliate them as he has.¹¹³

(Sir Neville Chamberlain declared Lord Ripon and Lord William Bentinck to have been the governors general of this century who have done the most for the benefit of the natives and that they were equally abused by their English fellow countrymen.) Would there not be in India the greatest triumph of the age of Mr Gladstone's Liberal principles, were measures now unhappily in abeyance fairly started and measures started carried out?

(In Ireland the more we try to reform and conciliate, the farther do not her poor little 5 millions seem to go from us? But in India the 240 millions meet us halfway. They are radiant with loyalty and trust, and a feeling of rest while as yet not fruition.)

Lord Ripon is obliged to leave while as yet his measures are scarcely launched, or indeed have even been negatived [at home struck out]. But let Lord Dufferin continue his policy and shall you not see the triumph of your principles in tranquillizing and developing your vast Asiatic empire? Education, railroads, the opening up of the country, etc., have so changed the peoples of India in the last eight or ten years that those, as has been truly said, live in a "fool's paradise" who think that India can now be governed *without* its peoples.

The last time that you gave me that highest privilege of seeing you, you said, referring to the want of help and energy in native members of Council who should be our powerful allies in reforms for the cultivators and who are on the contrary our worst hindrances: "It is enough to drive one to despair." And so it would be. But has not Lord Ripon turned their flank and tapped the stratum of the respectable villagers, and what middle class there is, by giving local self-government? It is

113 Draft, Add Mss 45807 f139: Lord Ripon has shown your Liberal policy on the largest scale in the world and the result has been that he has reconciled the confidence and affection of the natives to British rule as no other governor general has yet been able to.

no new thing.¹¹⁴ It is what all the best district officers have been doing all those years, taking the people into their counsels. Lord Ripon has only been legalizing it.

Must not the administration of India be mainly by Indians (natives) whether we will or no? That is not a question. The question is whether she shall be administered by petty, corrupt, low-paid native officials, or whether she, whose immemorial institutions have been those of self-administration, shall be administered by the decent villagers and extended municipal commissions. God grant that Lord Dufferin has been sent out to perfect this policy!

We have by our education and other good measures unwittingly created that power of combination which was altogether wanting in India. This must be used *for* us or *against* us. We have also by our durbars and railroads unwittingly created the power of combination among the great chiefs, Scindia, Holkar, etc., who formerly scarcely knew more than one another's names. Our "higher education" fits *babudom* for government clerks only. It is ingrained in every Asiatic that government is to employ him. There are not government clerkships of course enough for one tenth of the babus we have educated. The other nine tenths turn home rulers, translate Bradlaugh,¹¹⁵ write seditious newspapers. It is true these have but a small circulation but then they are taken and read in the bazaars to those who can't read.

Had it not been right, would it not have been *imperative* for a governor general of this day to give a share to the peoples of India of this day in their own government? Did not our hearts bound within us¹¹⁶ when we saw Mr Gladstone's Liberal principles applied by Lord Ripon's honesty, *mutatis mutandis* on this the grandest theatre in the world?

India is not standing still. We have talked much about giving her "Western civilization." Western civilization has given her, whether we will or no, Western powers, *more* than Western powers to her Eastern craft and cleverness. With Western powers must we not give them gradually, cautiously, Western responsibilities? *If we did not, would they not take them?*

The Local Self-Government Acts, now passed for the whole of India, are most carefully framed and hedged round with precautions. The

114 Draft, Add Mss 45807 f139 adds: It is what India must be: administered by natives.

115 Charles Bradlaugh (1833-91), president of the London Secular Society, follower of Thomas Paine.

116 A paraphrase of Luke 24:32.

municipal elections held hitherto have been most satisfactory and have disappointed the opponents. In Bombay Presidency exertions are being made by the loyal, educated natives to instruct the new electors regarding their duties. So far, all has gone well.

If Mr Gladstone would say that it would not be too disagreeable to him I should esteem it a privilege to write for him the *briefest of notes* as to the way in which, upon several lines, Lord Ripon has carried out *the principles of this great premier's Liberal policy*, and in which we hope that they will still be carried out. Pray believe me, with loyal devotion,
ever your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

If you should ever again so very kindly do me the honour of calling, might I hope that you would let me know beforehand? Were it to “fight upon my stumps,”¹¹⁷ I would be up.

Lord Dufferin most kindly gave me the opportunity not only of seeing him and talking over these things with him, but also of writing notes of our conversation for him, and marking papers for him. He spoke so highly of the “clearness” and “statesmanship” of Lord Ripon’s letters and measures as to lead one to hope that, though an Anti-tenant-right man in Ireland, he might carry them out in India.

F.N.

On General Gordon

Editor: Nightingale’s involvement with Prime Minister Gladstone over the rescue of General Gordon was only indirect, through her brother-in-law, Harry Verney. (For the correspondence between Gordon and Nightingale see pp 490-498 below.) Gladstone was blamed for the failure to send a rescue mission in time (Gordon was killed only two days before it arrived). Gladstone, of course, had good reason for prevarication: he was not an imperialist expansionist, and indeed in the 1880 election campaign he had argued eloquently for restraint and thoroughly denounced the recklessness of Conservative imperialism. More specifically, Gladstone thought the Sudanese rebels were entitled to the freedom they sought. Perhaps Nightingale thought so, too. Certainly she never joined in the many denunciations of Gladstone over the failure to rescue Gordon, who of course was her friend.

To Amy Hawthorn Nightingale reported that when Gordon’s older brother, Sir Henry Gordon, was summoned by Gladstone and told that

117 From “The Ballad of Chevy Chase,” on the Battle of Otterburn, Northumberland, where “when his legs were smitten off/He fought upon his stumps.”

his brother's life was in no danger, Gladstone said to him, "Whenever and if ever General Gordon is in danger, the whole resources of the government will be employed in his cause," or "to deliver him."¹¹⁸

Source: Letter with envelope, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/147

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane, W.
25 April 1881

Colonel Gordon

My dear Sir Harry [Verney]

About Colonel Gordon, if you mention my name *at all* to Mr Gladstone, PLEASE NOT to write or to say that I "think" him, Colonel Gordon, fit for employment "among the frontier tribes of India" or "the Basutos" or "the Boers and natives in the Transvaal."

You know I have always especially eschewed offering *political* opinions, or even giving them when asked for. With these it is mere impertinence for me to have anything to do. If you mention me at all it *can* only be to say that *Colonel Gordon's power of attaching, governing, civilizing and administering and leading NATIVES of Oriental and African races* is absolutely unique at the present time and that it seems a pity, when the British government has to govern 200 millions of Oriental races, they should let a man with such an unique power, no matter how queer he is at home, go out of their reach. What he did in the Sudan and in China can be known to ministers and to anyone who inquires.

This is an *administrative* opinion, which facts support, and which it is not impertinent in me to have. I did not say to Colonel Gordon that "he would be following more in the footsteps of our Lord by serving his *fellow creatures*" (he would say he could do *that* in Syria) but "by serving his *fellow countrymen*" (in *India*), "using such a God-given and unique power for the *natives* under *our own* sovereign and government," our *fellow subjects*, in short. Excuse my troubling you.

yours affectionately

F.N.

[On envelope]

Sir Harry Verney. If you are going to see Mr Gladstone at the House about Colonel Gordon, please see me for two minutes first. If *today*, I could see you, please, at 2:10, if convenient to you, for two minutes.

F.N.

118 Letter 2 July 1885, Add Mss 45776 f132.

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/148

25 April 1881

My dear Sir Harry [Verney]

It is *because* I think “that the gain or the loss of such a man as Gordon” is so important that I so very much deprecate anything being said to Mr Gladstone from ME *except* what I put to you in my letter of this morning. How can I recommend him for “frontier tribes”? If I were “prime minister” it would set me against Colonel Gordon to have him recommended in such a fashion and rightly, I think.

F.N.

Letters and Notes about Gladstone

Editor: Nightingale had been promoting the membership of Dr Farr in the French Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, and was disgruntled to learn that the short list for a foreign member consisted of Gladstone, John Stuart Mill and the philosopher William Whewell. Her French colleague promoting Farr’s appointment predicted that Gladstone would be named because they were “in general a superficial crew of politicals” and they “adore ministers.”¹¹⁹

Nightingale had occasion to appeal to Gladstone on many occasions on a great number of issues. On a government decision to cancel certain weekly statistics, she got Sidney Herbert to “lay the case before Mr Gladstone.”¹²⁰ She again turned to Gladstone to press the case for a pension for Dr Farr’s daughters on the death of their father.¹²¹

Source: From a letter to Mary Clarke Mohl, Add Mss 43397 ff292-95 (see a similar letter to Hilary Bonham Carter Add Mss 45794 ff123-24)

10 July [1847]

By the bye, I must tell you, that Mr Hallam has found out that Gladstone is the beast 666 in the Revelations [13:18]. It came to him one day by inspiration in the Athenaeum; he tried Pusey¹²² and Newman with the Greek numerals and the letters of their names, but they wouldn’t do. Besides anybody might have thought of them, the open beasts, but then it came to him that Gladstone was the hidden, the secret beast. At first the epsilon at the end stumped him, but, remembering that no Greek nominative ends with an epsilon, here he is, and

119 Letter to Dr Farr 25 February 1865, Wellcome Ms 5474/83.

120 Letter to Dr Farr 23 October 1860, Wellcome Ms 5474/31.

121 Letter to Florence Farr 3 May 1883, Add Mss 43400 f281.

122 Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800-82), high church leader.

no doubt it will cost him heaven, or his election, which is of rather more consequence.

γ	3	[G]
λ	30	[L]
α	1	[A]
δ	4	[D]
σ	200	[S]
τ	300	[T]
ο	70	[O]
ν	50	[N]
η	8	[I has been substituted for E]
<hr/>		
666		

Source: Note, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9002/175

[1868?]

Gladstone's article on *Ecce Homo* in *Good Words*:¹²³ It shows him quite hopeless and helpless in matters of theology. He is utterly devoid of the critical faculty, yet he has a sense that there ought to be criticism. He has the greatest power of living in words and formulas of any able man of the day.

Source: Note to Dr Sutherland, ADD Mss 45753 f202

[by March 1869]

Do you see that Gladstone is going to give £15,000 a year for training nurses and midwives in Ireland? I wish he would ask the Nightingale Committee for advice.

With regard to the midwives, I should like to get my lying-in hospital paper out as soon as possible. You may depend upon it that Gladstone, who is the most unsanitary brute that ever was known, will found a quantity of lying-in hospitals and [breaks off]

Source: From a letter to Parthenope Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/30

10 March 1880

A faithful correspondent of mine in Scotland, an ex-governor and peer, says that Mr Gladstone's Scotch "jihad" was ill-timed. "Mr Glad-

123 "Ecce Homo," *Good Words* 1 January 1868:33-39; pt 2, 1 February 1868: 80-88; Pt 3, 1 March 1868:177-85 (a review of "*Ecce Homo: A Survey of the Life and Work of Jesus Christ*").

stone makes speeches and the Duke [of] (Buccleuch¹²⁴) makes votes.” I will read you part of his letter. Hurra! hurra! hurra! for the Liberals, but let them be wise as serpents.¹²⁵
thine ever

Source: From a letter to Harry and Parthenope Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/44

7 April 1880

But I am appalled to hear that Mr Gladstone may not be in the new ministry. I *can't* believe it. A ministry without Gladstone is like an engine without steam. O that he could be chancellor of the Exchequer, for but one year, for *India*.

Editor: Nightingale similarly declared to her brother-in-law: “I hope Mr Gladstone does not talk of his ‘approaching retirement.’”¹²⁶ To Margaret Verney she decried the rarity of debating power, recalling that it had been said that “Mr Gladstone and Mr Bright were the only debaters in the House of Commons.”¹²⁷ To Harry and Margaret Verney in 1892 she remarked on the appearance of an article that was just out: “How strange is the change when a prime minister and two ex-Cabinet ministers enunciate their manifestos in a monthly periodical and an American one.”¹²⁸ In a later letter similarly she stated: “There is absolutely no one who in the least takes Mr Gladstone’s place in keeping up the worthiness and the responsibility of the House of Commons. . . . The House is like nothing but a set of work-house patients throwing their tin cups and plates across the wards at each other’s heads.”¹²⁹

When James Knowles, the editor of *Nineteenth Century*, wrote Nightingale about an issue at Guy’s Hospital she urged him on to more political matters, especially India: “Philip II of Spain is made to say, O but

124 Walter Francis Scott (1806-84), 5th Duke of Buccleuch, former Conservative Cabinet minister and the leader of the Conservative Party in the area; his son, Lord Dalkeith, was the sitting member whom Gladstone defeated.

125 An allusion to Matt 10:16.

126 Letter to Harry Verney 6 November 1881, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/180.

127 Letter to Margaret Verney 8 December 1890, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9013/122.

128 Note 12 October 1892, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9014/53.

129 Letter to Margaret Verney 23 September 1895, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9015/55.

for one pulse's beat of omniscience; I say, O but for one pulse's beat of Mr Gladstone as chancellor of the Exchequer for India! I only mention this that you may keep him up to the mark. . . ."¹³⁰ Nightingale noted this also in German: "O nur ein Pulses Schlag," regretting that "India's problems have always been systematically shunted by a *Gladstone* government. Forty lunatic asylums could not produce a lunatic who would be 'elated' at Liberals' situation. O that he could be chancellor of Exchequer for *India* for one year."¹³¹

A note refers to "Gladstone's indignation, change in civilized world to human view from military. We say to Irish: if you don't want us we must cut your heads off. They say: we don't want you; landlords are Englishmen—they must go. Now Gladstone takes the human view. Military, the flogging view. Bengal: same."¹³²

In 1888 Nightingale commented disparagingly on Gladstone's support for Balkan uprisings, referring to the German emperor handing him the "Montenegrin sword," and adding: "I hate war."¹³³

On his leaving office as prime minister in 1894 Nightingale remarked that "this is like his death." He would be lamented "not because he worked at home rule to his last moment, but because to his last moment he maintained the House of Commons to what it was in the years I so well remember, its palmy days under the school of Sir Robert Peel, of whom he is the last."¹³⁴ She greatly disapproved of the belligerent position he took on Turkey and Russia in his retirement.

Source: From a letter to Frederick Verney, Add Mss 68888 f117

1 November 1895

Have you read Mr Gladstone's letter to Mme Novikoff in last Sunday's *Observer*? To find Mr Gladstone spurring on to war, "shaming" England, and at the instigation of an exceedingly clever, exceedingly unprincipled woman, is something so dreadful that one could almost wish it had pleased God to take him first before he had forgotten all the principles of an ex-premier and the greatest leader of the House of Commons.

130 Incomplete draft/copy, Add Mss 45806 f27.

131 Undated note, Add Mss 45819 f218.

132 Note 1 January 1884, Add Mss 47761 f28.

133 Note, Add Mss 45836 f211.

134 Note 4 March 1894, Hampshire Record Office 94M72/F582/33/3.

Editor: In his letter, sent to Mme Novikoff 22 October 1895, Gladstone referred to “that wretched sultan, whom God has given as a curse to mankind, waving his flag in triumph and the adversaries at his feet are Russia, France and England.”¹³⁵ He cared little about the division of “shame” among the countries but hoped his own country would “(for its good) be made conscious and exhibited to the world for its own full share, whatever that may be. May God in his mercy send a speedy end to the (governing) Turk and all his doings.” Gladstone must have been aware of his own impending death (in fact not until 1898) for he signed off with a reference to his “political decrepitude or death.”

A later letter Nightingale sent to Fred Verney further stated that Gladstone’s letter made her feel “quite frostbitten,” his “cursing the sultan and crying *shame* upon us and calling down God’s vengeance,” showing himself “the tool of such a woman.”¹³⁶

On Gladstone’s death in 1898 Nightingale remarked, “How curious is the conflict of opinion about Mr Gladstone: the furious rage of those who admire him against those who do not, and neither knowing exactly what they are talking about. However, dissent made England.”¹³⁷ She thought he should be justly remembered for his achievements as the last letter shows.

Source: From a letter to Rosalind or Vaughan Nash, Woodward Biomedical Library A.87

25 May 1898

To get just a retrospective glance (without comment) of ten or twelve of the greatest measures for which we have to thank Mr Gladstone and him alone, surely this would have been a better tribute than the feeble violent “enthusiasms”? with which we have been deluged. To recapitulate some of his great deeds would have been worth the doing. People talk of they know not what. . . . On Saturday the public funeral and then the Whitsuntide holidays. When they are over, where will Mr Gladstone be in our minds and what he has *done*? I am not going to moralize.

ever yours

F.N.

135 “Madame de Novikoff’s Views on Russia and England: Important Letter from Mr Gladstone,” *Sunday Observer* 27 October 1895.

136 Letter 12 November 1895, ADD Mss 68888 f125.

137 Letter to Henry Bonham Carter 19 May 1898, ADD Mss 47728 f184.

Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton

Editor: Poet, philanthropist and politician Richard Monckton Milnes was a family friend from Nightingale's childhood, and her most serious suitor. She turned him down finally after a long courtship, not without some regrets. According to novelist Mrs Gaskell, "For nine years Mr M. Milnes was at her feet, but Parthe says she never knew her care for one man more than another in any way at any time."¹³⁸ He kept a number of letters from her, including an undated note accepting an invitation to visit a museum, "as we like to see anything, ugly or not."¹³⁹

Milnes was one of the small number of men to whom Nightingale confided the early draft of her *Suggestions for Thought*.¹⁴⁰ He was evidently moved by the work for he remarked on having "as vivid a recollection" of the manuscript as he had "ever read."¹⁴¹ Milnes and Nightingale remained friends for life and she made a friend also of his wife. He celebrated Nightingale's work in the Crimean War, without being so crass as to mention her name, in a poem he sent to the *Times*. After praising the "hero-sufferers" who variously smiled to think "to fight again" or "unmurmuring passed away" the last stanza has his tribute to Nightingale (see p 481 below).

During the Crimean War Milnes also supported the establishment of the Nightingale Fund (he seconded the resolution at the public meeting on it). Gaskell's account of his speech at the public meeting in Manchester on the fund, which she attended, is given below. Milnes served on the Nightingale Fund Council until ill health forced him to quit, when he was succeeded by his son. Correspondence regarding administrative reforms after the Crimean War will be reported in the volume on that war.

Nightingale was godmother to one of his daughters, who indeed was named after her (Florence Ellen Hungerford Milnes). The daughters were invited to visit and Nightingale sent them books. Since most of the correspondence with Milnes has social and political themes it seemed best to deal with it in this volume; references to him and one letter on a family matter are in *Life and Family* (1:145). The surviving correspondence and related notes begins with a long letter c1840, when Nightingale was twenty and Milnes was in the House of Commons.

138 Letter of E.C. Gaskell to Emily Shaen 27 October 1854, in *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell* 320.

139 Undated letter, Trinity College, Cambridge, Houghton 124.

140 Letter 16 January [1853], Trinity College, Cambridge, Houghton 18/130.

141 Letter 21 October [1861], Add Mss 45798 f14.

Source: Incomplete letter to Richard Monckton Milnes, Trinity College, Cambridge, Houghton unnumbered

Embley
Saturday
[c1840]

Grazie e grazie “mille e tre” for your notices of poor Ireland. Alas for our sister. Alas for her day of terrible judgment, when her field is wasted like Joel’s.¹⁴²

Everybody owes you a handsome fee as counsel for dear defenceless childhood at church. To tell it to “behave well” in service is to teach your “bird” to be a full-blown hypocrite, to force the seeds of faces-making, which will come up, especially in the female, quite soon enough of themselves. A child who can sit for two hours staring at the clergyman must be seriously diseased either in body or mind, and requires instantly the apothecary or the whip.

You deserve the Attorney Generalship to Childhood for trying to rescue it from the “subjective” religion of the day. Poor bambino, whose chief charm, as you so truly say, lies in its “unconsciousness,” its uneducated, unselfish, willful, heartfelt ignorant unconsciousness, which has no thought of its own—anything, not even salvation, whose only wisdom is action, who never despises doing the smallest nor shrinks from the greatest and who does it all from love and not from duty, alike without “aspirations” and without regrets, as hardly knowing that *It* exists. To turn this sacred little brat into a thing so selfish, so tiresome, always thinking about its own soul (the most dangerous and incurable of all forms of selfishness) into an orthodox Christian miser, starving and scraping and grinding and pinching itself to “lay up that treasure in heaven,”¹⁴³ practising the gospel virtue of temperance, not in order to *temper* its useless metal into good steel, but only to save up for riches hereafter, making “Thy kingdom come” mean my salvation come—and reversing Isaiah’s theory of “being exalted” for the power of “being gracious,”¹⁴⁴ into being gracious for the sake of being exalted.

Oh if people would but let those words “eternal life” speak for themselves, and begin to believe that they do not mean a place but a state, and that “virtue is its own reward” not only in their copybooks.

142 An allusion to Joel 1:10.

143 A paraphrase of Matt 6:20.

144 An allusion to Isa 30:18.

Then religion might lose the character, which it has now with all children, of a sort of qualifying for cake by working through a stated quantity of stale bread. And what is “eternal life” to *us*, but the gradual knitting up the stitches of occasional exertions to call up Things Unseen, laborious thinkings of what one *ought* to do, into the abiding disposition called by the good old word piety, which only means being “at one” with the Author of Duty.

And, if Mr Keble¹⁴⁵ will have a visible journey for his pilgrim children, why must it be a road set with sharp stones, which they are to stumble over to gain the locked gate—why not the ladder of rays hung down from heaven to earth and the steps of the ladder are human hands, each hand helping its fellow’s foot a step higher, and the posts thereof are angels’ wings, to save them from falling, and at the top of it sits their mother, the One among women, the daughter of sorrow and of consolation, first-born of many sisters,¹⁴⁶ ready to stretch out the hand to us, which hid her face from the sight of her Son’s last agony, to tell to us the griefs and the struggles and the full support vouchsafed to her, which perhaps St John’s was the only ear on earth which ever heard.

There is no subject so difficult with one’s pupils as prayer and Mr Keble makes prayer a *duty*! He is afraid of saying a word which should imply that it is *not* a “duty.” And yet, if you were going from Cairo to Suez, you would not fail to eat before you set out, probably too to take water for the way, perhaps even a pillow to lay your head upon. Yet one would hardly call it a “duty” to make this provision, but only taking necessary means for an end and for one’s own life, without which one would be sure to faint by the way or else to stumble and fall from weakness long before the evening.

Is our spiritual provision for the thirsty day a “duty” either? I forget what it was in the lyra left this impression, for I have not seen that very lugubrious instrument since you put it in my hands, so that it is bone fide “talking without my book.”

You will be canonized if you are not stoned for your words “the atrocious Jewish legend,” but Adam Clarke,¹⁴⁷ or somebody, says that

145 John Keble (1792-1866), priest and poet whose devotional *Christian Year* Nightingale used.

146 An allusion to Rom 8:29.

147 A much-published Methodist minister and biblical scholar.

the “little children were the atelier of another artist, the school of some rival teacher, and though this does not excuse the iniquitous bears, it *does* the Jews in some measure. If our two friends, the rival evangelical preachers at Cheltenham should (a question not to be asked)—the congregation of the younger and more fashionable presume to laugh at the couleur de soupir étouffé gloves and embroidered slippers of the older. Mr Close¹⁴⁸ would justly consider himself entitled to twenty hyenas from heaven, let alone two miserable she-bears, to growl the commination¹⁴⁹ at them. A correctional police debars us now from Elisha’s higher gratifications.

Excuse the ramblings of a distracted housekeeper, fifty-six pots of sweetmeat gone, devoured. I ne’er shall see their pretty faces more and the house (I don’t mean the workhouse) as full, as Tarshish was of apes¹⁵⁰ and will be, till we have hooted in the epiphany, till when I am yours (while a Briton and a mince pie remain synonymous).

F.N.

Was it you I told that Miss Rigby was going to become an incarnate Triangle of poisonous cake? Glory be to Minerva¹⁵¹ and what’s the woman’s name, the Goddess of old maids (my mother forgot to send cake and candle to Mnemosyne¹⁵² when I was born). I told “one big lie” as I have had certified to me, under her own hand and seal.

N.B. There is a misprint at the bottom of page 529, a “cease to” or something omitted.

Source: Last two stanzas of “A Monument for Scutari,” in *The Life, Letters and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes First Lord Houghton* 1:520

Write that ’tis Britain’s peaceful sons
Luxurious rich, well-tended poor,
Fronted the foeman’s steel and guns,
As each would guard his household door;
So, in those ghastly halls of pain
Where thousand hero-sufferers lay,
Some smiled in thought to fight again,
And most unmurmuring passed away.

148 Francis Close (1797-1882), dean of Carlisle and a noted evangelical preacher.

149 A liturgy of divine threats against sinners.

150 An allusion to 1 Kings 10:22.

151 Roman goddess of crafts, identified with the Greek goddess, Athena.

152 Greek goddess of memory, mother of the muses.

Write that when pride of human skill
 Fell prostrate with the weight of care,
 And men prayed out for some strong will,
 Some reason 'mid the wild despair,
 The loving heart of woman rose
 To guide the hand and clear the eye,
 Gave help amid the sternest woes,
 And saved what man had left to die.

Source: Letter of E.C. Gaskell to Parthenope Nightingale, in *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell* #279 383

18 January 1856

Dear Mr Milnes! His speech warmed my heart the most. He evidently forgot us all in bringing up before himself *pictures* of former days, of Florence Nightingale as a girl in her father's house, of his early knowledge of her, etc. His face grew quite pale and you forgot the fat in the features—the eyes fixed on bygone scenes, not on all our poor upturned faces, eyes and nostrils quite dilated, when he spoke of God's holy Providence calling the great heroes and heroines of the world out of private life, out of deep self-unconsciousness to do His service.

Source: Letter, Trinity College, Cambridge, Houghton 13/134

30 Old Burlington St.

11 May 1860

Dear Mr Milnes

I have not the least doubt that you have already seen, introduced and been kind to M Barthélemy St-Hilaire¹⁵³ (now at 63 Portland Place, *but only till Monday*). But, if you have not, please see him and talk to him.

I am extremely anxious that he should know and be known to all political men in England. I do not know him personally, but he brought an introduction to me. I was not able to see him, but I am most desirous that he should know our ministers. I have written to Mr Herbert.

He was, as you are sure to know, secretary to the Republic from February to June, 1848—never would take the oath to the Emperor—afterwards was secretary to the Canalization in Egypt, is one of the honestest, *sensiblist* men in France, and by no means a *Red*. If you

153 Jules Barthélemy St-Hilaire (1805-95), French philosopher.

would give him the means of becoming more known in England, you would much gratify

yours most truly

F. Nightingale

P.S. Is it decent to subscribe to the Sicilian Expedition?¹⁵⁴

Editor: Lord Houghton made a speech in the House of Lords 16 April 1869 on measures to deal with poverty and pauperism, strongly advocating emigration to the colonies, especially Canada, as a remedy.¹⁵⁵ Specifically he recommended that fares for workhouse inmates be paid by the Poor Law Board. He had written to Nightingale 3 March 1869 asking for advice on his speech (in a letter which otherwise recounts a visit to Embley where he walked through the garden with his daughter Florence, where they saw her “ghost” more than once “behind the rhododendrons”).¹⁵⁶ He reported that “little came of my talk in the House of Lords and I don’t know that it deserved anything better. My statements were so lacking and so qualified that they could not get much sympathy.” He noted a “growing dislike” for the Poor Law among his friends in economics and that other countries did without one. Nightingale responded to his comment: I don’t quite apprehend your feelings about political economy. I am in the habit of looking on its laws as part of the laws of nature, which are neither to be liked or disliked, but to be [illeg] and submitted to.”¹⁵⁷

Nightingale’s comments on his speech below show agreement with his points, and disagreement with a later opposing speech by Lord Overstone (958-61). Lord Overstone held that economic crises were exceptional and that in general emigration was not needed. Nightingale was dissatisfied with the 1869 Parliamentary debates on pauperism, saw emigration as only one of the solutions. She wanted a royal commission to inquire into “the whole subject here and abroad,” indeed “to know all the sources of pauperism in order that we may devise remedies” (see p 485 below).

It is not clear whether the items below were merely notes for herself or sent to Lord Houghton in a letter—the last section is in Dr Sutherland’s handwriting.

154 In a letter reported in *European Travels* Nightingale consulted Milnes about sending money to the “Neapolitans,” and duly sent in her “mite.” Letter 5 April 1859, Trinity College, Cambridge, Houghton unnumbered.

155 Speech 16 April 1869, Hansard, House of Lords 943-52.

156 Letter from Lord Houghton, Add Mss 45801 ff198-200.

157 Letter from Lord Houghton, Add Mss 45801 ff227-28.

Source: Notes, ADD Mss 45801 ff221-24, f230

[ca. 17 April 1869]

Lord Houghton's debate. The cause is not won. We shall not get the royal commission. But a great step has been made and attention raised, the principle of training and employment of pauper labour acknowledged and emigration, though not by government agency, forwarded, people made alive. Lord Overstone simply did not touch the subject at all—a man said to have made 7 millions by paper-kite flying. But paper-kite flying is not a divine institution; a capital of 7 millions is not a divine institution, and man is. Lord Overstone's speech only says this is the best of all possible worlds (for people who can make £7,000,000); the paper kite is supreme, 7 millions are a fact which cannot be quarrelled with.

Mr Carlyle told us a long while ago that if all the positive electricity goes into one ball, and all the negative electricity into another, there will be a collision some day and storms of thunder and lightning and earthquakes. Lord Overstone's speech is just the sort of speech that might have been made in France before 1789, when those who had money, the stronger race which oppressed the weaker, said this is the best of all possible worlds. And those who had no money, the weaker who were being oppressed, said this is the worst of all possible worlds. But in France it was the effect of bad laws.

With us it is the effect of quite a different state (almost as bad in its results perhaps but much more easily remedied). With us, the higher capacity raises itself, but recognizes no claim (at least in political economy) to raise the lower capacity to its own level. *We* don't want (at least not at present) to damage the position of the higher capacity and its 7 millions. But we want the principle to be recognized that part of their position *is* to raise and train the lower capacity to produce (not 7 millions but) enough to live.

If they say it can't be done, we say that is begging the whole question, and we have certainly not illustrations wanting to show that it *can* be done. If we are come to the American state of the "almighty dollar," there is no more to be said. But a most telling reply might have been made to Lord Overstone by anyone who understood the subject. Only such a reply can't be made in the House of Lords.

The principle of the Poor Law has been to drive the helpless to help themselves and signal has been the failure. They *have* helped themselves indeed, but it has been out of others' earnings. The principle of a true political economy is to help the helpless to help them-

selves. Not that I would not drive, if it answer, but it doesn't. Make them keep on at the subject. Now's the time.

Political economy wants to be taught to think correctly, her want of knowledge of human motives. [See] Poor Law, more need of moral science than of political science. That those who do not produce ought not to eat up the earnings of those who do produce is a truism in these days (though not in St Teresa's days). But the P.L. goes on to say—not we will teach them how to produce, but we will offer them the workhouse test or let them starve—that will teach them how to produce. Surely no greater error in understanding human nature could have been committed than this, since the workhouse (and still less starvation) is no teacher of production, no teacher of physical, still less of moral or of intellectual energy. What a want of power of applying political economy to education this is!

Perhaps there has scarcely been a greater religious genius than Ignatius of Loyola. His object was to reduce religious training to a method, to rules. Just as we say that moral science is as much subject to laws as physical science (we have scarcely made the first step even in discovering a method to discover these laws), so Ignatius of Loyola thought that he would reduce practical religion—the method of becoming religious or spiritual—to rules (and much of his *Spiritual Exercises* is the right method). But, just because of that very want of knowledge of human nature, of moral science—what you see reigning in the Poor Law—Ignatius of Loyola did not see (and St Teresa did not see): that a great proportion of their rules and of their method actually led human nature directly down to its lowest depths, just as the Poor Law form of political economy does, by bringing up, or rather by bringing down, men and women to be either lazy beggars or to be slaves without a will, without independence, without freedom of thought, without a wish of their own to inquire after the truth.

Ignatius of Loyola and St Teresa, just like the workhouses, destroyed in man and woman the power of production, because they did not see, just as political economy does not see, that you supply no one motive for production to man (his chief end), you teach him in no sense to produce by these methods. . . .

Lord Houghton: I liked your statement very much. The fact is that any discussion does good by stirring up the dead weight of prejudice in favour of things as they are. The mere avowal of the government that they were considering what to do with paupers was worth the whole discussion. Now as to political economy. I entirely agree with

you that political economy and the law of nature are identical. This question is not at issue in the discussion. What is at issue is an application of the law to a populous island with a growing population and no growth of land possible.

My proposal is that the proper function of a Poor Law is to enable the poor to provide for themselves to the extent to which their age and health permit. That this is to be done not by feeding them at the cost of other people, which is contrary to the very foundation of political economy, but to bring labour and the means of labour already existing together. And considering that we are a small island I hold that part of the duty is to place those who cannot find the means of work here, in contact with the means of work elsewhere, so that all may produce to the extent of their ability. And that, moreover, as the part [illeg] incapacity of the Poor Law to do this has pauperized a large part of the nation so that *materially* or at all *diminishing* the necessity of relief or as the charitable public had done the best [they] can to increase the evil because [they] feel the insufficiency of the Poor Law, that the time has come for the government to systematize the whole matter and to solve the problem. If in doing this the Poor Law disappears so much the better. . . .

[In Dr Sutherland's hand:] Lord Houghton: It is very difficult to treat the pauper question from one side and emigration as you propose. Emigration is one of the elements only. But as at present carried out it takes away our strong natures into other lands and leaves the weak natures of the same class of people at home. An emigration rate would by itself only reach part of the evil. What we really want is an inquiry into the whole subject both here and abroad. We want to know all the sources of pauperism in order that we may devise remedies. In a limited island like ours with a rapidly increasing population and an unprecedented tendency of so large a part of it to sink into dependency on the remainder we want some constant machinery in operation to deal with the evil in its various aspects by remedies applicable to each. In this work I would enlist and systematize private effort as well as state mechanisms. A royal commission well selected will possibly be the best method.

Source: From a draft/copy, ADD Mss 45804 ff271-74

27 November 1877

Dear friend [Richard Monckton Milnes]

I have often thought, too, what you say about how strange that I have lived to see (and be on the side of) the Russian entering Turkey,

but stranger still to see the Hand which has brought good—almost the last good—which we were working for out of the Crimean War, the reformation of Russia; such as it is, the emancipation of the serfs came out of their defeat. Such, I believe, is the opinion of the truest Russian liberals. The “wastefulness of the honest effort,” as you truly say, was not wasted. No “honest effort,” I suppose, is. One would be very sorry to see the Russian yoke substituted for the Turkish, but progress coming from perhaps the very reverse quarter from what we expect may come from this most hideous war. (I wish I had been in it.)

I cannot help thinking that the Russian private must be much raised from what I knew him as sick prisoners at Scutari, I will not say scarcely above the brute. . . . See him now. Has the one true mark of higher civilization, namely, fighting for some idea instead of for comfort, more than the shopman standing behind a counter in Bond St. I earnestly hope, however, against Turkey becoming, as you say, a “Russian satrapy,” and will not trouble you with incubations where I can do nothing.

God seems to take things more into His own hands (in history). Perhaps He always did. Only we trace more now what we wanted to do and what we really do do, what is done.

Source: Letter, Trinity College, Cambridge, Houghton 18/142

10 South St.
Park Lane, W.
18 May 1880

My dear friend [Richard Monckton Milnes]

I *will* give you joy, I *do* give you joy, and I condole with you, too, as you desire, on your boy's marriage.¹⁵⁸ Such promise—not only promise—such proof of so much being in him—it seems a pity that he should not have served his apprenticeship to hard work, which not alone but generally forms the best foundation for the future edifice, if there is plenty of stuff. For that he will do something great for his country and what times are these—we do not allow ourselves to doubt for one moment. On the other hand, there is something very inspiring in the faithful love—the early and the late—when the two always say “we.”

(I remember when I was a girl, Mme Hoche, in Paris, widow of General Hoche, after the first year of marriage—far away be the omen—

158 Robert Offley Ashburton Crewe Milnes (1858-1945), 2nd Baron Houghton, Earl of Crewe, in his own political career viceroy of Ireland, secretary of state for India, ambassador to France, leader in the House of Lords, etc.

to her dying day, always said “nous.” She never called him to her only child (“ton père”). I think one has known such instances of two in one through a long life together: God in both and both in one. But then the wife must help the husband to work, not prevent him.

May such a life be given to our young pair. May all the true blessings be theirs, and may it be theirs to be a blessing to many in these the most stirring times of this or any day, and, after these are over, may it be given them: “World beyond world to visit and to bless”¹⁵⁹ together. Can one wish them more?

What worlds there are even in this world: there is *India* which a century of statesmanship and a “wilderness” of statesmen would be not too much to set even on the first step. What have we done for the people of India? There is a country farther from us than *India*, in one end of *London*. There are whole lands un“visited” and un“blessed” by us in England. There is Ireland. There is Liverpool and the big towns. There is education. There is pauperism. Suppose this Whitsuntide were a really new Whitsuntide to the world and a new intellectual and moral inspiration—a new creation—how we need it—how we might have it if we chose.

Is there any reason, but our own fault, why we should not have apostles of agriculture now for India, out of whose soil we take twenty millions a year, and give nothing back, or, to save £1000 a year here, or even £100 there, take back the little we have given? Why should there not be a political and an administrative “Holy Spirit” with a new birth in all these vast vital interests?

I agree and I don’t agree in what you say about the “real education” young men “get in the society of married women.” I think I see creeping over not only women but men a forsaking of solid, practical administrative things for glittering politics, a belief in substituting a vague, general (so-called) “influence” for real, practical acquaintance with the ways the world’s business *is* managed, and the ways it *might* be managed. It is so easy, so attractive talking and declaiming politics like a German newspaper. It is so difficult, so unattractive, to know really and to administer, whether public or private things, so as to bring about effectively a high end.

People actually talk now as if they thought that a good wife would enable a viceroy of India to reform the crying land tenures. And there is something of the breath of magazine-ing everywhere, in which the

159 From Washington Irving, referring to a vision of Columbus.

ink bottles, guiltless of all accurate knowledge of all but “good motives,” gracefully write, of what they know nothing about. But this is a strange “wedding march.” Believe that I would, if I could, contribute the sweetest music to inspire the footsteps of the beautiful marriage pair. My love, please, to the two daughters¹⁶⁰ from the bottom of my heart.

You kindly ask after me. After twenty-three years of overwork and illness, of which the last six (filled up with the charge of Lea Hurst, and my dear mother when there, in addition to all the rest, and ending with her blessed going home, but what a gap to me!) have been without one day’s rest of body or mind, I seem quite broken down, more than I knew myself, and have had to go away twice for a little silence. Alas! How work halts! I think I am “done” as to work. Fare you very well and believe me,

ever yours most truly

Florence Nightingale

Kindly accept a too true excuse for my delay in answering your welcome note. I was away and have found the rush of business too much on returning. But my thoughts are nonetheless loving-marriage thoughts for yours and for you.

F.N.

Source: Letter, Trinity College, Cambridge Houghton 18/143

10 South St., W.

Easter Day 9 April 1882

We have been very anxious about you, dear friend, and have followed you in every step of your way with our most fervent wishes. May God bless and raise you up again as He *has* done this Easter tide! Ah how much we all stand in need of being raised up again *every* day. Fare you very, very well, dear friend.

Florence Nightingale

Do you remember thirty-four years ago the 10th April in London? And Paris then in 1848? I was there.

F.N.

The sweet savour of your Egyptian saint abides with me always. Give a wedding blessing to your other daughter for her old namesake. But it is hard for you to have to part with her, too, and to Ireland.¹⁶¹ And I

160 Amicia Henrietta and Florence Ellen Milnes.

161 The elder daughter married an officer and moved to Egypt, the namesake daughter became Mrs Fitzgerald and moved to Ireland.

don't know how to give you joy. May all success attend herewith a good soldier of professional enthusiasm, which is the right thing.

The woes of wretched little Ireland almost surpass those of big India with which I am always occupied. But a Hindu is a gentleman compared with an Irish. Would that a resurrection might come today for all. But it is we who must bring it to them.

Editor: Milnes (Lord Houghton) died in 1885, so the letter below would seem to mark the fourth year of his death.

Source: Letter, Trinity College, Cambridge, Houghton 18/146

[printed address] 10 South Street
Grosvenor Square, W.
25 September 1889

Dear Lady Galway¹⁶²

How can I thank you for your great kindness in remembering me, and our friendship with him who is gone to make eternal progress in the more Immediate Presence of the Almighty Father, who *is* love and wisdom—progress in what was so eminent a part of his character here—love and helpfulness to his fellow man, no matter how degraded, no matter how distinguished—each was fellow man to *him*. His brilliant talents in tongue or pen, whether political, social or literary, were inspired chiefly by good will towards man. But he had the same voice and manner for a dirty brat as he had for a duchess—the same desire to give pleasure and good. For both were his wits or his kindness.

Once at Redhill, the reformatory, where we were with a party, and the chiefs were explaining to us the system in the courtyard, a mean, stunted, villainous looking little fellow crept across the yard (quite out of order and by himself) and stole a dirty paw into Mr Milnes's hand. Not a word passed. The boy stayed quite quiet and quite contented, if he could but touch his benefactor who had placed him there, but was evidently not only his benefactor but his friend. We, the party, passed on. The boy was dispersed. Could a tale be more tellingly, more touchingly told?

I remember his saying to my father that he seldom subscribed to institutions or charities. He wished to find out individuals and to do the best he could for each (not to give away only money but time, thought, fellow feeling with money). He had the "genius of friendship" in philanthropy—not philanthropy but treating *all* his fellow

162 His sister, Henrietta Eliza, dowager Viscountess Galway.

mortals as brothers or sisters. In conversation he never allowed his unique power of humour to say an unkind thing.

Once he said: I would not have accepted a peerage but that all my friends in the House of Commons are gone. That was his genius of friendship. Once he said: If there is any good in me, it is that I would lay out my life (or some such word) in good service to others.

An eminent woman in Paris said that we English only thought of doing good to the poor, whereas the rich wanted quite as much doing good to them. I think that was his spring of action, the thread of his life, upon which hung what may and will be so truly said of all the rest of his remarkable activity of intellect, imagination, accomplishment, heart. Would that I might know something more of his last days, of his last *day*, which you alone can tell. May I say how deeply sympathy with *your* “insupportable and touching loss”¹⁶³ fills the heart of your, dear Lady Galway,

sincerely and gratefully

Florence Nightingale

General Charles Gordon

Editor: Major-General Charles Gordon (1833-85) was exemplary to Nightingale on many grounds, as a soldier and engineer, an extreme example of the “muscular Christian,” wounded at the Battle of Balaklava, later serving in India, China and Africa as well as doing charitable work in the slums of England, renowned for being utterly honest and unself-serving, courageous and dedicated. He freed slaves in Africa and died on the job in Khartoum. By legend he was unarmed, but the exact circumstances are not clear. Nightingale later was given an account by an eyewitness, but refrained from commenting herself (see p 511 below). The correspondence is included in this volume for its particularly interesting material on the role of government. It might well have been reported in a religion or a war volume. Indeed there are even remarks on nursing, for Gordon and Nightingale shared much in their faith and its expression in the care for the sick. His love for the sick “made him of the same profession as I am” (see p 508 below).

Nightingale and Gordon seem not to have met in the Crimean War although he was a junior officer in the Royal Engineers, where her cousin Lothian Nicholson also served. The correspondence and sig-

163 An allusion to Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar*, on Portia’s death.

nificant meetings began only in 1880, where it is evident that the then Colonel Gordon took the initiative to approach her about the appalling conditions for soldiers in the Zulu War, made known to him by his cousin, Amy Hawthorn. Nightingale was initially unable to meet with him when he called, but sent down a warm note, so he wrote her.

Gordon introduced his cousin to Nightingale, initiating a lengthy, friendly and enormously productive relationship. Amy Hawthorn was then the wife of a Royal Engineers officer and became a nurse, indeed one with the courage to blow the whistle on bad conditions (correspondence with her appears in the second volume on war). After 1881 there is a gap in direct correspondence although there is material about Gordon. Nightingale and Amy Hawthorn considered his work in southern Africa crucial while that in Syria as less important. Nightingale appreciated his “unique talent for civilizing Oriental and African races—may it but be used among *our own* fellow subjects.”¹⁶⁴ (See also correspondence with Gladstone p 471 above.)

Nightingale wanted Gordon in 1881 to go to India, but he had already had one brief stay there as secretary to the viceroy, found he could do nothing useful and resigned. He described himself as having been “tabooed” from India (see p 498 below).

Gordon’s heroic death in Khartoum 26 January 1885 was politically embarrassing, many Britons believing that the government could have saved him by sending reinforcements sooner. Nightingale wanted him to be remembered without any such distractions and perhaps she recognized that he had exceeded his instructions and acted provocatively. She invited Hawthorn to visit after the memorial service for Gordon at Westminster Abbey.

Nightingale frequently mentioned Gordon as a model in letters to nurses. She also quoted him in correspondence, for example, to her brother-in-law, Sir Harry Verney: “Gordon said the first results of our religion ought to be to make us do our *daily* work *well*.”¹⁶⁵ Her considerable work after his death toward the founding and early management of the Gordon Boys’ Home has been reported above. She was also involved in plans for the Gordon Memorial Hospital in Port Said.¹⁶⁶ Thus, though she and Gordon met only in 1880 and 1882,

164 Letter to Amy Hawthorn 11 May 1881, Add Mss 45776 f16.

165 Letter to Harry Verney 21 October 1886, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9011/60.

166 Letters to Harry Verney 18 March 1885, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9010/66, and to Douglas Galton 20 March 1885, Add Mss 45765 f264.

there are references to Gordon for many years after his death. Nightingale's letters to him are not available, so that the material consists, apart from one copy of a letter, of his to her and her letters about him.

There are many illegible words in his letters, even after much work on his difficult-to-read handwriting (Nightingale also found it difficult, especially his signature, as the exchange on p 493 below shows). Gordon saved an enormous amount of correspondence from other people, so that one suspects that the absence of Nightingale's letters might indicate deliberate destruction, i.e., letters marked PRIVATE BURN might have been! Certainly we know from comments she made elsewhere that they discussed intimate matters of religion.

Source: Note on envelope, presumably to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/13

11 February 1880

There is nothing in this world I should appreciate so much as seeing Colonel Gordon, whose work is unique. God bless him for it. But ALAS! at *this* moment it is *quite* impossible to me.

Florence Nightingale

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 45806 ff18-19, Nightingale's underlining shown in *italics*

114 Beaufort Street

Chelsea

22 April 1880

My dear Miss Nightingale

I feel it is a great liberty I am taking in writing to you, and also that I am wanting in consideration when I know you are such an invalid, but you will pardon me, I feel sure, for if the following subject should give you much trouble, I hope you will drop it altogether.

My cousin, Mrs Hawthorn, wife of Colonel Hawthorn, RE [Royal Engineer], works much among the soldiers, and she has sent me the enclosed paper on the *hospital attendance* on the sick. She offered to sign it but I agreed to be responsible for her statements. *Do you think anything can be done?* I really feel ashamed to trouble you to read so long a paper.

In these days when so much is talked of the prestige of England, etc., I cannot help feeling a bitter sentiment when one considers *how little we care for those near us* and how we profess to care for them afar off. You wrote some kind words on your card, when I called, and I am much obliged for them, but I do not think I have done 1/20 the part or suffered anything like the nurse of a hospital who, forgotten by the

world, drudges on in obscurity. Begging again that you will excuse my troubling you, believe me,

yours sincerely

C.G. Gordon

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/50

25 April 1880

I have had a letter with long enclosures about the bad nursing of the orderlies in military (station) hospitals at home from—I can hardly read the signature, C.E. Gordon? dated 114 Beaufort Street, Chelsea. Is this *the Colonel Gordon* of the Sudan and Upper Nile—a truly great man? Must one address him, if it is, *Colonel C.E. Gordon* or what?

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 45806 ff21-23

114 Beaufort Street

Chelsea

29 April 1880

My dear Miss Nightingale

Thank you very much for your kind letter. I can assure you I had great scruples in intruding this paper on you, for I know how you have suffered, and what a troublesome task it is to bring forward any reforms in established departments. Perhaps some of the wives of soldiers like the Duchesses of Connaught and Teck and *considerate attention to the many* is needed to do so, to the public.

To my mind, it is astonishing how great people, who have all the power to remedy these little defects, who pride themselves on the prestige of our name, whose time must hang so very heavily on their hands, can remain year after year *heedless of the sick and afflicted*. I speak from experience when I say that, *both in China and India*, I gained the hearts of my soldiers (who would do anything for me) not by my justice, etc., but *by looking after them when sick or wounded, and by continually visiting the hospitals*. To *get up festivities* for them who are well is *no great effort*, for we all like to see people made happy even for a moment. But to go to the afflicted stretches a little the heartstrings, makes us feel that would be [illeg] . . . I do not know the details myself, I took up the paper on the entreaties of my cousin, feeling sure that *the truest way to gain recruits to our Army would be* by so remedying the defects, and alleviating the sufferings, of soldiers, that universally should it be acknowledged that *the soldier is cared for in every way*. Decorations may popularize the Army to the few, but people [folio missing]

There is a future and that the *most powerful have a limit to their power*, it is therefore a wholesome thing for them to interest themselves in these things. I am afraid I am intruding on your time. I do not, my dear Miss Nightingale, wish you to worry yourself about this. If you can put it on those whose duty it is to work for the Army, do so kindly, but if not, well! I fall back on my verse: "If thou seest the oppression of the poor and the violent perverting of judgment, marvel not at it, for He that is higher than the Highest regardeth it."¹⁶⁷ Believe me,

yours sincerely

C.G. Gordon

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 45806 f144

114 Beaufort St.

Chelsea

8 May 1880

My dear Miss Nightingale

I was sorry not to have seen you before I left, which I do on the 13th May 1880 for India. I hope you will excuse my sending a little book of comfort to you. Believe me, with many thanks for your kindness and wishes for your happiness,

yours sincerely

C.G. Gordon

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/55

19 May 1880

Colonel Gordon

My dear Sir Harry [Verney]

Thanks for showing me this valuable letter. You see Colonel Gordon says that "A man ought to be *lent* to the Sultan of Zanzibar, chosen by the Sultan, *to be the Sultan's officer*, only privately countenanced by our government to be as Colonel Gordon himself was in the Sudan, that the man made governor general by the Sultan ought to be *entirely under the Sultan*, and *independent* of Consul General Kirk. Or there will be all sorts of international jealousies." I would gladly see you this afternoon.

F.N.

Editor: Gordon was the intermediary in other correspondence with Amy Hawthorn.¹⁶⁸ A Nightingale letter to her brother-in-law, in May

¹⁶⁷ A paraphrase of Eccl 5:8.

¹⁶⁸ Letters 4 June 1880, ADD Mss 45776 f1, and 11 May 1881, ADD Mss 45776 f14.

1880, stated that she would send him Colonel Gordon's and Mrs Hawthorn's letters, for himself only. "You and I will then decide what shall be shown to Mr Childers¹⁶⁹ only. *He* must then back it with *his* authority, *not* mine or Colonel Gordon's to Sir William Muir."¹⁷⁰ The correspondence with Gordon picks up again the next year.

Source: From a copy of a letter to Gordon, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/143

23 April 1881

I have regretted never hearing from you again, as you promised, about that scheme of yours for improving the military hospitals, there connected with Mrs Hawthorne's paper of defects which you sent. Sir H.V. tells me that you are going immediately to Syria, from a desire to follow in our Saviour's footsteps. Will you pardon a weary old woman for saying, or rather for asking, would it not be following more in our Lord's footsteps to employ the gift so absolutely unique as yours for the benefit of some of the countless millions of natives dependent upon our own country? We see English gentlemen going at their own expense to discover regions near the North Pole (a cousin of mine¹⁷¹ does it every year): regions where, if any unfortunate being did hurt them, we should do our best to bring them away at once. Others ride across Patagonia, N. America or Asia, or, what is more intelligible because it *is* opening the way to civilizing poor natives, across Central Africa.

But what we have *never* seen, and have prayed God that we might see, is an Englishman who would visit our own greatest possession, our own fellow countrymen, two hundred millions of the most interesting and perhaps the most miserable peoples in the world, and peoples absolutely dependent upon us, for the sole purpose of doing them good in India. Englishmen say: "Oh there's the climate, and there's the language, and what could I do among people so strange and alien?"

Well! Here's a man who has braved worse climates, who, in spite of languages, has a God-given power which appears almost divine, and is certainly peculiar to himself for attaching, leading, civilizing and delivering peoples yet more strange and alien, and those Indian peoples are our own! And will this deliverer now go on a journey of curiosity among other strangers?, and this deliverer is Colonel Gordon.

169 Then secretary of state for war.

170 Letter to Harry Verney 26 May 1880, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/59.

171 Benjamin Leigh Smith (1828-1913). See *Life and Family* (1:724-25) for an account of his Arctic exploits.

I have made India my study for nearly twenty-two years. If Englishmen want to find a state akin to slavery to deliver, and to deliver from slavery, let them go to India. But Englishmen, who are the pioneers in every impossible country in the world, among all religions and races, yet never go to their own country, India, for the single purpose of doing what good they can do. This phenomenon is still to be seen: what a revelation it would be to the natives, to them who see none but officials, or organized missionaries, or planters, or speculators, or drinking soldiers.

Pardon me if I had hoped to see you again. I should not have ventured on a letter, which may well seem presuming and yet not clear, but too vague. But should you be in London again before you leave, would you kindly make an appointment, two or three days beforehand, to see me.

I pray God to guide your sovereign talent, to the use worthy of it, as He has done hitherto. The master of one of the most prominent Oxford colleges, told me that he would have the LL.D. honour offered you this year at Oxford, not for the sake of giving you an honour, but of honouring themselves by making your great deeds as far as is in their power known to the world, in order that the world might employ you. Will you not accept it? But do not leave England so suddenly. May the risen life be yours and mine and poor India's, today and forever. But am I risen again? That is what I ask myself.

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 45806 ff136-39

[printed address] 5 Rockstone Place
Southampton
25 April 1881

My dear Miss Nightingale

Thanks very much for your kind letter, which makes me regret that I shall not be able to see you ere I leave, but I have done with town and have a deal to do here. You have written most kindly, and far too highly of me, for I find no responding true in my heart to make or claim such praise. I will explain exactly how I am situated. I consider my life done, that I can never aspire to or seek employment where one's voice must be stilled to one particular note. Therefore I say *it is* done, and the only thing now left me is to drift along to its natural end in the endeavour to do what little good one may be able to do.

Syria is, to me, the land of attraction, all lands are indifferent. I go for no desire of curiosity but simply because it is a quiet land and a land where small means can do much good. That is all my reason for going there. I could have gone to the Cape. I could have gone to India as you suggest, but I would never do so if I had to accept the

shibboleth of the India or colonial official classes. To me, they are utterly wrong in the government of the subject races. They know nothing of the hearts of those peoples and oil and water would as soon mix as the two races. Men may argue as they like, but our tenure of India is very little greater than it was 100 years ago. The people's interests, not having been interested or involved in our prosperity or disaster, are equally indifferent to either. In fact, they may hope more from our disaster than from our prosperity. [illeg]

Now, my dear Miss Nightingale, I do not write this to please you. I have asked a friend to send you a pamphlet I wrote on India in January 1881. In it are my views of many years, for though I have not been much in India I have *talked* to many Indians. I feel sure that this pamphlet which [illeg] death to the blind official class, would never allow me to go to India. The fact is, the Indian government could turn me out.

Such being the case, what, my dear Miss Nightingale, can I do? My life is truly to me a straw, but I must live. Would that it could go to give you and all others the sense that they are all risen in Christ even now, even if it was at the cost of my eternal existence, such is the love I have for my fellow creatures. But the door is shut. I cannot live in England for, though I have many, many millions in my home, I am only put on short allowance here, though it is ample for me with my wants. I cannot visit the sick in London—it is too expensive. I can do so in Syria and, where the sick are, there is our Lord. I would do anything I could for India, but I feel sure my advent there would not be allowed.¹⁷² Believe me, my dear Miss Nightingale, with kindest regards and deep regrets that I did not see you ere I left.

yours sincerely

C.G. Gordon

P.S. Should events so happen that I do stay another week I will try and give you three days' notice and will make a voyage up [to London] expressly to see you.

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/153

11 May 1881

Did you see in the "Overland Mail," quoted in the *Times*, that Colonel Gordon was to be commanding Royal Engineers in the Mauritius? I

¹⁷² Gordon went briefly to India as secretary to the governor general but soon resigned when he realized he had no scope for independent action.

hope this is true. Though it seems a very small post for a man like him, yet to utilize him in those parts of our possessions, where are native races, seems the right thing and then to go on to larger commands, but all in Oriental parts.

F.N.

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 45806 ff155-56

Naples

30 May 1881

My dear Miss Nightingale

I have been in France for this last three weeks and now am on my way to the Mauritius where I shall stop till I get promoted. You will have been surprised to hear this, but the fact was that, until I can get free of the Army, I cannot be a free agent, and it was just as well to serve out the few months at Mauritius as to be not free in Syria. I hope you are better now you have the warmer weather. I am sure you would quite agree that I was tabooed from India.

Something must be done there ere long. I am glad to say Major Baring is quite of idea that the natives must be more considered instead of say the 15,000 English families who come bottom in India. On board this vessel, and also on board the P&O in which I travelled so much last year, you find nothing but discontent with their lot from Indian officers. "All I care for is to finish my time and get my pension" is their cry from high to low. If discontent among them is so rife, and if their presence is so detrimental to the finances of India, why should we continue this system? It is neither good for them or for the natives. From a spirit of this sort, which is so rife, what can we expect will be the consideration for the native?

The element of all government is absent, i.e., the putting of the governors into the skin of the governed. The old good Indian was obliged to do so; he was bound in some way to consider the sympathies of the natives. The governors who are sent out are sent out for reward. In service in England often they are physically unfit. In this country India is a pasture land for them. They are too high in rank, too imbued with the idea that things will last their time. Plus ça change, le plus c'est la même chose. With kind regards, believe, my dear Miss Nightingale,

yours sincerely

C.G. Gordon

Editor: In 1882 Nightingale continued to be concerned about Gordon's talents being used to maximum advantage. On his taking command of the colonial forces at the Cape in 1882, she remarked to her brother-in-law, "He would be the best possible Englishman for Zululand."¹⁷³ To Gordon's cousin, Amy Hawthorn, she wrote: "So General Gordon is at the Cape. O that he may take up the natives, then it will be the Cape of 'Good Hope' for them,"¹⁷⁴ and again the next month that if she saw or wrote him, she was "to tell him we hope great things from him in Capeland. I was so glad that he went there. It seems as if Egypt would want him."¹⁷⁵ Nightingale was then sorry when Gordon resigned.¹⁷⁶ She told Mrs Hawthorn "how very sorry I am that General Gordon has resigned, but he is wanted in Egypt sadly."¹⁷⁷ She soon after reported to Hawthorn that she had seen Gordon and "he *will* talk about going to live in Syria."¹⁷⁸

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9009/113

21 November [1882]

Most Private

I did speak with General Gordon to urge his "accepting a high post in the Sudan," and he replied that he was on such bad terms with the Khedive that such was impossible. (I had previously been told by a high officer in Egypt that General Gordon, when his head was affected by his labours, had behaved in such a way to the Khedive as to make his, General Gordon's, return, impossible.) General Gordon further told me that he *had* recommended, and should recommend to the Foreign Office, Sir C. Wilson of Roumelia for his, General Gordon's, former post of governor general of the Sudan. You may certainly "tell General Gordon" that I wish *him* to be there, since I told him so myself. But is it possible that the post will be offered? Or even that it would be desirable for him to be there *under the circumstances?*

173 Letter to Harry Verney 27 June 1882, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9009/57.

174 Letter 18 May 1882, ADD Mss 45776 f53.

175 Letter 22 June 1882, ADD Mss 45776 f64.

176 Letter to Amy Hawthorn 2 November 1882, ADD Mss 45776 f101.

177 Letter 2 November 1882, ADD Mss 45776 f101.

178 Letter 7 December 1882, ADD Mss 45776 f107.

Death and Remembrances of Gordon

Source: Letter with envelope, Add Mss 45776 ff114-16

10 South Street
Park Lane, W.
7 February 1885

Dearest Mrs Hawthorn

How can we speak of this great calamity, public and private, except before God? I know not what you think of the fall of Khartoum. It appears that some think that, if England will not hold it, the Mahdi is the best resource against anarchy. As for General Gordon, nothing of evil can happen to him, whatever happened.

When he went away he gave me a little book, turned down at a passage you know well, the “violent perverting of judgment and justice in a province . . .” and “he that is higher than the highest regardeth.”¹⁷⁹ This was the key of his life both ways. I hear him saying always: “And yet I am not alone, for the Father is with me.”¹⁸⁰

If by his death he could secure the good of the “province,” how would he rejoice in dying! If he is in the Mahdi’s power¹⁸¹ and could hear good news, still he would rejoice. Gordon does not exist for him. His was literally a Christlike life. If he has been betrayed by those he lived and died to save, and if he thought he had failed, the likeness is only more striking. He will know the triumph of the cross, the triumph of failure. I think more of the wretched slaves he gave his life for.

For him, all is well. If you have a moment, how fain I would know what you are thinking of. May God sow the seed of Gordon. God bless you.
ever yours

F. Nightingale

Source: From a letter to Parthenope Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9010/57

7 February 1885

It is difficult to think of anything but Khartoum and General Gordon, but when I think of him, I always hear him say: “And yet I am not alone, for the Father is with me.” If he thought his death would save the Sudan, it must have been welcome. If he thought it would be ruin,

¹⁷⁹ Eccl 5:8.

¹⁸⁰ John 16:31.

¹⁸¹ Leaders of the insurrection in Sudan supported by Arab slave traders. Gordon was supposed simply to hand over power and get the British troops out, but he realized that, if he did, the slave trade would resume.

it must have been bitter indeed to see the people he died to save betraying him to the Mahdi.

His was the most Christlike life I know. "I will show him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake,"¹⁸² God said to him as to St Paul. He would have died twenty times for one of those slaves. I can scarcely wish him to be alive.

Source: Letter to Amy Hawthorn, ADD Mss 45776 f117

24 February 1885

If I say nothing about General Gordon you will know it is not from too little, but too much, feeling. Never has the heart of the nation been stirred so deeply. . . . I think of Gordon's rapture in the Immediate Presence.

Source: From a letter to Amy Hawthorn, ADD Mss 45776 ff121-23

27 February 1885

I think of General Gordon, not as lying dead in fatal Khartoum, but as when Lord Lawrence, my dear friend, died—Lady Lawrence sent me a photograph taken a few hours after death. There was the childlike expression of awe and surprise, like a child awakening out of sleep. There was the rapture of the hero-saint, the servant of God, the rapture of awakening in the Immediate Presence. That is how I think of Gordon. Oh who could wish him back again?, great in his life and in his death. Emotional sermons are preached here about no hand to lay a flower on his grave. What does that matter? *God* crowns him with the flower which, as the old Italian hymn has it:

Martirio in terra appella si [On earth 'tis called martyrdom]

Gloria si appella in cielo. [In heaven 'tis called glory.]

Alas for *us*, but not, oh not alas for him—the holy hero!

ever and ever yours

F. Nightingale

Editor: Nightingale invited Hawthorn to visit after the service at Westminster Abbey: "The great heart of England is stirred towards this service. They look upon him as the brother of Christ. 'This is what Christ did.'"¹⁸³

182 Acts 9:16.

183 Letter 11 March 1885, ADD Mss 45776 f124.

Source: Letter, Boston University 1/8/101

Dearest Mrs Hawthorn

13 March 1885

I shall hope to see you after Westminster Abbey today, as you kindly say. O let us pray at the memorial service today that every one of us, and every soldier in particular, may follow and lead a new life in Gordon's spirit. How sterile will be our services without this! "Who follows in his train?"¹⁸⁴

God asks us today—*he* cared only that the Father should glorify His name¹⁸⁵ "and I be greatly humbled," like Christ. I shall see you so soon, I say no more.

ever yours

F. Nightingale

Source: From a letter to A. Hawthorn, ADD Mss 45776 ff134-37

4 July 1885

Dean Liddell of Christ Church, Oxford,¹⁸⁶ would gladly undertake "any supervision, revisions and corrections" of any little life sketch of Gordon. He would make any arrangements "for the publication and printing of it through the University Press." The dean thought Walter Besant, who wrote "All sorts and conditions of men" would be a good author for it. I do not recommend the above; I only mention it to you.

Source: From a letter to A. Hawthorn, ADD Mss 45776 ff182-86

26 January 1886

(Gordon's Day)

I think of you so much on this day, dearest Mrs Hawthorn. Yesterday was St Paul's day, he who followed in his Master's "train" so faithfully. Today is Gordon's day, he of all men in our time was the most like them.

O God, to us may grace be given

To follow in their train.

I can say no more.

Editor: Nightingale wrote a public letter, at Fred Verney's request, for use in raising funds for the Gordon Boys' Home and celebrating Gor-

184 From the hymn by Reginald Heber (1783-1826), "The Son of God Goes Forth to War," which was sung at Nightingale's own funeral.

185 An allusion to John 12:28.

186 Henry George Liddell (1811-98).

don's life and example. As both her draft and the edited version are available both are reproduced below. Nightingale told Fred Verney that he must do the pamphlet (see p 510 below), but the style is certainly hers, if he did possibly give headings and hints. Her friend Lady Ashburton collected "slips" about Gordon,¹⁸⁷ presumably newspaper clippings, which she used and which she offered to Frederick Verney for his speaking on Gordon. Nightingale bought numerous books on Gordon, both to use for herself and give away to nurses. She sent *General Gordon at Gravesend* to Frederick Verney for use in a talk. She had "(several) hundreds of the penny Gordon" of which he took a copy.¹⁸⁸

187 Letter to Frederick Verney 19 August 1886, Add Mss 68884 f123.

188 Letter to Frederick Verney 25 August 1886, Add Mss 68884 f128.

Source: Draft sent to Fred Verney, ADD Mss 45791 ff357-61

London

30 August 1886

My dear Mr Fred Verney

Perhaps my old tie dating thirty-two years back with the troops, whose faithful servant I have been so proud to be, coupled with what you tell me is General Higginson's wish, may be a sufficient reason for sending a few words to those non-commissioned officers and men, whom I would so gladly meet were it possible, upon the General Gordon who so interests us all and whom I had the privilege to know.

What made him what he was? Courage, in so many senses. The courage of numbers is common, but his was the courage of being quite alone, and courage rising with loneliness. His very friends were enemies. English soldiers are rarely called upon to exercise courage in such strangely isolated positions as Gordon held from first to last.

His materials/his rough materials whom he had to organize were for the most part what would be called scamps, but he made them loyal to a higher self while he had his hold upon them. His was the courage of thinking and acting entirely alone under circumstances. In China he came into the field to reorganize a defeated mob against troops that had carried everything before them under an extremely able religious fanatic. He was organizer, commander-in-chief, engineer, banker, commissariat, gun and steamboat maker, arsenal, in the Sudan also civil governor general.

His was the courage of thinking and acting entirely alone, under circumstances of great anxiety, constant danger and overwhelming responsibility. He was the bravest of men where God's cause and that of others was concerned. He was the meekest of men where himself only was concerned. You could not say he was the most unselfish of men: he had no self. What made him what he was? Sympathy in so many senses, care for others, carelessness for self. Gordon's work was a living work of continuous sympathy wherever he was, whatever he was doing, sympathy with the oppressed in China, sympathy with the oppressed and the slaves in the Sudan, sympathy with the miserable at Gravesend and everywhere. It was quite enough to be miserable to be beloved of Gordon. Misery was the safe passport to his heart.

His very name was victory against a hideously cruel rebellion in China and the weary oppression of slavery in the Sudan. Gordon's

Source: Edited letter, not in FN hand, ADD Mss 68884 ff131-39

London

30 August 1886

My dear Mr Fred Verney

Perhaps my tie with the troops, whose faithful servant I have been so proud to be, may excuse my sending a few words upon General Gordon, who so interests us all, whom I had the privilege to know.

What made him what he was? *Courage* in so many senses. The courage of numbers is common, but his was the courage of utter loneliness, rising with loneliness. His very friends were enemies. English soldiers are rarely called upon to exercise courage in such positions.

Gordon made his rough materials loyal to a higher self while he had his hold upon them. In China he reorganized a defeated mob against the troops of an able fanatic who had carried everything before them. He was commander-in-chief, engineer, banker, head of the Commissariat and the Arsenal in the Sudan also civil governor general.

He was the bravest of men where God's cause and that of others was concerned, the meekest where only himself. He had no self. What made him what he was? *Sympathy* in so many senses, care for others, carelessness for self. Gordon's work was a living work of continuous sympathy wherever he was, whatever he was doing, sympathy with the oppressed in China, sympathy with the oppressed and the slaves in the Sudan, sympathy with the miserable at Gravesend and everywhere. It was enough to be miserable to be beloved of Gordon. Misery was the safe passport to his heart.

His very name was victory against a hideously cruel rebellion in China and the weary slavery of the Sudan. Gordon's fighting was

fighting was chivalry. All his exploits were those of a Paladin.¹⁸⁹ They say that fighting is a bloodthirsty trade. With Gordon fighting was sympathy and benevolence in action. So may it be with every soldier. Like him, every soldier may be, and many a soldier is, loyal to the highest feeling of chivalry. No one had more close and frequent experience of the bloody trade in its most repulsive form than Gordon.

Who doomed to go in company with pain,
And fear and bloodshed, miserable train!
Turned his necessity to glorious gain.¹⁹⁰

Never did he fight but in the cause of the weak against the strong, of the oppressed against the oppressor, he himself taking more chances of death than any other man going into action, with no other weapon than a little cane.

The lives of those he took were infinitely fewer than the lives he gave. If he slaughtered thousands, to tens of thousand he gave the blessing of peace and of a rest which he never claimed for himself and from his hand spread/broadcast the gifts of prosperity and wealth which he would never touch.

What was it that made him what he was? His disinterestedness. The Chinese found “so convenient” to have an honest man who wanted nothing and who gave everything, who cared neither for money nor place. His generous expenditure of money, particularly his own, and always his own when possible, for other peop[le] was coupled with a persistent refusal of money as a present to himself, a refusal which sometimes risked losing him favour with the highest authorities in China. His sense of honour was so keen as to be always cutting down the rewards pressed upon him for his own services. The Khedive assigned him £10,000 a year. He would take only £2000. Here again was the sympathy of his nature, for he remembered from whom that money was wrung.

His disinterestedness raised our character in the East, *alas*, so often pulled down by small as well as great, until to many millions of men the word Gordon meant chivalry, honesty, sympathy, purity, faith. And as these men came to know him, they came to trust him with a perfect trust. Everywhere he was a man, manly dealing with those under him as with fellow men. Can we all say the same in India?

189 A knightly hero, from the warriors of Charlemagne’s court, chief of whom was Count Palatine.

190 William Wordsworth, “The Character of the Happy Warrior.”

chivalry. As a leader, all his exploits were those of a Paladin. They say that fighting is a bloodthirsty trade. With Gordon it was sympathy and benevolence in action. So may it be with every soldier like him. Every soldier may be, and many a soldier is, loyal to the highest feeling of chivalry.

The lives of those he took were infinitely fewer than the lives of those he gave. If he slaughtered thousands, to tens of thousands he gave the blessing of peace, and of a rest which he never claimed for himself. And from his hand spread/broadcast the gifts of prosperity and wealth which he never would touch. In the Sudan he carried the “poor old bag of bones” and the babes into his camp and fed them up.

What was it made him what he was? *Disinterestedness*. The Chinese found it “so convenient” to have an honest man who wanted nothing and who gave everything; who cared neither for money nor place. His generous use of money, and always his own when possible, was coupled with a persistent refusal of money as a present to himself, for his own services, at the risk of losing favour with the highest authorities in China. The Khedive assigned him £10,000 a year of which he would take only £2000. Here again was his sympathy, for he remembered from whom the money was wrung.

His disinterestedness raised our character in the East, often alas! so pulled down, until to many millions of men, the word Gordon meant chivalry, honesty, sympathy, purity, faith. And as these men came to know him they came to trust him with a perfect trust.

That kind of goodness, that wonderful combination of qualities, could not exist with narrowness. No one knows to what class of faith he belonged, yet the believers of every kind have claimed him; everyone knows that every act to him was a religious act. God was everything; Gordon was nothing to him. "Do nothing of this. I am a chisel which cuts the wood, the Carpenter above directs x x I have an enormous province to look after but it is a great blessing to me to know that God has undertaken the administration of it and it is His work and not mine. I took a poor old bag of bones into my camp a month ago and have been feeding her up, but yesterday she was quietly taken off and now knows all things. She had her tobacco up to the last and died quite quietly."

Gordon's battlefield in time of peace was the hospital, the workhouse, the slums, the street Arabs, the ragged schools. His love of the sick and his experience made him of the same profession as I am. He carried the wounded soldiers in on his back. And he carried the dying old women slaves and the babies into his camp in the Sudan. When he went to Palestine he said to me that, if his country demanded no other service from him, he hoped to devote a remainder of his life to hospitals.

But I know also that the cause of the destitute boys was his. It is just carrying on his own living work. He who took the stray boys at Gravesend into his house and lived with them on the commonest food, nursed them in fever himself, taught them with the same cool ardour as he led the forlorn [to] hope, called them his "kings," marked the voyages of those he got out in ships with pins on his great map, and prayed for them wherever they were, has bequeathed to us to carry on for him this work.

If this movement is to succeed, the intention and the object is to be entirely spontaneous. It must be done by the men themselves, and that alone will do honour to Gordon, who was so spontaneous. The heart of everyone that is in sympathy with Gordon will be gladdened by seeing our young Prince enter upon the heritage of sympathy bequeathed to him by two living generations of our beloved royal family in identifying himself so early in his public life with General Gordon's highest work. If all Britain, all the world one may say, has proclaimed him as the perfect hero, the whole Army has proclaimed him as the ideal soldier. If proof were needed, is this not absolute proof that the highest qualities, and all of them, are or may be at any moment required for a soldier's life?

That kind of goodness, that wonderful combination, could not be narrow. No one knows to what class of faith he belonged, yet believers of every class have claimed him. Every act to him was a religious act. God was everything, Gordon was nothing to him. "I do nothing of this; I am a chisel which cuts wood; the Carpenter above directs. x x I have an enormous province to look after, but it is a great blessing to me to know that God has undertaken the administration of it. And it is His work and not mine."

If all Britain, all the world one may say, has proclaimed him the perfect hero, the whole Army has proclaimed him the ideal soldier. Were proof needed, is this not absolute proof that the highest qualities, and all of them, are, or may be, at any moment required for a soldier's life?

Gordon's battlefield in time of peace was the hospital, the workhouse, slums, the street Arabs, the ragged schools. His love of the sick, his experience, made him of the same profession as I am. He carried the wounded soldiers in on his back. He carried the dying old women slaves and the deserted children into his camp in his arms. When he went to Palestine he said to me that, if his country demanded no other service from him, he hoped to devote the remainder of his life to hospitals.

But I know that the cause of the destitute boys is his cause, his carrying on his own living work. He who took the waif and stray boys at Gravesend into his house and lived with them on the commonest food, nursed them through fever, himself taught them with the same cool ardour as he led the "Forlorn Hope," called them his "kings," marked the voyages of those he got out in ships with pins on his map, and prayed for them all wherever they were, has left this work to us to carry on for him. Pray believe me,

the faithful servant of our troops

F.N.

Gordon was above everything a soldier and therefore all soldiers will be with us and vie in doing honour to his memory. His special talents and his special training were those of an engineer. And those who have had the same training may find a special interest in the story of his life. That story as told is wonderful, but the story as untold is infinitely more wonderful. He, the only man who knew it, would never tell it.

Hero-worship is the living memory of the best part of a noble life; it is not the concealing of faults. (When one finds such a character as Gordon's what but good can it do anyone to worship it?)

Source: From a letter to A. Hawthorn, ADD Mss 45775 f201

9 September 1886

I have been asked to write a penny pamphlet with a sketch of Gordon and an appeal to the troops.

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 68884 ff144-47

Claydon

19 September 1886

BURN (Gordon Boys' Home)

My dear Mr Fred [Verney]

All the leaflets have been sent me by your kindness regarding this G.B.H. (and Mrs Hawthorn has also sent me a number). Thanks for General Philip's two notes. N.B. You should not have told him that I was going to do a "pamphlet," seeing I am such a wretch. 100 of the "Allen pamphlet" are gone to Colonel Robinson already, with a note from me, asking him to send on a postcard, "if he would like to have more, what number?" I wrote to the printers telling them to keep the type up for I might want more than my 700.

And now for the "penny pamphlets," soi-disant [so-called] by me, to be "brought out under the sanction of the G.B.H. Committee." If *I am to do it, it must be done by you*. Q.E.D. [which was to be proved]. (How busy you have been. I hope the newspaper has come out well; I have seen a copy here.) Your view of the pamphlet is this: "to help to secure the general good will of the Army for the G.B.H." to contain:

1. the "proceedings" of 30 August;
2. "a short sketch of Gordon's life";
3. an "appeal" to the "sympathy" of every soldier for Gordon's work which "each one of them might help to do";
4. for "love of Gordon's memory," "British Army" to "become a school of chivalry," "in which every noble quality that makes a man is in full and constant use."

This is your program and it is a glorious program. How is it to be carried out? If you could do what you did for the letter at Aldershot on 30 August, viz., *dictate* to me heads (but that can't be done now) or send me those kinds of heads, hints, and tails, all in fact, it might *get done* somehow. But I have had heavy and despairing, not hopeful business sent me down by W.O. and for India. *And* the [page cut off]

How soon will this pamphlet be wanted? I am most anxious to do what you want, but fear it is impossible unless you could kindly do, as here proposed. I send you an "Allen" pamphlet, in case you are so good as to put down hints for "the short sketch "of Gordon's life." What I had *meant* to [torn off] (your) letter of 30 August, with quotations of Gordon's own words for the pamphlet, but your program is so magnificent that I wish there were someone to do it full justice.

Source: From a letter to Mary Shore Smith, Private Collection of Hugh Small, copy Balliol College

30 July 1888

Have you seen *Gordon in Africa*?¹⁹¹ I send it. I daresay the middle part is commonplace. I have not read it, but what speaks to me is the beginning and the end.

P. 18 And do we question: "Shall the end be thus?" to the end;

the ceaseless strain

the songs of sorrow, hope,*

doubt, fear and pain

Who guide us and reveal to mortal sight

The soul's ideal on the heavenly height x x

* For "hope" read *trust* or faith, you will say.

I think we try too much to chase away "doubt" and "fear" as enemies, whereas they are stepping-stones, "guides" to truth, the "ideal," love. Not *abject* "fear" but the old forefathers' phrase, the "fear of God." Don't we repudiate too much these rather tiresome guides?

Editor: Nightingale reported hearing "a good deal about Gordon's death from one of his sergeants, now at Suakim, who was with him when he was killed at Khartoum."¹⁹² She kept the "anniversary" of

191 Arthur Waugh, *Gordon in Africa*.

192 Letter to Fred and Maude Verney 26 January 1888 *Gordon's Day*, ADD MSS 68885 f131.

Gordon's death, as she did that of Sidney Herbert, Agnes Jones, etc. For example, a letter to Fred Verney refers to the death of that "hero-saint" four years ago.¹⁹³

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9013/64

5 July 1890

I think this inscription on Gordon is admirable, bringing out the lessons of his life, glorious lessons and almost unique but for his great Master and St Paul, in simple and beautiful language and not breaking in upon those lessons by hits at any government or any man: "In perplexity he endured as seeing Him who is invisible." What a lesson to all of us! I hope they will adopt this inscription for the Gordon Boys' Home, intact without alteration. It is *saturated* with Gordon's spirit.

Liberal and Progressive Politicians

Lord Palmerston

Editor: Henry John Temple, third Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865) was prime minister both during the Crimean War period and during the Royal Indian Sanitary Commission. He was also a Hampshire neighbour of the Nightingales. Her father's introduction of the young Florence Nightingale to political life was to take her to hear a speech of Lord Palmerston in the county town, Romsey. Her father seconded the nomination of Palmerston when he was a candidate in South Hampshire. Nightingale asked a colleague about going to Lord Palmerston in 1857 about the royal commission on Army reform: "He told me to come to him whenever I 'thought anything going wrong.' Now all is going wrong."¹⁹⁴

Palmerston's death in 1865 caused the Whig-Liberal government to fall and be replaced by the Conservatives, just when Nightingale was making headway on reform of the workhouses. Nightingale asked Dr Farr, on getting attention paid to a particular case: "Could Lord Shaftesbury do anything? I have lost a powerful friend in Lord Palmerston. I rarely asked him to do anything in the Cabinet, as you may suppose. But, if ever I did, he made a joke, but he did it. To my mind, he was a far

193 Letter 27 January 1889, Add Mss 68886 f41.

194 Letter 9 February 1857, Add Mss 45796 f142.

greater man than his successor.”¹⁹⁵ In discussing Jowett’s edition of the *Dialogues of Plato* Nightingale called Lord Palmerston “worth all these modern Cabinets (‘rhetoricians’) put together (see p 582 below).”

Yet there were disagreements, as she explained to her brother-in-law: “I entirely disagree about Lord Palmerston’s ‘promptitude’ in the Canadian Expedition in 1861 (on which I was employed). I believe it saved us from an American War.”¹⁹⁶ Remarkably, on his death a member of his family, Georgina Cowper (c1812-1901), wife of his wife’s son by a previous marriage (William Cowper), wrote Nightingale a letter of condolence. The family had appreciated her kind words about Palmerston. Nightingale then responded with an (unasked for) letter of condolence. She made an admiring note of Palmerston’s working to the last: “*his last conscious words* were (on Tuesday evening), ‘that Belgium treaty it must be signed—yes—read me again the sixth clause.’”¹⁹⁷

Source: From a letter to Parthenope Nightingale, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8992/89A

[1845]

I was glad enough to come home this morning though the Palmerston visit I believe was very pleasant. I cannot tell you how good-natured they are. I never saw anything like it, but I wish they had reserved their hospitalities till you came home. . . .

But you will want to hear about the party. Lady Jocelyn¹⁹⁸ sat and looked pretty. Mrs Lane Fox is a franche coquette, and clever rattle, very good-natured she was to me and we should have got on exceedingly well together, on the principle of two turkey cocks, always sparing only *cui bono*, when one will never be intimate. Mr William Cowper I like excessively—he is grown very serious but not at all gloomy, and has an enormous quantity of interests and subjects. Lord Jocelyn and the Speaker were the only others and Mr Wall.

I cannot tell you how devoted the lord and the lady seem to one another—it is quite a worship his care for her and her watchful attention to him. I should get quite fond of him, if he were not Lord Palmerston—they do seem people of so much feeling. They have made

195 Palmerston’s successor in 1859 was Earl Russell, in 1866 the Earl of Derby; letter to William Farr 19 January 1866, Wellcome Ms 5474/99, copy ADD Mss 43400 ff101-02.

196 Letter to Harry Verney 18 April 1868, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/18.

197 Note, ADD Mss 45799 f162.

198 Frances Cowper, wife of Viscount Jocelyn (1816-54), Conservative MP.

the place quite a different thing, had all the pictures down from London, really a fine gallery, a Rembrandt of Pilate washing his hands I longed for you to sit under. And they all seem so happy together, that they are the best picture of all—but unless one is to know people, what is the use of taking the trouble to see them.

Source: Draft/copy, ADD Mss 45796 ff96-97 (earlier draft ff94-95)

Lea Hurst
Matlock

29 October 1856

Dear Lord Palmerston

In acknowledging the kindness of your message which Sir George Grey gave me at Balmoral, and obeying the instructions contained in it, I have delayed till I had seen Lord Panmure. He appears to be rather convinced of the necessity of introducing some system into military hospitals, inasmuch as it is obvious, from theory and practice, that the result of governing a hospital by several departments (the officers of which are appointed by different authorities) is great delay, inefficiency and want of responsibility.

Lord Panmure appears to be more convinced of the necessity of the reform than eager to carry it out. Perhaps eagerness is not Lord Panmure's characteristic. I am preparing the *précis* which you have desired me to make and which will take me several months to do. May I request that you will, at no very distant time, allow me to wait upon you for one-half hour, either at Broadlands or in London, whenever you can grant me a time which will be least inconvenient to you to hear me. I remain, dear Lord Palmerston,

your obliged and faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

Source: From a letter to William Farr, Wellcome Ms 5474/95/1

19 October 1865

Lord Palmerston is a great loss. I speak for the country and myself. He was a powerful protector to me, especially since Sidney Herbert's death. I never asked him to do anything—you may be sure I did not ask him often—but he did it, for the last nine years. He did not do himself justice. If the right thing was to be done, he made a joke, but he did it. He will not leave his impress on the age, but he did the country good service.

Except Louis Napoleon, whose death might be the greatest good *or* the greatest evil, I doubt whether there is any man's loss which will so

affect Europe. He was the only man who could drag a too-liberal bill, especially in the Poor Law, through the Cabinet. That was his great power with us. No one will be able to manage this Cabinet now. He was a humbug, but he knew it himself and he was not a muff. (Sir G. Lewis was both a muff and a humbug.) *He* was, at heart, the most liberal man we had left. I have lost, in him, a powerful friend.

I hear spoken of as his successors: Clarendon, Russell, Granville. Lord Clarendon, it is said, the Queen wishes and she has been corresponding with him privately, perhaps by Lord Palmerston's own desire. But I believe the real question is, under which (if any) of these, your Mr Gladstone will consent to remain in office and be leader of the House of Commons. Not one of these men will manage the Cabinet as Lord Palmerston did. . . .

I would Lord Palmerston had lived another session. We should have got something done at the Poor Law Board, which we shall not now. Lord Russell is so queer-tempered. I quite dread his premiership, if it comes.¹⁹⁹

Source: From a letter by Georgina Cowper, Add Mss 457999 ff149-50

[24 October 1865]

Some words of yours about our loved and honour'd chief, quoted to us by Sir Harry Verney, have so much touched us all that at Lord Shaftesbury's suggestion, I venture to write to tell you so that, in the midst of our own grief, we can sorrow that you who must need support so much in your great unflagging work should have lost another friend, ready always we know to back you up and aid you. God can and will raise up others who know that they are not the same, so perhaps would He teach us to learn only of Himself. Darling Lady Palmerston looks quite crushed, but she is most dear and lovely in her grief, quite childlike in her gentleness and submission and thankful for the mercy of his painless and peaceful departure.

Of course, dear Miss Nightingale, I expect and desire no acknowledgment of my note.

Source: From a draft letter to Georgina Cowper, Add Mss 45799 ff151-55

[ca. 27 October 1865]

It is a grand thing to go on to the very last doing one's country good. And a statesman such as he was is the highest minister of God. It is a

199 It did come, with Gladstone as chancellor of the Exchequer.

grand thing for a human being to have an influence all over Europe, all over the world, so like God's. No one in Europe, in the world, will be so missed. Perhaps we can hardly tell yet how much he will be missed.

It may be, as history has sometimes shown us before, and as the universal voice of Europe seems now to say, that the end of such a man's career may be the signal of catastrophes. Surely a more disinterested servant in doing the work of God's world has scarcely been known in history. And to do the work to the end, to fight to the last, is sublime. I am sure it is in the great heart of Europe, in thinking of Lord Palmerston's life and death, that such a life and death, though granted to a few, perhaps only to one, is the noblest that can be lived and died. What our loss in England is I believe we do not yet know. Few know (what is no secret to you) how often he dragged a too-liberal measure through the Cabinet by the mere force of his influence, such as no premier has lately been able or perhaps ever will be able again so far as we see the men to date.

This very next session was to have seen a bill about London poor rates and London workhouses, upon which I had set my heart, and which they think will not now get through the Cabinet without Lord Palmerston. You will not mention this, which is not for me to tell. I would he had lived another Parliament.

The wit, the wise jesting, lent another grace and ease to the way in which he handled the stupendous interest of his life. What he was in his own home you alone can tell.

In the last overloaded three weeks of the session of 1861 he found time to write every day pleasant letters of political news to Sidney Herbert, who was then dying, and who two days before his death spoke of Lord Palmerston's kindness and especially of *this*, with the tears in his eyes. He said, I wish Lord Palmerston to know how grateful I was for his kindness. But it was the same in everything. In sanitary things, which after all are the real principle of a people's social life, and without which nothing that can be done for them in education is of any avail, I need not tell you how open and accessible he always was, much more so than *much* younger statesmen, which is the more extraordinary. There is no Cabinet minister to take his place in this, but indeed in what is there any minister to take his place? We have lost one whose loss can never be replaced in this world. He was the one to whom were entrusted the ten talents, and he made them an hundred.²⁰⁰

200 An allusion to Matt 25:15-16.

There are no tears which Europe can shed equal to his worth. We can only say, as I have had cause to say once before: perhaps God has taken him to be the statesman over one of His worlds larger than this earth. It is the only comfort, for I am sure this earth will miss him every year more and more. I would we could hope that Lady Palmerston finds some support in the burst of European feeling for him and for her.

I think Lord Palmerston's life was the noblest exercise of religion that ever was. And I always remember his letter to Edinburgh (about the cholera) as the most religious of human words. Pray believe me, dear Mrs Cowper,

yours overflowinglly

F.N.

Sidney Herbert

Editor: Sidney Herbert was a of course a friend as well as a major collaborator on reform issues. Correspondence with him is related largely in the volume on the Crimean War and the first royal commission. In this volume we consider only his role as a minister and administrator (see pp 281-90 on the decline of public administration and Nightingale's letters to Gladstone pp 429-36 above). The following notes show Nightingale's profound admiration, from the first obituary after his death to reminiscences in old age.

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45845 f222

If I were to write Sidney Herbert's character, which I never would do, it would come out almost exactly the reverse of what it is commonly supposed to be: the depth of truth in it, which I have *never* seen equalled, the seriousness, even to carefulness, the earnestness—though that is a word Carlyle has made common and unclean—the perfect simplicity, the *purity*. (*He* said he had never seen any man but Sir Robert Peel who was serious in politics. I say I have never seen any man but Sidney Herbert who was serious in politics): the accuracy, even, most in, his most brilliant wit, the perfect simplicity which, to be *perfect* can only exist in a man of the world, in others it is only innocence.

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45845 ff201, 203-04

31 August 1896

Sidney Herbert: great eloquence, administrative power, unequalled social fascination, the gentlest man, strong or gentle, did not confront abuses with perhaps honest anger and fervid indignation but by winning gentleness that subdued far more than resistance, and he achieved

far greater triumphs for his country than by the spirit of anger and wrath. Modesty, humility—never said, “I did that,” never referred to it, eager and enthusiastic in duty, cared little for the reward.

(1) Influence with [the] crown, Cabinet, Commons and commander-in-chief; (2) unselfish, unconscious, yet full of detail, best administrator; (3) weekly meetings at the War Office—no minuting; commander-in-chief his younger brother;²⁰¹ (4) invented royal commissions—sub-commissions; (5) guided and held his office or his commission in the hollow of his hand—unselfishness and organization; (6) absolutely no party man, worked for both sides. General Peel; (7) anti-Roman Catholic, Manning²⁰²—wife [who converted to Catholicism after his death]; (8) so receptive, so perceptive; (9) there must be two sides to a quarrel.

His manner acted like a charm, even with those who thought, like Dr [John] Hall, they had been previously ill-judged and wrongfully abused. No quarrel could ever come up with him. . . . His “God bless you,” thoughtfulness for others—power it gave him.

Source: Note, ADD MSS 45845 ff205-07

[August 1896]

[The publisher] Harrisons had a private and a public printing house (two), separate. At that time I (with Dr Sutherland who came in the morning and worked all day, government work) did a great deal of work for the government, chiefly sanitary work, on two royal sanitary commissions, one for home (Crimea), one for India. *Sidney Herbert* was the chairman (president) of both. By his desire I saw every one of the witnesses myself and reported to him what each could tell him as a witness, in public. He used to say: “We do not want to take witnesses by surprise; we want to get out of each one what he knows.”

He died in 1861, five years after our return from the Crimea, in the second year of the second royal commission (on sanitary things in India). He wrote the report of the first commission himself, except what Dr Sutherland wrote. I saw him every day while he was in town; Dr Sutherland was generally present, but Dr S. was, as you know, extremely deaf and could only be referred to by me, shouting at him. (Sidney Herbert was extremely punctual, Dr S. extremely not so). . . .

Sidney Herbert was a man of the quickest and most accurate per-

201 The Duke of Cambridge was Queen Victoria’s cousin; he was only thirty-six when he became commander-in-chief in 1856.

202 Henry Edward Manning (1808-92), for correspondence see *Theology* (3: 242-75).

ception I have ever known. He was also the most sympathetic. His very manner engaged the most sulky and most recalcitrant (e.g., Dr Hall, principal medical officer) and most *abused* of all the witnesses to be of a coming-on disposition. He used to say of himself: "I never should have done for an ambassador; I can only work just as far as I am put up to it and no farther." But this very thing of his—never pretending to any knowledge—had such a charm to recalcitrant witnesses. He never made an enemy or a quarrel in the commission. He used to say: "There takes two to make a quarrel. I won't be one." . . .

Robert Lowe

Editor: Disparaging remarks about Robert Lowe, a long-serving MP, writer and home secretary, who had been a student at Balliol College and was a friend of Jowett's, appear also in her critique of the *Dialogues of Plato*. Her comparisons of Lowe with Gorgias (see pp 614-18 below) was an insult, for Gorgias was a relativistic sophist, not a Socratic seeking truth.

Source: Note to Jowett, Add Mss 45784 ff107-08

I think that your views of political good are becoming debased. I do not think that Mr Lowe's views of political good ever were high, but when I knew him he had "administrative indignation." Now he has neither and I think intercourse with his is pulling yours down. It may be that those are only "chance words" which you have said to me. If they were said to Baroness von Rothschild, they would not signify, they are only the small change of conversation. But they signify very much, that is, they have a great signification as addressed to me, who have ruined my life in government administration and, what is of much more consequence, have destroyed lives far dearer to me than my own in the attempt to reform it. It is as if you forgot entirely my eighteen years of intense, nay of desperate seriousness and hard work in government offices. It is far worse than it would be to repeat to me a vulgar gibe against Sidney Herbert personally. For I hope S.H. always stood first in my mind for political good and only second for private friendship.

It is saying nothing that I would gladly sacrifice the poor remains of my life if I could in any way prevent your political convictions from becoming debased or flippant. Mr Lowe's are sometimes vulgar though *he* is never vulgar—often flippant—and becoming more so every year. When I knew him, they were never flippant. His and Lord Derby's are becoming smug, vulgar. O breadfruit tree of happiness, how often man is debased thereby.

Sir George Grey

Editor: This Sir George Grey (1799-1882), the British Cabinet minister, is not to be confused with the Sir George Grey who was governor of New Zealand and the person who encouraged Nightingale to take on the issue of mortality in aboriginal schools and hospitals in the colonies (in *Public Health Care*).

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9009/86

7 September 1882

Indeed, dear Sir Harry, I do feel for and with you about the last illness of your fifty years' friend, Sir George Grey. He was so honourable, such a true gentleman of England. Of such stuff English statesmen are made. I could not but contrast the fatal collision between the soldiers and the Irish rioters on Saturday night in Dublin streets with Sir G. Grey's management of 10 April 1848.²⁰³

Sir G. Grey was minister in attendance at Balmoral when I was there in 1856. And he showed me a letter from Lord Palmerston telling him to help me (a letter unasked for by me). Yes, I do indeed feel that such men as Sir G. Grey are few, and I am afraid more irreplaceable every day.

Lord Stanley

Editor: Nightingale once explained to Douglas Galton that "Lord Stanley consults, he does not advise, me."²⁰⁴ Lord Stanley spoke at the Manchester meeting for the Nightingale Fund, 17 January 1856, described by novelist Mrs Gaskell, who was in the audience: "Lord Stanley speaks with difficulty and mouths a great deal to make his articulation distinct, but it was a noble and grave speech."²⁰⁵ Nightingale described him as a "species *in himself* and will be described as such, by any future Cuvier: Genus . . . Homo, Species . . . Lord Stanley."²⁰⁶

203 Nightingale arrived in Paris 10 April 1848, when the uprisings were taking place. See the reference to seeing the events with Richard Monckton Milnes (see p 488 above). In Dublin 2 September 1882 the police force were all dismissed for insubordination.

204 Letter to Douglas Galton 9 May 1866, Add Mss 45763 f169.

205 Letter to Parthenope Nightingale [18 January 1856], in *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell* #279 383.

206 Undated fragment [ca. 1859], Sidney Herbert Collection, Wiltshire County Archives 2057/F4/68.

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45845 ff206-07

[Sidney Herbert] was succeeded [as chair of the second royal commission] by a very different man, Lord Stanley, who though laborious and conscientious, always repelled everybody. He would appoint people to see him and not be up. He took (lazily) credit for everything—not intentionally.

Source: From a letter to Parthenope Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9002/35

Friday [June 1866]

I am curious to hear the prospects from last night. Lord Stanley writes to me, “My hands are rather full,” which in *him* I consider to be a state of mental enthusiasm, bordering on dangerous excitement.

F.N.

Source: From a letter to Frances Nightingale, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/93

4 April 1869

I hope you read Lord Stanley’s speech at Glasgow in yesterday’s *Times*. It seems to me one of the finest things of the kind that ever was spoken. And the last part would, if cut up into proverbs, make as many proverbs as there are sentences in it, much better than Solomon’s.

Duke of Westminster

Editor: Hugh Lupos Grosvenor, first Duke of Westminster, was a philanthropist (education, housing and the church) and Liberal MP, as well as being Nightingale’s landlord in South Street. He served on the Nightingale Fund Council and chaired the National Association for Providing Trained Nurses for the Sick Poor.

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9007/77

17 March 1877

I thought I never saw a man with his face more *set to good* than the Duke of Westminster. But I was sorry to see that “face” looking so far from strong, either in health or spirits. (You know the nursing instinct is ever uppermost in an old nurse.)

There is a great charm in the quiet manner of a high-born Englishman; I cannot say I ever saw it in foreign titles. It gives such an impression of a force being in the room.

Viceroy, Governors General of India

Sir John (Lord) Lawrence

Editor: Nightingale described Lord Lawrence, on his return to ordinary life after being governor general of India, as being “like a great fish out of water where he is, or like a great Roman dictator returned for Marylebone as an MP.”²⁰⁷

Source: From a letter to Mary Clarke Mohl, Woodward Biomedical Library A.10

26 March 1869

To return to Sir J. Lawrence, he is come back and wrote me one of his little letters, beautiful in their stern simplicity and modesty, and is coming to see me. You can ask Sir B. Frere about him, if you like. But they are two men, so unlike, yet each so roundly perfect in his own way, that they can never understand each other—never touch at any point, not through eternity. I love and admire them both with all my mind and with all my heart, but have long since given up the slightest attempt to make either understand the other. But each is too much of a man, too noble, too chivalrous, to denigrate the other.

As for Sir J. Lawrence’s government, it had great faults, the greatest of which was Caesarism, and this without the slightest desire of popularity or power on his side. But he never could see that the Caesarism of Lord Dalhousie, which was necessary during the process of conquest, must be exchanged for quite another policy in organizing and administering for 200 millions of people in time of peace. He could not delegate power to the local governments. The centralization was something inconceivable. I knocked my head against it at every step. Sir J. Lawrence tried, with his indefatigable industry and powers of government, to do all the business in his own room for a country bigger than Europe, of which Bengal is bigger and more populated than France. But peace hath higher tests of manhood than battle ever knew.²⁰⁸

He has left his mark on India. Wherever superstition or ignorance or starvation or dirt or fever or famine, or the wild bold lawlessness of brave races, or the cringing slavishness of clever feeble races, was to be found, there he has left his mark. He has set India on a new track which—may his successors follow!

207 Letter to Lord Stanley 11 July 1863, City of Liverpool Archives, Derby Collection.

208 From John Greenleaf Whittier, “The Hero, lines 75-76.”

Knight of a better era
Without reproach or fear
Said I not well that Bayards²⁰⁹
And Sidneys²¹⁰ still are here!

. . . You ask about the sanitary affairs for the natives: the whole of our sanitary work for the last three years has been for the natives. The soldiers' sanitary organization is now complete. And, though, of course, it will be years before the details are worked up to it, still they have nothing to do, since we got our ten millions of pounds, but to go on.

What grieves me is that, in the new Government of India Bill, just passed here, they have given powers to the governor general (such as that of naming natives to government appointments, without making them pass through the English competitive examination) and other powers, which Sir John Lawrence had been contending for for years. And to him who knew the natives better than any man on this planet they did not give these powers. They have given them to Lord Mayo, who does not know a Sikh from a Bengali.

Source: Note to Dr Sutherland, ADD MSS 45753 f235

[ca. 3 April 1869]

In the first place, when I see him [Sir John Lawrence] again I see that there is nobody like him. He is Ramesses II of Egypt. Gladstone and all the ministers are rats and weasels by his side. . . .

Source: From a letter to Frances Nightingale, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/94

4 April 1869

Yesterday afternoon Sir John Lawrence spent with me. He had just come from the Queen, from the presentation to her as a peer, but he did not mention this. I think he is a little more simple, modest and grand than ever. When I see these grand old fellows from India, how the English ministers of the present day dwindle into mere rats and weasels in comparison. Sir John Lawrence is like a Roman Caesar of

209 Probably a reference to the French military hero Pierre du Terail (1474-1524), seigneur de Bayard, who saved France from invasion in 1521, a "knight without fear and without reproach."

210 Elizabethan hero Sir Philip Sidney, an ancestor and namesake of Sidney Herbert, from John Greenleaf Whittier, "The Hero," lines 101-04.

the noblest type—say Titus or Marcus Aurelius. He went off in a thick drizzling east wind fog and would not even let a cab be sent for.

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9007/249

24 July 1879

Think of the *Illustrated [London News]* paper giving whole numbers to the Prince Imperial and not one to Lord Lawrence. What a *great* “number” his life would make, no greater could the first Napoleon have made. I have been looking every day to see the publication of the *dean of Westminster’s* fine *funeral sermon* on *Lord Lawrence*. Pray if it is not published *make him do so*.

Lord Mayo

Editor: Nightingale was appalled by the appointment as governor general of India of the sixth Earl Mayo, Richard Southwell Bourke (1822-72), for he had had no Indian experience. The first item consists of notes from a meeting held with him of the previous day, prior to his departure for India. She was won over by him, as the later material shows, and was saddened by his death, by assassination, in 1872. His family remarkably forgave the assassin, as the last item shows.

Source: From a note to Dr Sutherland from an interview with Lord Mayo, ADD Mss 45753

29 October 1868

He said that formerly there were collectors or magistrates everywhere who had almost supreme power, that power had been almost taken out of their hands. That his idea was to have a supreme European in every district, and that part of his business should be to look after the sanitary things, that he looked to interesting the natives in them . . . that he had small faith in reporting but much in inspecting, that Indians were much too fond of paper.

He’s a curious mixture of sagacity and superstition. He said that cholera and cattle plague could be effectually stamped out and then it appeared he meant by quarantine. He actually said it was a pity we could not kill men like cows. He told me with the most excessive self-gratulation of his rushing over to England and *forcing* “Palmerston” to put on a strict cordon to prevent calves from coming into Dublin from Liverpool.

And the result of my quick action, he said, was that we had only three cases of cattle plague in all Ireland. I of course said nothing. But when I told him of Lord Granville’s cattle shed and also of *sanitary*

precautions against cholera and cattle plague, he entirely assented. He said they had stamped out cholera in Dublin by buying and burning the clothes of the patients and by whitewashing. He, as an illustration of what he meant to avoid in India, said that Trevelyan had actually wasted £6,000,000 in the Irish famine by trying to direct it from Downing St. and that very little of that found its way down the throats of the starving, that Sir J. Burgogne had afterwards spent 1,500,000 on it, which had produced more relief than the £6,000,000.

Not, he said, to direct everything from Calcutta was his conclusion. He said that Trevelyan's 6 millions had actually gone chiefly to paying clerks and printing forms. He seemed a little puzzled by what we say about an executive. He said do you mean a central executive? He talked a good deal about jails but I rather tried to keep off that as not being my specialty. Sir Walter Crofton²¹¹ is his scripture, his authority. The only thing I said was that we deplored the building of these enormous Pentonville jails in India and we thought a better system might be cheap huts. . . .

He talked about the Irish Poor law and its excellencies (he seemed curiously enough to be trying to justify his administration to me), but this was à propos of the principle that sick should be separated from indigent and beggars. . . .

Two other things Lord Mayo talked to me about:

1. freedom of the press;
2. irrigation.

He said that the native press had so much improved that he thought it desirable to publish all that could be published. I said that we and Sir J. Lawrence himself had been anxious that the minutes of the sanitary commissions should be published, but that the local governments had been averse to it. (I did not tell him what Sir B. Frere told me that, as to the jails, they had positively been *afraid* of publishing the facts.) . . .

He discussed the prevailing prejudice that you can't irrigate without being unhealthy. I said, and I gave him instances, that you can't be healthy without irrigation, that the thing is to carry off the water, not to let it be stagnant. He said Cotton had told him that too. . . .

He's a good and sensible man but he knows absolutely nothing. He told me himself that he had had to work hard at his own office (Irish) till the 6th. He goes next Thursday. He has evidently been cramming at the India Office exactly as a House of Commons man crams for his

211 Sir Walter Crofton (1815-97), expert on crime and prisons.

speech. He repeated to me phrases which I *knew* were Sir B. Frere's. And that I was rather glad of. What he said was not unsensible, but essentially Irish. He said that he should see Sir J. Lawrence for two days!! before he left. And he said he should ask Sir J.L. to call upon me the moment he returned and to ask *me* to write out to *him* (Lord Mayo) anything that Sir J.L. thought "a new broom" could do. That was clever of him.

Source: Note to Dr Sutherland, ADD Mss 45753 f227

[ca. 25 March 1869]

[Sir John Lawrence] thinks Lord Mayo a gentleman, but he evidently thinks him nothing more. He says the difficulty of being led without being misled is almost insurmountable, that a new governor general coming has only three ways of getting on: either to work his way into all the business himself, which entails getting so much into arrears that, like Lord Canning, he never gets out of them, or to take the advice of others while getting to know for oneself, which entails unless a man has extraordinary penetration, the being misled instead of led. . . .

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9005/114

[February 1872]

Lord Mayo's death is, as you may suppose, the greatest of shocks to us. He was not only the kindest of personal friends to me in matters of sanitary work and administration in India, not only willing but *wanting* to know all he could, to do all he could, but there was a something grand and heroic about him, in acting up to his highest sense of duty at whatever risk or cost to himself, of which God knows there is little enough among statesmen at the present day. No greater blow has fallen upon us since Sidney Herbert's death. . . . Lord Mayo's children asked for a telegram to be sent to Shere Ali that they forgave their father's murderer and hoped God would forgive him.

Lord Iddesleigh

Editor: Sir Stafford Northcote (1818-87), first Earl of Iddesleigh, had been a reform-minded MP and secretary to Gladstone before being appointed secretary of state for India in 1867; he was later foreign secretary. Over his lifetime he worked on such issues as civil service examinations, reform schools, friendly societies, public schools, extension of the suffrage, decentralization and self-government in India. He opposed intervention in Afghanistan and personally gave money for hospitals in India. Correspondence with him is in the second Indian volume.

Source: Note to Dr Sutherland, ADD Mss 45752 f217

14 August 1867

He is a man of very much the same style of mind as Lord de Grey: none of the rapid, unerring perceptions of Sidney Herbert, none of the power of Sir J. Lawrence, none of the power and keenness of Sir B. Frere. But he is *very* well intentioned and I think has great industry and also perseverance. I believe he will carry out exactly what he consents to do.

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9011/72

13 January 1887

Just as I was writing this last night, we heard of Lord Iddesleigh's sudden death, one of the best men, and the best secretary of state for India we have had. He said to Miss Pringle when, as rector (?) of Edinburgh University, he visited the Royal Infirmary: "I never see Miss Nightingale now; she only cared for me as secretary of state for India." I am sorry now I did not write and ask him to come, but I had not the brass. His death makes the world the poorer. Mr Goschen is in his right place now. If only he had taken Lord Randolph's²¹² office and none of the other shufflings had taken place, it would have done very well to put him in that office. Let him keep it.

Lord Elgin

Editor: This, the ninth Earl Elgin, viceroy of India 1894-99, was the son of the eighth Earl Elgin (mentioned above) who had been governor general of Canada and then viceroy of India 1862-63, on his sudden death succeeded by John Lawrence.

Source: From a letter to Douglas Galton, ADD Mss 45767 f96

18 October 1893

Nobody seems to know anything about Lord Elgin except that there is nothing to be known. May he turn out all right! It is hardly enough that he had a father. Most people have fathers. His father died in 1863, you know, on a pass in the Himalayas, when this man must have been about thirteen years old.

212 Lord Randolph Churchill, secretary of state for India 1885-86, a notoriously aggressive Tory, father of Winston Churchill.

Conservative Politicians

Lord Shaftesbury

Editor: Nightingale met Lord Shaftesbury, whose birth name was Anthony Ashley Cooper (1801-95), in London in 1848 when he was an MP (elected 1826), before he inherited his title in 1851 and had to move to the House of Lords. He told her about the Chartist movement and his work for “ragged schools” (schools for the poor) which she took up for the next few years in London. He is grouped here with “Conservative Politicians” for that was his party affiliation, and he did serve in Conservative Cabinets (after and not related to Nightingale’s dealings with him). In practice he was much more a philanthropist than a politician; certainly their relationship was quite different from that Nightingale had with other Tory politicians!

Nightingale clearly paid attention to what he said about politics and social life generally. In a letter to Mme Mohl in 1848, in which she discussed charity balls and social class differences, she noted that even when “luxury has reached its height and poverty its depth” there was no prospect of revolution: “Lord Ashley had a Chartist deputation with him the other day, who stayed to tea and talked with him for five hours. ‘That a man should ride in a carriage and have twenty thousand a year is contrary to the laws of Nature,’ said their leader and slapped his leg. ‘I could show you, if you would go with me tonight,’ said Lord Ashley, ‘people who would say to *you*, that a man should go in broadcloth and wear a shirtpin (pointing to the Chartist’s shirt) is contrary to the laws of Nature.’ The Chartist was silent. ‘And it was the only thing I said,’ says Lord Ashley, ‘after arguing with them for five hours, which made the least impression.’ ”²¹³

Lord Shaftesbury was in the House of Lords during the Crimean War and was prominent in arguing for a sanitary commission with specific, tough terms of reference. His description of the unsanitary conditions in the Crimean War might have seemed to have been an exaggeration at the time but with the benefit of hindsight appear apt: that the soldiers “were dying in the hospitals not from the effect of wounds, but from dysentery and diarrhea and similar diseases, which were occasioned by the pestilential atmosphere in which they were placed.” He held that “it was next to impossible that anyone who was wounded and carried into these hospitals should recover; it was

213 Letter 26 July [1848], in Cook, *Life of Florence Nightingale* 1:80-81.

almost impossible that anyone struck down by a common simple disorder could recover.”²¹⁴ In 1858, after Crimea and her first royal commission investigating conditions in the war, Nightingale naturally sent him a copy of the royal commission report, with a covering letter as follows.

Source: “Miss Florence Nightingale to Lord Shaftesbury,” in Edwin Hodder, *The Life and Work of the 7th Earl of Shaftesbury* 505

30 Old Burlington Street
16 October 1858

Dear Lord Shaftesbury

I venture to send you with this a copy of my report to the War Office upon Army sanitary matters. It is, as you will see, strictly confidential, and has *not* been presented to the House of Commons. But as Lord Shaftesbury has, for so many years, been our leader in sanitary matters (as in so many other wise and benevolent things) it seemed to me but right to send him a report which contains so much of what was done by himself, viz., the work of the Sanitary Commission in the East, although I can scarcely expect that he will read it. I am, dear Lord Shaftesbury,

yours very faithfully

F. Nightingale

Editor: Shaftesbury’s next service to Nightingale also occurred in 1858 when he was president of the Social Science Congress. She sent her first papers on hospital construction to its meeting in Liverpool. They generated good debate and were heartily approved. Shaftesbury suggested, and Nightingale complied, that she send copies of the papers to the city of Liverpool as a memento, to give her ideas further publicity. The papers in turn became the core material for her landmark *Notes on Hospitals* (in *Hospital Reform*).

Shaftesbury was again helpful to Nightingale in 1860 by supporting her proposal for questions on illness and housing to be added to the 1861 census. The home secretary in the House of Commons turned down both ideas, although they had considerable expert support and there were precedents in France and Ireland. Shaftesbury and Lord Grey’s support led her, as it would many frustrated social activists, to

214 Speech, House of Lords, 22 February 1855, Hansard 1413. For Shaftesbury’s lobbying behind the scenes to get the commission appointed, and with strong terms of reference, see *Crimean War*.

thank God for a House of Lords (Cook, *Life of Florence Nightingale* 1:437). He read her paper (above) on Hospital Statistics for her to the International Statistical Congress in London in 1860. They had dealings in 1865 over conditions in an Australian mental asylum.

Source: Draft letter in Dr Sutherland's hand, Add Mss 45799 f183

[by December 1865]

If you have time to look over the letter of Miss Rye²¹⁵ and the marked report about the lunatic asylum, I think you will agree with me that anything more awful can hardly be conceived. Are we to go on in this way allowing [illeg] to become a charnel house? Or is there no means of laying the strong hand of power on such men and things as are here described?

I have all the New South Wales Parliamentary papers which I can send you, but before doing so I have thought it better to give you a sample of the declarations which they contain. . . .

I need hardly say how much I am interested in all matters connected with the health of the metropolis and that I wish well to every attempt to improve it. I cannot however see my way to any more definite expression of my feeling in the way of joining your proposed association. I have found it necessary to limit my public work as much as possible, because if I joined with one association [illeg] I should to called to justify myself for declining to join theirs.

Editor: Lord Shaftesbury responded that the situation recalled a similar, perhaps worse, case in Jamaica, which he had taken up with the Commissioners in Lunacy. He said he would send on her communications to his brother commissioners, who asked Nightingale for an “authentic copy” of the report of an inquiry.²¹⁶ Nightingale replied that she was glad he had taken an interest “in the horrible Sydney Lunatic Asylum. Perhaps the best way now would be for me to send you the official documents on your return to town and you could then see whether you could find sufficient official grounds for a motion in the House of Lords.”²¹⁷

215 Maria Rye (1829-1903), social reformer.

216 Letter 9 December 1865, Add Mss 45799 f191.

217 Draft note to Lord Shaftesbury in Dr Sutherland's hand, Add Mss 45799 f192.

In 1868 Nightingale considered asking Lord Shaftesbury to join the Council of the Nightingale Fund. Harry Verney was consulted and there evidently was some correspondence with Lord Shaftesbury.²¹⁸ She wanted to send him her “Una” article from *Good Words* (in *Public Health Care*), either directly or via Harry Verney. She did not want him to think he was not welcome on the council but she was concerned that he was “going all astray on the nursing questions.”²¹⁹ Nightingale “had paid him the tribute . . . of asking him whom I admire. But I think I should do some things he would not like, if on my council.”²²⁰ There were other complications as she did not want the training school to be identified with the “low church party,” and had always kept it free from the “high church sect.”²²¹ In the end he did not join, but they had support for what they wanted, to get the General Lawrence Society to take a better line on nursing: “I don’t like General Lawrence’s bad nurses because they are good Protestants.”²²² In unpublished notes Nightingale showed appreciation for his life of “simple usefulness . . . not brilliant but spent in doing as he thinks right.”²²³ The following note is a reminiscence prompted by reading the *Life and Work* of Shaftesbury.²²⁴

Source: From a letter to Frederick Verney, ADD Mss 68887 f69

4 June 1892

Lord Shaftesbury’s *Life* is admirable, delightful. I am so glad of your critique upon it, critique in the true sense of extracting the spirit, the highest meaning, not of exposing the surface faults. “Genius is the power of taking trouble.” His was “genius” in the immeasurable pains and labour to gain the most exact information, tested by himself, to prepare himself in the most complete manner for pressing it on authorities. And the other part of him was as remarkable: his absolute dependence on God. It was like Christ’s “I speak nothing of myself.”²²⁵

218 Letter to Harry Verney 25 June 1868, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/34.

219 Letter to Harry Verney [1868], Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/37.

220 Letter to Harry Verney 5 July 1868, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/41.

221 Letter to Harry Verney 25 September 1868, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/46.

222 Letter to Harry Verney 5 July 1868, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/41.

223 Note, ADD Mss 45843 f98.

224 Hodder, *Life and Work of the 7th Earl of Shaftesbury*.

225 A paraphrase of John 8:28.

His morbid self-distrust only quickened his labour. He would have been in a lunatic asylum if he had not devoted himself to reforming lunatic asylums.

Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield

Editor: Conservative Benjamin Disraeli (1804-81), later Lord Beaconsfield, was prime minister in 1868 and 1874-80. Nightingale's negative views of him have already appeared in correspondence above with Julia Ward Howe and will appear again when his novels are discussed (see p 772 below). In 1871 to Frederick Verney Nightingale remarked: "Great reformers, my beloved friend, 'educate their public,' and only Disraelis tell their 'public,' while they are educating it, that they *are* 'educating their public.'"²²⁶ Gladstone's "Scotch jihad" in the election of 1880 was directed pre-eminently against Disraeli's aggressive foreign policy.²²⁷

Source: Note to Dr Sutherland, ADD Mss 45753 ff124-25

[ca. 3-4 December 1868]

My dear, as to being honourable or not honourable, if Dizzy had gone out two years ago he would have been honourable. He has stayed in to get the finest appointment in the hands of the government (India), to make a great many other appointments *disastrous* to us and to put three great government offices, War Office, India Office and Poor Law, into a state of disorder such as they have not been in since I have known anything of government. Then he goes out exactly in the way to give Gladstone most trouble. And you call that honourable!

Source: From a letter to Parthenope Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/35

22 March 1880

Lord Beaconsfield at the head of the government, General Vaughan at the head of the leading journal, *qua* India: these are the men who guide the empire. O tempora! O mores! (I say this with the greatest respect for General Vaughan, only I wish he was not *there*).

George Joachim Goschen

Editor: George Joachim Goschen (1831-1907) was president of the Poor Law Board in 1868 after the passing of the (Conservative) Metropolitan Poor Bill. Nightingale had lobbied strenuously for adequate

226 Letter 12 March 1871, ADD Mss 68882 f33.

227 Undated letter to Parthenope Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/30.

legislation to reform the workhouse infirmaries in London (see *Public Health Care*). The items below deal with later contacts with him but reflect, as in the instance of workhouse reform, her disappointment with his conservatism.

Source: Letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/130

17 December 1869

You kindly asked me whether I would not see Mr Goschen. I felt afterwards that it was perhaps a shirking (of an opportunity to do some good) *not* to accept your offer. But I do not think that I could ask to see Mr Goschen; [I] think Mr Goschen must ask to see me. If you know him very well, and if you could kindly *see* him (*not* write to him) and give him the enclosed letter, that would be, I think, a sort of introduction. And I would much rather you told him that *you* had proposed the introduction and not I. (Mr Jowett, who is a friend of his, proposed the same thing.)

Mr Goschen can, in his minutes and speeches, lay bare the whole state of the case, like a registration officer, so that *others* may grapple with it, but when he comes to the part where you expect *him*, the statesman, to deal with it, he stops. His speech at Sion College was like the *Torso* of Theseus—a very good stump but without head or feet or hands. Unless Mr Goschen felt disposed to see me, I do not feel that I have the strength or eloquence to be likely to make my impression on him. Certainly I have not enough to give his trunk a head.

Source: From a letter to Parthenope and Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/104

[ca. 12 December 1880]

No worse viceroy I should think possible than Goschen, a man who will say that the Hindus **WILL** die according to political economy and **OUGHT** to die because political economy says so. And Lord Northbrook, you know, will do nothing about the land question.

Sir Robert Peel²²⁸

Source: From a letter to Frederick Verney, ADD Mss 68888 ff32-33

Easter Day [14 April] 1895

[On Peel's retirement] I turn from all this farrago to echo your feeling about that great man's farewell speech, the speaker's. It is the

228 Sir Robert Peel (1822-95), 3rd baronet, son of the prime minister and himself an MP and minister; died May 1895.

House of Commons' farewell to its past great life too. An inferior man would have scolded the House well, though majestically, for all it had made him go through, during the past eleven years, for its schoolboy tricks instead of being an earnest House of gentlemen, seeking with the dignity which marks the deepest earnestness, the nation's weal, the weal of an empire which counts a fifth of the world's population.

But this Peel, the last of its great men, points them to the grand and splendid traditions of their past, and appeals to a future of "centuries" when they must be as they were the first, the model of the representative institutions of the world.

Then, farewell Gladstone, farewell Peel. Who is this Gully?²²⁹ They say that Peel had no more "experience" when *he* began. That's not true. But if it were Peel had the most magnificent Parliamentary antecedents, while Gully's father, whom I knew well, was a charlatan, a hydropathic—very clever quack.

Lord Randolph Churchill

Editor: Nightingale's comments on the ultra right-wing, ultra hawkish Lord Randolph Spencer Churchill (1849-95), father of Winston Churchill, were routinely derogatory, as might be expected: "Lord Randolph—so absolutely reckless . . . [his] despatches to Lord Dufferin on finance matters absolutely reckless, but Lord Dufferin just set them aside."²³⁰ Nightingale was careful to use an intermediary in dealing with Lord Randolph. She arranged to explain the "information" she wanted conveyed to him to Captain Galton, who would then get Sir Richard Temple "and get him to press the matter of Lord Churchill," it being a sine qua non that he not forward the enclosure to Lord Randolph or use her name.²³¹ In a letter to her sister she recounted an incident about Gladstone being "stung in the eyelid by a wasp. Was that Lord Randolph?"²³²

229 W.C. Gully, a Liberal MP, son of Dr James M. Gully, whose water cures at Malvern Nightingale and her parents took in the late 1840s, early 1850s.

230 Note 30 July 1886, ADD Mss 45778 f108.

231 Letter 6 November 1885, ADD Mss 45765 f274.

232 Letter to Parthenope Verney 25 October 1886, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9011/61.

Other Political Notables

Editor: Material on notable political women will appear in *Women*, the India, war and nursing volumes. The short, miscellaneous list of persons here includes only a very brief note on one woman, Beatrice Potter (later Webb), in connection with her work with Charles Booth, on whom the entry is also very short.

Dr David Livingstone

Editor: Nightingale was a great admirer of David Livingstone, both as a missionary and benefactor of Africans. She followed his explorations, wondered about his condition when he was lost and was glad when he was found by the American journalist, Stanley (as in “Doctor Livingstone, I presume?”).²³³ She mourned his loss and celebrated his heroic life often in (public) letters to nurses. In a letter to her friend, Julius Mohl, she quoted extensively from a letter she had received from Sir Bartle Frere relaying Livingstone’s observations. “It does not say much but what is in the despatch to Lord Clarendon, but it interests me very much for the men.” It is dated “Lake Bangweolo, July 1868.” Nightingale subsequently sent Julius and Mary Clarke Mohl clippings on Livingstone, with the remark: “It is about the best pleasure I have that that man is found—no thanks to us!”²³⁴ She compared Dr Livingstone to St Paul.²³⁵

On Livingstone’s death (in 1873, but only known about in England early in 1874, soon after that of her father), Nightingale received a request from Bartle Frere to write a letter of condolence to the daughter, Agnes Livingstone, who was “crushed.”²³⁶ Again at Bartle Frere’s request, Nightingale contributed to the Livingstone Fund, set up to help pay for the search and relief expedition, a monument in Westminster Abbey and the support of his old sisters and daughters.²³⁷

233 Letter to Emily Verney 27 July 1872, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9005/153.

234 Letter to Mary Clarke Mohl, 11 August 1872, Woodward Biomedical Library A.38.

235 Letter to Margaret Verney 22 November 1869, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/125.

236 Letter of Bartle Frere 14 February 1874, Add Mss 45780 f234.

237 Letter of Bartle Frere 29 March 1874, Add Mss 45780 f244. She apparently made a “generous” contribution (letter of Bartle Frere 9 April 1874, Add Mss 45780 f246).

Source: From a letter to Julius Mohl, Woodward Biomedical Library A.11

21 November 1869

He says [in a letter dated July 1868, Lake Bangweolo] that the chief sources of the Nile, thirteen in all, he thinks five in one line of drainage, five in another, and three in a third, larger than the Isis at Oxford and not including “burns” flowing into lakes and larger rivers rise between 10° and 12° south latitude and have hitherto been sought for very much too far to the north. He says he cannot yet speak positively of the parts west and north-north-west of Tanganyika. He says he has been wandering about an elevated plateau, varying from 4000 to 6000 ft. above the sea, covered with dense forest and cold, about 350 miles square, south of Tanganyika. He describes the River Chambeze [now Chambeshi], not to be confounded with Zambesi, forming three lakes (Lakes Bangweolo, Nevero, Ulenga), and changing its name three times (Luapula, Lualaba) in a course of 600 miles.²³⁸

He describes a very light-coloured race, very friendly with strangers, with immense herds of cattle, the Basango (or Wasango of the Arabs). In all the confluents of the Chambeze there are hippopotamus, and he could always steer boldly on to where these beasts lay, sure of never finding less than eight feet of water.

He describes the districts on the upland and their names, most interesting to a philologist, I suppose. The people put Ba instead of the initial syllable for country, Lo or U, the Arabs use Wa instead of Ba. (Dr Livingstone’s writing is almost illegible.)

He describes the lakes, especially Lake Liemba²³⁹ (north and in the Baulubigu [?] country) as most beautiful, in a hollow with precipitous sides 2000 feet down, richly wooded. Elephants, buffaloes and antelopes, fish and hippopotami, fishermen living on islands who cultivate besides, and rear goats. Bright red clay schist rocks. This runs by a branch two miles wide, he *thinks*, into Tanganyika. But here alas! war prevented him from proceeding. He met a large party of Arab traders from Zanzibar, who had been attacked by the Chief of Itawa. Sir Bartle Frere had by his good offices with the Sultan supplied Dr Livingstone with a letter (Seejed Majid’s). He showed it the Arabs who supplied

238 Lake Bangweolo (now Bangweula) is the southern end of Lake Tanganyika; Nevero is now Moreo, Lualaba now the Congo and Upper Congo Rivers.

239 Liemba are fresh-water jellyfish; the lake, part of Lake Tanganyika, was named by Livingstone.

him at once with cloth, beads and provisions. He has been treated by all the Arabs with the greatest consideration and kindness. The Arabs saw that war meant shutting up the ivory market, so peace was made but it took 3½ months. They shut Dr Livingstone up for safety in a village 4700 ft above the sea. Then he went some way west with them.

He says their mode of ivory and slave trading is such a contrast to that of the ruffians from Kilwa and the Portuguese from Tette [?]. Then the rains and inundations came on, which brought him to a stand thirteen days' march from Tanganyika. He describes these inundations as like those of the Nile, the plunging through water and black mud, the hundreds of frightfully smelling bubbles, then more deep flooded rivers—one, the Chungu, the scene of Dr Lourda's (?)²⁴⁰ death, the only Portuguese of any scientific acquirements. (He, Dr Livingstone, is coming back to Cazembe during this.) His attendants abscond. He can carry nothing but the veriest necessities, no paper and he wants to abscond too. He is distressed at having left his proper mission work for the benefit of the people, to be the servant of a few insane geographers, but still thinks, if he can succeed the making the country more known may do the natives more good than proper mission work. He is still able to give them some little knowledge. He borrows a piece of paper from an Arab friend and sends this letter by the party going to the coast through Usango.

He gives all sorts of directions to Sir B. Frere about a son whom he left at Glasgow University; he begs him not to let the boy go the way of the other son who went off to the American Civil War and was never heard of again after Richmond. He asks Miss Frere to write to his daughter, Agnes, as he has not the conscience to ask his Arab friend for another bit of paper.

He says Lord Palmerston asked him what he could do to serve him. It never once occurred to him (Livingstone) that Lord Palmerston meant anything for himself. So he asked Lord P. to open the Portuguese ports in East Africa to free trade. . . . Then he talks of the good time coming yet for the natives and his aspirations for their benefit.

Lastly, he describes a tribe of Troglodites in Kua, very black and strong, outer angle of eyes upwards, excavations thirty miles long, made by a god, they say, drawings of animals in them, running stream through the whole street. It is an ill-put-together letter, not graphic but very interesting, and full of simplicity. But if Dr Livingstone was at the end of his paper, I am at the end of my hand.

240 Possibly Dr Lacerda, a Brazilian astronomer who set out from the east coast and reached the Zambezi in 1798.

Source: Letter, in Felix Pryor, ed., *Faber Book of Letters: Letters Written in the English Language 1578-1939* (London: Faber & Faber 1988) 180-82, from Garden Blaikie, *Personal Life of David Livingstone* (London: John Murray 1880)

London

18 February 1874

Dear Miss Livingstone

I am only one of all England which is feeling with you and for you at this moment. But Sir Bartle Frere encourages me to write to you. We cannot help still yearning to hear of some hope that your great father may be still alive. God knows and, in knowing that He knows who is all wisdom, goodness and power, we must find our rest. He has taken away, if at last it be as we fear, the greatest man of his generation, for Dr Livingstone stood alone.

There are few enough, but a few statesmen. There are few enough, but a few great in medicine, or in art, or in poetry. There are a few great travellers. But Dr Livingstone stood alone as the great missionary traveller, the bringer-in of civilization, or rather the pioneer of civilization—he that cometh before²⁴¹—to races lying in darkness. I always think of him as what John the Baptist, had he been living in the nineteenth century, would have been.

Dr Livingstone's fame was so worldwide that there were other nations who understood him even better than we did. Learned philologists from Germany, not at all orthodox in their opinions, have yet told me that Dr Livingstone was the only man who understood races, and how to deal with them for good—that he was the one true missionary. We cannot console ourselves for our loss. He is irreplaceable.

It is not sad that he should have died out there. Perhaps it was the thing, much as he yearned for home, that was the fitting end for him. He may have felt it so himself. But would that he could have completed that which he offered his life to God to do! If God took him, however, it was that his life was completed, in God's sight, his work finished: the most glorious work of our generation. He has opened those countries for God to enter in. He struck the first blow to abolish a hideous slave trade. He, like Stephen, was the first martyr:

He climbed the steep ascent of heaven
Through peril, toil and pain;
O God! to us may grace be given
To follow in his train!²⁴²

241 An allusion to Mark 1:7 or Matt 3:11.

242 Stanza from Heber's hymn, "The Son of God Goes Forth to War."

To us it is very dreary not to have seen him again, that he should have had none of us by him at the last, no last word or message. I feel this with regard to my dear father, and one who was more than mother to me, Mrs Bracebridge, who went with me to the Crimean War, both of whom were taken from me last month. How much more must we feel it with regard to our great discoverer and hero, dying so far off! But does he regret it? How much he must know now! how much he must have enjoyed! Though how much we would give to know *his* thoughts, *alone with God* during the latter days of his life.

May we not say, with old [Richard] Baxter (something altered from that verse)?

My knowledge of that life is small,
The eye of faith is dim;
But 'tis enough that *Christ knows all*.
And he will be with *Him*.

Let us think only of him and of his present happiness, his eternal happiness, and may God say to us: "Let not your heart be troubled."²⁴³ Let us exchange a "God bless you" and fetch a real blessing from God in saying so.

Florence Nightingale

John Delane

Editor: John Thadeus Delane (1817-79) was editor of the powerful, but Conservative, *Times* 1841-77. Nightingale recounted an anecdote by the Liberal Charles Villiers, who said: "Delane's a very clever fellow, but, in editing his paper on a Monday, he takes very little account of what he will say on the Tuesday and none at all of what he will say on the Wednesday. This has certainly been the case as to France and Napoleon vide past years. And, IF the *Times* HAD a historical conscience, will probably be the case (in regard to vide next year) as to Bismarck and Prussia." She was critical of his publishing the letters of Max Müller justifying the Prussian position in the Franco-Prussian War: "How can Delane be such an idiot as to insert such letters?"²⁴⁴

Also to her brother-in-law Nightingale declared: "Lord Lytton has sold his soul to Lord Beaconsfield and the *Times* has sold its soul (if ever it had one) to Lord Lytton," noting "the cool complacency of the selling."²⁴⁵

²⁴³ John 14:27.

²⁴⁴ Letter to Harry Verney 1 September 1870, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9004/99.

²⁴⁵ Letter to Harry Verney Good Friday 1879, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9007/207.

Charles Booth

Editor: Two references show that Nightingale had some acquaintance with the monumental survey, *Life and Labour of the People of London*, by Charles Booth (1840-1916), the first volumes of which began to come out late in her life. One brief note to Benjamin Jowett refers to the survey's pioneer method of data collection: "Booth's pauperism in the East [End] of London, house to house visitation."²⁴⁶ Another note to Jowett mentions Llewellyn Smith, "a writer in Charles Booth's book" (f176).

Beatrice Potter Webb

Editor: The one (very brief) note available about Beatrice Potter (1858-1943) was made in 1889 and hence predates her marriage to Sidney Webb in 1892. By this time Potter had taken part in Booth's monumental survey, *Life and Labour of the People of London*, publication of which began in the 1880s, and herself had published *The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain* in 1891. The first book she and her husband published jointly was on trade unions.²⁴⁷ Although a socialist, which Nightingale most decidedly was not, Webb can be seen as Nightingale's best successor. Certainly her work on Poor Law reform, the institution of employment centres and other measures for income security carry on key Nightingale concerns: "Beatrice Potter. Unitarian. Father—Crimean War, hats. Given up love and marriage, true dignity."²⁴⁸ Devoted herself to (1) co-operation; (2) trades' unions; (3) women's work.

Other Royal Persons

Empress of France

Editor: The wife of Louis Napoleon, Eugénie (1826-1920), was Empress of France 1853-70. Chadwick had urged Nightingale to get in touch with her when she was visiting Queen Victoria in England, to convert her to sanitary reform. He even provided a draft letter to be sent! Nightingale was relieved to be told that the visit would only be a short one and was even more relieved, as the letter below indicates, when it did not take place.

246 Note c1892, Add Mss 45785 f200.

247 *The History of Trade Unionism*, on which they worked on their honeymoon; it was followed by *Industrial Democracy*.

248 Note 9 October 1889, Add Mss 45845 f196.

Source: Letter to Edwin Chadwick, ADD Mss 45770 f210

10 December 1860

I cannot say but that I was very glad to be released from any communication with the Empress, who was born to be a dressmaker and married the wickedest man in Europe, to be made an Empress. She has a heathen fetishism, so often called a religion, which makes her terrified for the consequences *to herself* of the Emperor's reported defection from the Pope. So she torments her scoundrel. And he sends her to Scotland this nice weather for her health. This I heard from no newspaper, but from one of the best authorities in Paris. However I don't say that I would not write a letter to the devil for you, or even to the Empress, if it would do any good.

Queen of Greece

Source: From a letter to Margaret Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9006/158

15 April 1875

I must trust to your eloquence, dear Margaret, to frame the "message" (which you ask for) for the Queen of Greece. You know how very deeply I reverence (and can express it much better than I) this wise and disinterested devotion, the true apanage of a true Queen, to the cause of progress among the women of her subjects, and how fervently with all my prayers and hopes I would try to second it. Greece is happy to possess such a Queen. (*I remember the last!!*)²⁴⁹

Arthur Clough used to say that we need not go to heaven or hell to find their inmates, for we could find them here. When one thinks of such queens as the Queen of Greece or our own, of such future queens as our Princess Royal (or of the Grand Duchess Hélène of Russia, lately dead), all women whose highest interest is really in the highest interests of their subjects or of womankind and when one thinks of Isabella of Spain, or the former Queen of Greece, one rather echoes Clough's sentiment.

Crown Princess of Prussia/Empress Frederick

Editor: Victoria Adelaide Mary Louise (1840-1901), the Crown Princess of Prussia, later the Empress Frederick, was born "Princess Vicky," and was the Princess Royal as the eldest daughter of Queen Victoria. Most of Nightingale's correspondence with her concerns nursing ser-

249 Amalie Friederike Marie of Oldenburgh (1818-75), spouse of Otto I, on whom see *European Travels*.

vices in the Franco-Prussian War and is reported with that material. There is also correspondence with her in the nursing volumes and *Hospital Reform*.

Source: Note to Dr Sutherland, ADD Mss 45753 f119

[2 December 1868]

The Crown Princess was here all yesterday morning and she is coming again. She is a great deal more intelligent than Sir James C[lark] I can tell you and she took everything as quick as lightning. She has left the plans and our paper in case we should wish to add anything.

But her main object is to found a training school for *nurses* on the best sanitary principles of teaching, which she said are not at all understood in Germany, least of all by the deaconesses of Bethanien and Kaiserswerth, because these are all under the influence of pastors. (Of course I did not choose to “give up” my deaconesses to *her*. But I *know* what she says is too true.) She told me a hideous story about their having had a typhus epidemic at Bethanien because they *WOULD* obey Pastor Schulze, the chaplain, and not use the preventive measures urged. . . .

She asked me some questions it was impossible for me to know anything about. She means to raise subscriptions for this hospital in order to obtain a grant from government. She said very humbly that she was only a private individual and asked me whether I thought she could get subscriptions from America. I could not even think of anyone to refer her to for counsel.

She said (of course in confidence) that the present King “and the two Queens” are entirely in the hands of the high church, Tory, pietistic ecclesiastics and of the military counts. She said if they want to build a hospital they ask a pastor and a count. Such a man as Virchon is absolutely in disgrace, because he is neither Tory nor high church. She told me some really horrible things as to how the Knights of St John and other ecclesiastics had interfered in the military hospitals and killed the patients. . . .

Look, things in Germany are always action and reaction. Because Kaiserswerth and Bethanien have been entirely in the hands of pastors and women, to the exclusion of doctors, therefore the Princess seems now inclined to put her matron entirely *under* the doctor. . . .

Source: From a letter to Sir J. McNeill, London Metropolitan Archives (Florence Nightingale Museum) H1/ST/NC3/SU159

25 December 1868

I have a fresh neophyte in the person of Crown Princess of Prussia. She has a quick intelligence and is cultivating herself in knowledge of sanitary (and female) administration for her future great career. She comes alone like a girl, pulls off her hat and jacket like a five-year-old, drags about a great portfolio of plans, and kneels by my bedside correcting them. She gives a great deal of trouble, but I believe it will bear fruit.

Source: From a letter to Parthenope Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/172

25 August 1881

1000 thanks for the most exquisite flowers. The Crown Princess admired them. She was very touching, [illeg] satisfactory, clever, *I* thought very much altered since her boy's death. (She was dressed plainer than any maid.) Very affectionate, very graphic, almost hysterical and yet subdued, sent a message to Sir Harry that she was very sorry not to see him when he called on the C. Prince (she was out I suppose at Osborne). She came up to London on purpose, looked ill but young, like a girl, thinner, not happy—she used to be so joyous.

Source: From a letter to Maude Verney, Add Mss 68887 f11

9 April 1891

I had an unexpected visitor last week, the Empress Frederick—a broken-hearted widow, not otherwise altered, but like one who could never know a gleam of sunshine again. She is simple and natural as ever, spoke without the least agitation in the same broken-hearted way of her great griefs. She asked particularly about my sister and after Sir Harry, said if she had been “going to stay longer she would have asked to see him. When she came again in the summer, she would do so.”

Source: From a letter to Henry Bonham Carter, Add Mss 47723 f134

21 April 1891

I did see the Empress Frederick—she came quite unexpected, a broken-hearted woman. It never occurred to me to assault her about this piece of ignorance of her sister's.²⁵⁰ Besides which I observed that her

250 A reference to the Princess Christian's leadership of the campaign for the registration of nurses, which Nightingale then opposed.

(royal) memory, which *was* truly royal, failed her. She did not remember that she had herself sent us Miss Fuhrmann and said our training school was at the Herbert Hospital, etc.

King Frederick (Friedrich) III of Prussia, Emperor of Germany

Editor: The liberal Crown Prince of Prussia, husband of Queen Victoria's daughter, Crown Princess and later Empress Frederick, reigned only briefly before his early death (of throat cancer). He was succeeded by his illiberal son, the infamous Kaiser Wilhelm II of World War I who had been well trained by Count Bismarck. Frederick's autocratic and bellicose father, Wilhelm I, was Emperor during the Franco-Prussian War. Nightingale described his telegrams as "really blasphemous, repulsive, while he is swimming in blood (I am sure the Crown Prince loathes all that)."²⁵¹ There is much more to this effect in the second war volume.

In an 1888 letter to Fred Verney Nightingale was apt in her contrasts between the three emperors, father, son and grandson, and prophetic in her description of the outcome: "Poor Germany: it is like a Greek *tragedy*, a trilogy: Play 1, William Emperor, Play 2, Present Emperor, Play 3, Young William Emperor, which you will live to see—the tragedy—but I shall not. It will be a bitter one, and their empire at an end."²⁵² The empire did in fact come to an end in 1918, at the end of World War I, with the abdication of Kaiser Wilhelm, on whom there is also a brief note below.

Source: From an incomplete letter to Parthenope Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9012/12

16 March 1888

About the new German Emperor, surely the Prince of Wales had better things to tell the Queen of him than what 66 millions of people are saying, viz., that "seven doctors looking daily down one's throat, etc." A better thing has been told us of him within the last few days: that he has so conquered all impatience in himself that nothing troubles him or makes him lose patience. When a man has done this (how did he do it?), when one considers what his life is now, what a fiery trial, endured, as if it were a calm sunset, when "even seven doctors looking down his throat" cannot make him impatient, *he* is a *hero-saint* indeed.

251 Letter to Harry Verney 6 September 1870, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9004/102.

252 Letter 28 March 1888, Add Mss 68885 f181.

It is supposed the Emperor's life *may* perhaps be counted by days. May God grant to him and Europe, to which every hour of his life is without price, that he may be able to work and to rule every hour of that life, without being regented by his son. And may God grant *us* the strength which had been so transcendently given to him to conquer and overcome in himself. It is said that he has made this last year of suffering a "crowning education" to himself, and so it has. One could pray that it might be for yet a few years of *this* life that this man of fifty-seven has educated himself. How has he won this calmness and serenity? Not, I fancy, because he puts himself above but as it were below troubles.

Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany

Editor: Nightingale's unhappy predictions of harm from Kaiser Wilhelm's rule (above) would prove only too true after her death. The closest it seems they came to contact occurred on an "enjoyable stay in the beautiful neighbourhood of your old home near Romsey," which prompted the Emperor to send Nightingale flowers in London, "as a token of his esteem for the lady who, after receiving her education in nursing by the Sisters of Mercy at Kaiserswerth on the Rhine, undertook such invaluable service to the cause of humanity during the Crimean War and in founding a house for the training of nurses in England."²⁵³ Louis Hilary Shore Nightingale replied on his cousin's behalf, explaining that her "failing health and eyesight" prevented her from replying personally, and recalling "with deep gratitude the friendship and sympathy with which H.M.'s august mother, the late Empress, was pleased to honour her."²⁵⁴

Grand Duchess of Baden

Editor: Louisa, the Grand Duchess of Baden (1838-1923), was the daughter of Queen Augusta of Prussia, herself on one occasion a visitor and correspondent of Nightingale's. There is correspondence with the Grand Duchess also in the nursing volumes and in *Hospital Reform* (Nightingale worked on plans for a children's hospital in Heidelberg for her). Nightingale always had a high opinion of her, indeed describing her as "excepting her sister-in-law, the Empress Frederick, the only princess who knows anything."²⁵⁵

253 Copy of letter by P. Metternich, German Ambassador on behalf of the Emperor, 10 December 1907, ADD Mss 45750 f196.

254 Copy of letter of Louis Hilary Shore Nightingale to the German Ambassador 10 December 1907, ADD Mss 45750 f197.

255 Letter to Henry Bonham Carter 9 March 1896, ADD Mss 47727 f27.

Source: Draft letter to Grand Duchess of Baden, ADD Mss 45750 f172

18 February 1882

Reverent sympathy—all this long painfulness and weariness. God who is her example will give her His life. She who forfeits never the happy position of being His daughter may cast all her cares upon Him,²⁵⁶ the dearest work of God's hand, centre of so many hearts, of so much good work in His cause and of government in His name. . . .

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45750 f178

10 September 1889

Grand Duchess of Baden: I think that we all learn to live on and to work on not as we think it to be right but as God thinks it best for us. Hard sometimes is this school to go through but we learn daily more to be humble and to try by self-abnegation to follow the examples of one who has borne His cross for us all.

Source: Draft letter/copy, ADD Mss 45750 f179

Easter Day [6 April 1890]

Madam [Grand Duchess of Baden]

It is indeed a privilege to receive a letter from R. and I. [Her Royal and Imperial Highness] so full of the divine Spirit with which work should be carried on. There is so much superficial work here, shouting ladies making societies to carry out they know not what, instead of seeking, as you do, that Centre, that Father's sanctuary in their deepest selves whence comes the Spirit, which creates, which inspires, which renews us all if we will have it.

In elementary education here the following of Christ had taken the place of dogma and dividing doctrine. The new Education Bill seems if it is passed that it will bring it back.

You are so good as to ask me to tell you something about our work. It is so good of you to interest yourself about it. Some defects increase—some good increases. Nursing is the fashion. That means decay. At the same time it is necessary to catch the movement, the élan of a people as it flows and to try to guide it—above all, not to let the high standard of nursing fall.

The latest development, the Queen's Jubilee Nurses for nursing the sick poor at their own homes, the Rural Branch difficulties, successes,

256 An allusion to 1 Pet 5:7.

numbers affiliated, ladies' committees, inspection but does not supersede training. The London and Liverpool.

Kindness of the poor to each other. Homes, hygiene, child feeding, ignorance of mothers. Scotch perhaps the best. Rural midwifery, general nursing difficulty. Inspection will not supersede training, esprit du corps. Hospitals—workhouse infirmaries—differences made by cultivated women. Education of patients, now, moral effect—souls as well as bodies. Order, kindness, moderation. Children first effect of good words. You have not to contend with drunkenness and extreme poverty as in London tenements.

Source: From a draft letter/copy, ADD Mss 45750 ff187-88

14 April 1896

Madam [Grand Duchess of Baden]

Accept the deepest sympathy for eyes which have done so much for the world from one who is also suffering from failing eyesight. Let me say that we rejoice with God who has made such a princess for the world, a princess of high courage and patience, of grand religious faith, lovely before God, of devotion to work and duty.

There have been grand soldiers, types of hardihood and of successful command over themselves and others, who have won battles which have saved kingdoms. For such we must be thankful. But, before God, the same qualities are dearer in the patient intelligence of suffering workers, the vigorous holy will always at one with God's, the highest exercise of which, as far as we know, heavenly spirits are capable. And this, as far as we know, is the highest result of His training, of His discipline, is dearer far to Him.

The Son of God goes forth to war,
A kingly crown to gain:
His blood red banner streams afar!
Who follows in His train?
Who best can drink the cup of woe,
Triumphant over pain,
Who patient bears His cross below,
She follows in His train, etc.

(This was written by a missionary bishop who died in India.²⁵⁷)

257 The much-cited hymn by Reginald Heber; Nightingale substituted "she" for "he" in the last line.

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**PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, EDUCATION
AND LITERATURE**

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PHILOSOPHY

Jowett's *Dialogues of Plato*

Benjamin Jowett's famous translation of the *Dialogues of Plato*, with lengthy introductions, has gone through many editions and is still used.¹ What is not generally known is that Nightingale was extensively consulted for the wide-ranging revisions for the second edition and by far the greater part of her recommendations were adopted. The selections here present her comments, recommendations for change and the results.

Not only did Nightingale's work on the *Dialogues* result in considerably altered introductions but it seems that she herself was affected by the process of working through Plato's great classic. Her understanding of law, fixed, numerical relations, human purpose, the nature of good and evil, sex differences, the role and function of the family, education, health and disease were all firmed up in this exercise. That is, we can see in many of the texts below strong statements on these subjects which Jowett (usually but not always echoed) that became core Nightingale themes. These are all matters on which she had worked before so they do not break new ground so much as develop conviction from having to counter Plato's mistaken conceptions (in the case of the community of wives) or Jowett's insufficient or mistaken treatment.

Jowett it seems had his publisher send Nightingale the volumes immediately on publication. Indeed she wrote on the first volume, with her name, "12 July 1868 at Lea Hurst." The three other volumes

1 *Dialogues of Plato*, ed. and trans. Benjamin Jowett, 1st ed., 4 vols. (1868-71); 2nd ed., 5 vols. (1875); and the more used third ed., 5 vols. (1892). A fourth edition appeared in 1906, reprinted in 1930 and 1953.

in this edition appeared in 1871 (for simplicity the edition is referred to as 1871). One volume is inscribed incorrectly by the press: "From the author." In the case of volume 2, the *Republic*, Nightingale added her own correct inscription: "From the Translator."

It seems that the work on the *Republic* (volume 2 in the first edition) was done after the *Phaedo* and *Phaedrus* (in the first volume). A passage in the volume (at 2:71) was underlined: "the friend of man holding communion with the Eternal" and dated 8 June 1874. Correspondence with Jowett shows that he was revising for the second edition that spring. Nightingale indeed may have been sent page proofs of some portions, for there are remarks about improvements in wording. She also commented on the 1875 edition (ADD Mss 45785 ff72-74), either only briefly or the material was lost.

Nightingale worked directly on the volumes, adding points, objections, cross-referencing. She used the unnumbered pages at the beginning and end of books for overviews and general points. Most of this material was then transferred to her own notepaper and presumably this was what she sent to Jowett (much of ADD Mss 45783-85). After her death the volumes themselves somehow made their way to the British Library, but they were simply added to the regular collection (this is the only copy the British Library has of the 1871 edition; it has no copy of the 1875). The catalogue entry noted "Ms notes" but did not indicate that these were Nightingale's. This editor in fact came across them only by chance, checking references prior to publication!

The material here is largely drawn from the roughly 100 folios of ADD Mss notes, augmented by the annotations directly on the volumes when these are more extensive. (In the case of the *Charmides* there are only the volume annotations.) Clearly Nightingale read the texts line by line, correcting misprints and trivial errors as well as raising important substantive points. What she used as sources for the texts themselves, however, is not at all clear. She read Greek fluently but there is no evidence that she used Greek texts here. According to biographer Cook, Nightingale translated portions of the *Phaedo*, *Crito* and *Apology of Socrates* with her father; when Cook wrote, her notebooks were still available, but are no longer (1:13).

Jowett could not thank her enough: "You are a first-rate critic and you keep me up to a higher standard."² When "two parcels" of her

2 Letter 23 May 1874, Balliol College Archives, in Quinn and Prest, eds., *Dear Miss Nightingale* #426, 258.

comments on the *Republic* arrived he was even more gracious: "It is not everyone who has the advantage of being criticized by the goddess Athene."³ Another letter specifically noted that he had "adopted nearly all your hints as far as I have gone."⁴ A careful comparison of the introductions of the first and second editions shows that substantial changes were indeed made.

The revisions were so extensive, "at least a third of the work," that Jowett added a note before the preface to the 1892 edition:

Having regard to the extent of these alterations, and to the annoyance which is naturally felt by the owner of a book at the possession of it in an inferior form, and still more keenly by the writer himself, who must always desire to be read as he is at his best, I have thought that the possessor of either of the former editions (1870 and 1876) might wish to exchange it for the present one. I have therefore arranged that those who would like to make this exchange, on depositing a perfect and undamaged copy of the first or second edition with any agent of the Clarendon Press, shall be entitled to receive a copy of a new edition at half-price edition.

The introduction to the *Republic* increased from 160 pages in 1871 to 191 in 1875 and 231 in 1892, while the *Gorgias* increased from thirty to forty-five then fifty pages. Presumably many individuals and institutions took advantage of the 50-percent-off sale for the first two editions are now scarce. We give the 1875 text here, noting page references for both (the 1892 text is often slightly different, but only substantial differences have been noted).

Nightingale was, of course, more than a critic. She differed in interpretation with Jowett on a number of points, and forcefully put her arguments, occasionally acknowledging that he was unlikely to change his view. She notably wanted to draw more contemporary implications and pointed lessons from the material than he was prepared to. She made more biblical allusions than had Jowett. Nightingale saw Plato as an ally in attacking Darwin, even crediting him with the best refutation (see p 600 below). To her young cousin leaving for Girton College to study, Nightingale urged her to read the introductions to Jowett's *Dialogues of Plato*, especially the *Crito* and the *Phaedo*, saying that she

3 Letter April 1874, Balliol College Archives, in Quinn and Prest, eds., *Dear Miss Nightingale* #419, 256.

4 Letter 30 April 1874, Balliol College Archives, in Quinn and Prest, eds., *Dear Miss Nightingale* #425, 257.

had given him “the spiritual hints for those, not of course the critical.”⁵ Apart from showing Nightingale’s proficiency at interpreting Plato, the comments provide interesting material on love, marriage and friendship. The excerpts selected below show where her advice was, and was not, taken.

Nightingale saw Socrates/Plato as an ally on her great theme of God being the creator of *law*, and using law to bring humankind to perfection (a point on which she had failed to convince Jowett; with Socrates she was bringing in the heavy artillery). Jowett later preached and published a sermon comparing Socrates with Jesus. She also brought Quetelet, her mentor on the nature of law, into the discussion,⁶ expressly comparing Plato’s lack of knowledge of statistical relationships with Quetelet’s “laws” (see p 602 below). She did not succeed in getting Jowett to introduce material from Quetelet or allusions to his works, although she sent him a book by Quetelet, presumably *Physique sociale*, in 1872.⁷

There is an abundance of material not only on the family (where she is repetitive) but on love. In “Cassandra,” in *Suggestions for Thought*, Nightingale was entirely negative about marriage and the family. Her essay on the family in *Theology* similarly paints a grim picture. But here, provoked by Plato’s vision of human reproduction with no love, children to be raised in communal crèches with no knowledge of who their parents were, Nightingale finds much to say in favour of the family and marriage.

We will begin with a short section on the *Charmides* and then move on to the substantial comments on the *Phaedrus* and *Phaedo*, followed by the *Republic* and *Gorgias*. Shorter comments on the *Symposium*, *Statesman* and *Crito* are interspersed. The selections given below focus on substantive points of interest. The material is selective, for many of Nightingale’s notes were of quotations or paraphrases without comment. The electronic text should be consulted for the complete text and the British Library volumes of the first edition. The volume and page numbers refer to Jowett’s 1871 edition unless another edition is indicated.

Nightingale’s first letter below raised a number of serious, philosophical differences between her and Jowett and seems to have led to

5 Letter to Rosalind Shore Smith 22 August 1881, Add Mss 45795 ff152-53.

6 Add Mss 45785 ff148, 155, 199.

7 Jowett acknowledged receipt of the “Quetelet’s” arrival but only said that it “looks most interesting.” Letter November 1872, Balliol College 369.

Jowett's request that she, Nightingale, comment in detail. The letter immediately following then sets the stage. In the preface to the first edition Jowett described his approach as presenting Plato as the "father of idealism, who is not to be measured by the standard utilitarianism or any other modern philosophy." Nightingale then took Jowett to task over what she considered to be a serious lapse of his, Jowett's, idealism: not condemning the great lapse in Plato's idealism, on the substitution of institutional care for love and marriage. Plato himself was a "fool." Here we see an unexpected side of Nightingale, an advocate *for* the family, in sharp contrast with her views in *Suggestions for Thought*, her essay on the family (in *Theology* 3:140-56) and above. She is quite daring in arguing that children do better with parents who love each other, even if not married, than with married parents who do not: God is "so improper" (see p 556 below).

It is important to understand that Nightingale objected to Plato's *dualism*, the separation of spheres of mind and body. She, as would later feminists, insisted on the close union between the two. This becomes especially clear in her contemptuous denunciation of Plato's proposal for communal crèches and eugenic breeding, complete with the exposure of defective babies, in the *Republic* (see the introduction to that section of analysis on p 587).

General Comments on the 1871 Edition

Source: Unsigned draft/copy to Jowett, ADD Mss 45784 ff4-20

3 October 1871

Please return to F.N.

My dear child, I am quite scandalized at you, at your materialism and sensualism. Is it for an old maid, like me, to be preaching on this subject of love and "children," to you a Master in Israel?⁸ (You an idealist? I'm quite ashamed of you. I shall shut up you and Plato for a hundred years in punishment in another world, not in a spiked barrel but in a Turkish bath, till you have both obtained clearer views on the subject of materialism and idealism.)

It's quite indecent. What's this? (quoting from a celebrated author): "For we cannot deny that physical good is sometimes at variance with moral, e.g., in marriage the sole or chief principle, etc." My dear child, am *I* to preach to you about this? Don't you know that, even "on physical principles," there are essential points in marriage (to

8 An allusion to John 3:10.

“turn out” the best order of children) which, being absent, the perfection of “health and strength” in both parents is of no avail even for the physical part of the children? Might I just ask one small question: whether you consider man has a little soul? If he has, ever such a little one, you can scarcely consider him as a simple body, an animal, or even as a twin, the soul being one twin and the body the other, but as all one, the soul and the body, making one being (although only in *this* sense).

If *you* do, at all events *God* does not. Consequently He makes a great many more things enter into the “*physical*” constitution even (of the children) than the mere “health and strength” of the parents. (My son, really Plato talked nonsense about this.) One of these is love on both sides. God is so improper, do you know?, that illegitimate children, where there is love in the parents, are of a higher stamp than the children of marriage, where there is little or no love even with “health” on both sides.

Then there are so many other conditions besides “health and strength” in the parents for producing a fine race. Marrying blood relations, marrying *in and in*, even with the finest physical specimens to begin with, invariably produces a degenerate race, especially degenerate in *passionate* immorality, while intermarrying between different *rac*es, even with much inferior specimens to begin with, produces the finest descendants we know of. Besides, we must know what you mean by “the laws of physical improvement.” “Physical improvement” does not consist only in unbroken health, great physical strength, etc., but there is harmony of character, harmony of faculties, etc., in the child to be considered and these not-to-be-despised ingredients depend, we know, on quite other “laws” in the parents than mere “health and strength.”

But we know so very little of these laws at present that all we can say is, in producing a human being, which is a moral as well as a physical animal, quite other laws are concerned than, or besides, merely physical laws. And these we have to find out. Take a much more material thing than the producing of a bad or degenerate family or race. Take a railway accident: what are the “laws” therein concerned? You have by no means only to consider the “physical” laws, the strength of iron, the speed of steam, the smoothness of rails, the friction, etc., but you have to consider the state of mind of directors, whether they care only for their dividends, so that the “plant” is allowed to go bad, the railway servants to be overworked or underpaid, etc. Now, take again the

child-man, a much more intricate piece of mechanism than any engine. It is well known that a mother's state of *mind* before her child's birth exercises a much more direct influence upon its constitution, even to producing idiocy, than the directors' state of mind exercises over the constitution of the "plant," although I am sure I know some people, directors and others, and especially in the government offices and in some families who would soon produce idiocy in *me* if I consorted much with them.)

There are myriads of laws of this kind, some which we do know and many, many more which we don't know—but *may* know. (Plato, for once in thy life, thou wast a fool.) You quote Huxley.⁹ Now Huxley, though a man of science (and even *that* he is only when keeping *within* science (when he begins to write upon "protoplasm," germs and Darwinism, he is the very reverse of a man of science) is the very last man who could teach us anything in this. Huxley is undoubtedly one of the prime educators of the age, but he makes a profound mistake when he says to mankind: objects of sense are more worthy of your attention than your inferences and imaginations. You can't see the Battle of Thermopylae take place; what you can see is more worth your attention. On the contrary, the finest powers man is gifted with are those which enable him to infer from what he sees what he *can't* see. They lift him into truth of far higher import than that which he learns from the senses alone. Please, I will say something more about this by and bye (I will only say now why I introduce it here).

It is because it seems to me that it is *character* which the laws of nature tend, or are established to "improve." I have not an idea what the idealists mean (for even the idealists talk of "the laws of physical improvement") as if they could separate the *character* of man from his physical *constitution*, as if these were two distinct entities, like two parallel rivers, to be created from, to flow from different sources. For one thing, I believe it is just as absurd as if you were to talk about "improving" the race in all its *physical* organs, *except* one: the brain. And I believe it to be just as impossible to separate (in your objects of "improvement" for the "laws") the character or mental and moral constitution from the physical constitution as to separate the head from the trunk when you make a man.

For another thing, I believe that the laws of nature all tend to improve the *whole*, moral and physical, that you must consider man as

9 T.H. Huxley (1825-95), scientist and promoter of science education.

a whole, that *that* is no real improvement in the physical which does not affect the moral, that one of these laws cannot be neglected without influencing that which you would class under another, in short, that it is a *reductio ad absurdum* to consider man either as a body to be “improved” or as a soul to be “improved” *separately*.

As to the “laws of physical improvement requiring that we should get rid of sickly and deformed infants, etc.,” the “laws of physical improvement” require that we should *prevent* them or improve them, not that we should *kill* them. *That* would be to get rid of some of the finest intellectual and moral specimens of our human nature that have ever existed.¹⁰

Even were this not the case, the heroism, the patience, the wisdom of our race have been more called forth by dealing with these and the like forms of evil than by almost anything else. Also, we know that some of the finest *physical* specimens of the human race have been some of the weakest and wickedest of *men*, but more especially of *women*. It all comes to this: God has created man a composite animal, moral, intellectual and physical. He won’t let you separate these, if you would. The object of His laws, which laws we can’t alter, though we can find out, is *not* to turn out solely a fine physical animal in man, a Frankenstein.¹¹ None of His laws are directed solely to this, but to turn out the complete animal, moral, intellectual and physical.

I find much truth in what the positivists say, though strongly differing from their conclusions. A man at the British Association [said]: “Treating man as the head of the zoological series argues that his dominion over animals is now a moral dominion and concludes that only insofar as nature is used by man for moral ends is it rightly used, and that the intellect finds its true work in directing his *affective* nature to moral purposes and relationships.” I only quote this here because it seems to me to state strongly what I wish to say about man being *essentially* a moral, not a physical animal, and because if marriage is not a *moral* “relationship” “with a moral purpose” (I don’t mean by this standing before a man in a white tie performing a ceremony) it is found to affect the whole constitution of the offspring, especially in its harmony, in a way which all Plato’s selection of parents “for

10 Plato’s view in the *Republic*, see her discussion p 610 below.

11 In Mary Godwin Shelley’s *Frankenstein*, the so-named graduate student created a “monster” in his laboratory, then rebuffed his numerous offers of friendship. Most of the tale consists of the misunderstood creature’s unsuccessful attempts to be accepted by his maker.

health and strength” would not remedy. Like the “modern Prometheus,” who created Frankenstein, you and Plato seem to have left out the soul.)

The “positivist” language generally is dull and repulsive, but they have grasped some of the greatest truths more firmly than most thinkers. They so distinctly recognize that what we call *moral right* is our ruler, *the good of man in its most enlarged sense* our right object, and systematically they would set about finding out *how most we can bring it about*. Now the good of man in its highest sense *can’t* be attained by neglecting one set of laws or one aspect of man’s nature and cultivating another. Each set of laws is directed to man’s *whole* nature. One part of it can’t be done justice to, while another is stunted. One part of it can’t be injured without injuring all. The “laws of *physical* improvement” in fact mean nothing when dealing with a composite creature, like man, *by themselves*.

As in sanitary things, dirt breeds disease, disease destitution and drunkenness, destitution vice; *physical* and *moral* deterioration go together, and so on and *vice versa*. So is it with the “laws of physical improvement.” You can’t attain the good of man in its highest sense, nor even the good of “physical improvement” by the “laws of physical improvement” alone. Indeed, are there any such? You can’t breed a man as you would a horse or cat. Morality, in its highest sense, *must* have a part in even his physical improvement.

If you did “kill off” the “sickly and deformed infants” *that* would lower the moral standard, or show so low a standard of *moral* improvement that it would check even the *physical* improvement. It cuts both ways. (It is like the 400 heroes who stood firm “as on parade” when the *Birkenhead*¹² went down, in order to save the lives of a few wretched women. People said: what a waste! the heroes ought to have been saved. Yes, but if the heroes had thought of saving their own lives and let the women be drowned, they would not have been heroes and would have not been worth saving.) Suppose those heroes calculating that the women had *better* be “killed off”! So is it, if you seek only the “laws of physical improvement” you will not make heroes, and “physical improvement” itself will suffer.

12 The wreck of the *Birkenhead* in 1852, a troopship en route to the Cape of Good Hope when it went down in twenty minutes and over 400 people died; first use of “women and children first” into the lifeboats, and in fact all the women and children were saved.

7 October 1871

Does not all we learn of the laws of nature show God's thought to be one man to one woman, two in one, for all time? the bond between them to be that *those two* can do the work of God better together than each could do it alone? If this be so, is it not nonsense to talk about coupling the man and the woman together as you do the bull and the cow, for the mere purpose of breeding? If it be so, is it not nonsense to expect a man with a brain, heart and moral nature to be bred out of such an union like a calf, to expect in such a complex creature as a child the highest results from such "breeding" as you do in your calves, when you have chosen a first-rate bull for your "Duchess" herd?

I entirely therefore agree, quoting from the same author that "You must take man as a whole." But this seems at variance with his very next sentence: "and make morality and the mind the limit of physical improvement. But it is not easy to see what this limit is." I never can understand the word "limit" used in this sense, for if I were writing, I should use a word signifying the exact reverse: "expansion," "enlargement," "multiplication," "master" or the like: "whole" instead of "limit," "informing spirit" instead of "limit." (My dear child you are quite corrupted by Plato's "idealism," a pervert of Plato's. We must really pray for your conversion.) As Plato says, the mind informs the body, *owns* the body; the *body* is the *servant* of the mind. How can the *owner* and the *master* be the "*limit*"? The man is not "limited" by his "mind" or soul or whatever you call it, he is "informed" or enlarged (over the beast). His "whole" is greater than the beast's "whole." Human "morality" does not limit, it expands and multiplies the laws necessary for "physical improvement." In other words, it takes a great deal more; many other laws occur, which we have to consider, to produce the highest results in a man than in a beast. (I must express this better when I can.)

I continue: "And, although we may form ideals, we have to descend from them in practice." Certainly, and it is just that which forms in each man's life, his teaching, his experience, namely, to find out what is *right* relative to his own time, his own being, his own knowledge of truth, etc. What is right in regard to one consideration is not always right in regard to another. It is right to attend to the laws of physical health, it is right to attend to the laws of moral health, yet right in some cases to go to a physical or moral Cayenne.¹³

13 A horrendous French penal colony.

The exercise of all our powers, not all which every man *has*, but all which tend to the improvement of mankind, is right in one sense. But it may be *the* right for the time being. Indeed one can do nothing without so doing, to leave some unexercised, to overexercise some as relates to others temporarily, even to crush ourselves, to crush *others*? This is what we call mankind: the ideal become actual. This of course it is which constitutes the lesson we have to learn in all time. (When Christ said that he was our “meat,”¹⁴ did he not mean that he was giving a body to the ideal, flesh to the spirit?) This is the whole question, in fact, of “ought”: how ought we to proceed, how may the *relative* “best” be in harmony with the *absolute*, be carrying out as far as in us lies the “absolute,” how may the Spirit of God in man be the same as far as is possible with the Spirit of God, in the march of time as a part of eternity? Or in other words *how may parts be in relation to the whole*? For example, what is benevolent? Here come in large modifications with regard to all time, all being, all knowledge of truth. Benevolent is *willing* the “well” to others. Our knowledge of what *is* the “well” to others must of course be limited, must of course “vary” with (or rather progress with) experience—only God knows absolutely what *is* this “well.” Only in His mind can it be known with perfect *definiteness*. We have to find out how to partake His consciousness. All this we may describe as the ideal becoming actual, the Spirit made flesh, the “Word” made flesh.¹⁵

I continue quoting: “Men’s conceptions of morality vary” (I would rather say progress with knowledge) “if you reconstruct the world on a physical basis, you have to go to war with received principles of morality.” (This I doubt. I believe on the contrary, as said before, that the highest “principles of morality” are necessary to “reconstruct” even physically mankind. For example, that the race deteriorates and dies out under polygamy is now so well known that, in nations where it is extensively practised, children have to be adopted, absolutely imported, and wives imported from monogamist nations. This and many other facts tend to show what was above said about the “one man” and the “one woman” and what should be their bond of “union.”)

Then you say: “How do you distinguish between the true and false witness of nature?” Is it a “moral sense” which is to show us this, or a “religious sense” or conscience? Is it not rather educated or experi-

14 An allusion to John 6:55.

15 An allusion to John 1:14.

enced feeling, made up from/compounded of the various *rights*, so to speak? Thus does the “law” become “feeling,” till “law” is no more wanted? Must not all our faculties unite to settle what *is* the *moral* (right) witness, how they all must be modified into *the* right? Whatever is, properly speaking, *natural* to us is right. “Follow nature” would be right, but for these *compounds* of what is “natural” to us. It is natural to eat when we are hungry, therefore right, unless there is another right which *modifies*, in other words something to say “don’t eat, though you are hungry.” Conscience or the “moral sense,” or “intuition,” is this struggling perplexed perception or consciousness of the various rights making *the* right. “Follow nature,” if the time comes when all men are following *human* nature, will probably be a simple straightforward road. But *now*, to those of true and large views, who must mainly be struggling alone and against the stream, to “follow nature” in the highest sense must be a battle and, ignorant as we are, a battle in the dark.

All words recognizing actual or possible goodness in human nature show a true feeling of it. For example, “follow nature,” “humane,” “humanity.” (It was necessary to create a devil wherever we gave up this recognition.) “Moral sense” I should like to define or describe as his endeavour to recognize what we can of *the* right, by reference to God’s character, to what our character is to become, to various beings, various truth, in all times as parts of eternity.

What is moral right then? Is right *right* because God wills it so? Might, for example, this Supreme Being, this Power, have made it right to take pleasure in the pain of others? No, not *this* Power, not power of *this* character. “Right expresses what the Gods *are*.” With regard to WHAT is absolutely right and what is wrong it is true that large modifications must come in with regard to all time, all being, all *knowledge of truth*. This is not to say that truth is not *one*, that right is not *one*, as some people think. It is only to say that, as we learn more and more of truth, as we learn more and more of what is right, we come to the knowledge of truth, NOT that it “varies.” (It is the farthest possible thing from saying, as some do, that one person or one race may think one thing, another another, that each may take what suits his own mind, the “private judgment” theory, in opposition to the “truth theory,” which is that truth is one, and we have to find it. But we can only act, think or feel right *for the time being* according to the measure of truth we have obtained.)

Truth, right, *can* therefore be *absolutely* the consciousness only of *One*, the source of all being, the source of the history of all being through

time, through eternity, whose consciousness is what we call truth, or rather *what we call truth is His consciousness*. Righteousness is our God, if we can but find Him. Show us ever so many undeniable miracles, we will have no other God. Show us the wonders of *science, of the stars, we will have no God that does not include with these "moral right."* Show us a God who grants heaven and gives hell, we will have no selfish or intellectual questions on religious subjects, except pursued in connection with moral right, answered as they regard truth and righteousness.

But then what *is* right? How are we to know it when we see it? When we say righteousness is our God, we find reason to believe that this Power feels, thinks, purposes, destines, not sometimes this, sometimes that, but *something definite*, something—what?—and this we call or name right. We describe right, then, as the consciousness of a being we call God, who, as *revealed by law*, we find reason to think a perfect Being. What law? What "definite"? There is so much that we cannot *define*, we can only *describe*. We cannot define the character of God, we can only *describe* it. We cannot define truth, we can only describe it. We do not attempt to define *right*, because we cannot. We have no evidence to tell us how to define right, but we can *describe* right. When we say that righteousness is our God, we know, that is, we feel sure, that certain feelings and qualities are right: benevolence, justice, sympathy and the like. Why do we say so? Some (Sedgwick and his school) say that "intuition" teaches it. Some (Mill and his school) say that experience of what is man's *well-being* teaches it. But *why* do we *wish for man's well-being*?

Why do we want happiness for others, why not enjoy their tortures, as some do? It ends in this: there is a Power whose feeling is what we call benevolence, justice, sympathy (*so we learn from law* What law?) and this Power wills that it shall be brought about *that we shall feel* so. But only a few of us; some "enjoy others' torture." What law?

Source: Note to Benjamin Jowett, ADD Mss 45783 f194

"Know thyself," what art thou, what is man? What is the rule of thy life? Do not seek for wisdom in water and fire and winds and vapours, until you have first made out the mystery of human nature. I should say and just as much as the evangelist says in Know *God* (for this is eternal life). He (John) made an immense beginning [when] he said "He is love,"¹⁶ but no one, no one has shown what a God of love is,

16 An allusion to 1 John 4:6.

how God is a God of love, how this is consistent with the state of the world as it is. George Fox¹⁷ explains it by saying God did not create the devil. Goethe says He did and we ought to be very much obliged to Goethe, who certainly did not trouble himself much about God, for having by the force of his surpassing genius discovered this. *This* is the “mystery” we ought to find out. And “until you have first made out this mystery” don’t puzzle yourself about beginnings and ends. “That is a knowledge which is the condition of all other knowledge and which can never be exhausted or come to an end.”

Christianity made an immense step in declaring God to be love, but has never shown how He can be love. On the contrary, Christianity has often made Him out to be worse than the worst tyrant and murderer.

Source: Note to Benjamin Jowett, ADD Mss 45783 ff84-87

Socrates says, in the *Lesser Hippias*, that it is better to do so or say what is bad and know it to be bad than to do or say what is bad, not knowing it to be so. This, which seems so obvious that it is almost a truism, and which one sees under one’s eyes every day of one’s life, Plato [Socrates was struck out] has been most unjustly blamed for as sophistry. M Cousin¹⁸ shows he did not understand it in the least.

I don’t care if Plato had been writing the state of England in 1866, he could not have been more exact. It is the sin against the Holy Ghost. Everybody now, it seems to me, has a moral reason for doing what they like. When I was a child, it did not use to be so among my grandparents and the people of the last century. They did violent and wrong things—much more wrong things than are done now, but they never said they were right. On the contrary, they were very sorry afterwards and asked for forgiveness from God and man.

I see just the same thing in governments. I won’t quote Louis Napoleon or Bismarck, or Prussia thanking Providence for having enabled her to commit the blackest crime in history, or Lord John Russell saying in his place in the House of Commons, in favour of Louis Napoleon, what he (Lord John) knew that we knew that he knew to be a lie. But I will only quote what cannot be gainsaid.

The way in which administration is carried on in government offices: it is perfectly well understood, perfectly well known by all and

17 George Fox (1624-91), founder of Society of Friends (Quakers).

18 Victor Cousin (1792-1867), French historian of philosophy, author of a three-volume *Cours de l’histoire de la philosophie moderne*, 1847.

every one of the actors, that the “reports” and the “inquiries” and the “minutes” and the “correspondence” are not in order that anything may be done, but that anything may not be done.

It is like resolutions. People make resolutions to do what is good, instead of doing the thing which is good, in order to satisfy their own selves, not to do what is good. (One of the best people I ever knew told me that I did not know what it was to break resolutions. No, because I never made resolutions.)

So, nobody supposes that the Privy Council is going to enforce any sanitary measures on the local authorities, or that the local authorities are going to carry any, without their being enforced. So they willfully allow, *permit* and even *commit* the most horrible things, knowingly, 7000 murders in thirteen weeks. Everybody thinks, or at least they think, it is all right. All these boards and offices are nothing but a mechanism [as Plato says in his *Gorgias* struck out] for enabling the persons responsible to do nothing. Now certainly the poor man who embezzles his employers’ money, knowing it to be wrong, and goes and commits suicide is much better, in a much more hopeful state than these most respectable people, who are willfully stupid, who cannot be saved, who commit the sin against the Holy Ghost¹⁹ every day, who commit and permit all kinds of atrocities (and report and write and write and report) not knowing them to be so. It seems to me to be so obvious that it is scarcely worth the trouble of explaining.

The Duke of Wellington told Filder, his Commissary in Spain, that he should be hanged if he did not get the bullocks and the Army was saved. (That was doing wrong willfully, a very good thing.) Lord Raglan told Filder, his Commissary in the Crimea, that he was a very good man, though he got no bullocks and the Army was lost. (That was doing wrong unintentionally, a very bad thing.)

Of all the pernicious doctrines, the destructive doctrines that ever were broached, the evangelical doctrine that God looks only at the “intention,” is the worst. I entirely agree with Socrates that he who does evil and knows it is a much better man than he who does evil and does not know it. For who is the more hopeless of the two? Certainly the latter.

’Tis better to have fought and lost

Than never to have fought at all. Arthur Hugh Clough

19 An allusion to Luke 12:10.

I have not a shadow of doubt, have you? that I had rather die in the workhouse infirmary than live as I see those people do who drive in carriages in parks, with their dogs' heads out of window, taking everything they can out of this poor earth and giving nothing back. (If I kept a dog instead of a cat, I should have to keep a brougham for it to drive out in and a manservant to take it out, whereas my cats are satisfied with a walk on the leads. But the cats of the next century will not be.)

Nobody thinks for one hour, what do I say? for one minute, what is the truth? They want to find an argument for themselves in what you say [illeg]

Charmides

Source: Nightingale's annotations to Benjamin Jowett, *Charmides*, in *Dialogues of Plato* vol. 1, 1868, British Library

What is "Character"? It is not "nature." Nature = mode of being, of which we *can* know nothing, either of God or man. Character = characteristics of disposition, of idiosyncrasies, qualities, attributes, of which we can know everything, if we search. To say the "character of God" = divine perfection is not pushing the question one single step forward. For of course the next question of any honest inquirer is: what is the "character" of "divine perfection"? So that it is simply saying: the "character" of the Perfect is to be "perfection." That no religionists, no ages, no churches, no doctors ancient or modern, Eastern or Western, has ever agreed upon "What *is* the Perfect?" What are the characteristics of perfection? is matter of history.

For example, millions have thought that the characteristic of "divine perfection" was to will an eternity of "salvation" for a few, an eternity of "damnation" for a many. Some (alas *some?* have *any?*) have thought that the characteristic of "divine perfection" was to will an eternity of progress for *all*. However this may be, the idea of what *are* the characteristics of the perfect must be an extraordinarily different one in the minds of those who think *this*, of those who think *that*. Tertullian and Dr Pusey must form an extravagantly different idea of what *is* the Perfect God, to do what *they* think He does, from what *you* and I suppose your sheep, form. This is a truism.

M Mohl: Nothing in the history of religions to compare with fetishism of French. Educated men believe Virgin of La Salette, Lourdes, Paris, etc. = different persons. Fetishes [bound] inhabiting particular spots, to be propitiated [bound] In the minds of these fetish-idolaters this idea of the characteristics of qualities constituting "divine Perfection"

must be quite unlike what it is in the minds of Plato, M. Aurelius, of one who said, "God is a spirit, etc."²⁰

Maxims of Spanish and French mystics absolutely true and right, e.g., conformity to will of God = way of the Perfect, every action to spring from love of God, to be performed in the unity of His [bound] and in the spirit of His Son, to tend to perfection.

The only thing, yet the greatest thing of all, into which they never inquire, the only thing wanting, yet the foundation of all things is: *what* are the characteristics of this Perfect? *What* is this "divine Perfection"?

St Teresa: these characteristics are to put His Son at one door and His mother at the other to prevent her nuns from coming out except to *beg*, from doing anything *in* except pray. That Philip II is representative of divine perfection, to obey him = *our* perfection.

All say that the "will of God" for those who aspire after absolute "conformity," "uniformity," "deformity" is to live upon the people's earnings *or* to starve, and to pray all day, except when you preach. Can there be a stronger test case to show that the questions: *what* are the characteristics, etc. is not only one upon which no two religions are agreed, but one which, though the most vital, most practical, most essential has hardly even been touched, that to say "character of God" = divine perfection is to say the character of the Perfect = to be perfect. That it is no use talking about "conformity" with "God," if you do not know what God is, what He means, what His plans, His intentions are, what He is doing in shore, *what* His will is.

Yet these people had scarcely the remotest idea of what God means, what He wills. Nor *have we now*. What God intends, what He thinks, what He is doing, what He is planning, is it not His character? Only don't say that it is "divine perfection." For that is begging the very question at issue: *what that is*.

In every page of the mystics [are the] words "perfect," "perfection." In every page of the mystics you see that not only had they not made the slightest inquiry as to *what* the *Perfect* would do or have us do, but that they were themselves much better than their God, much better than Him they called "the Perfect," "Divine Perfection" = merely a meta-physical idea.

What the characteristics of "divine Perfection" are is the practical, the vital question, viz., to find out what it would do, what it is doing, what its intentions, laws, plans, order are. IF we do not know what the

²⁰ John 4:23.

Perfect Will (“Order of the best”) is, is there anything more undeniable than that the “order for the best” has meant the most different things in different minds? It has meant that “the best” was to pray and beg; it has meant that tomorrow was the end of the world; it has meant that salvation” was to live with houris in heaven, profligacy.

If we do not know what the “order for the best” (p 385) is, is it not high time that we should find out?, not say it is “divine perfection.” Is there anything more undeniable than that the mystics never knew, never even inquired what that “will” was, what “divine perfection” was?

The *Phaedrus* and *Phaedo*

Source: Note to Benjamin Jowett, ADD Mss 45784 ff134-90

30 January 1873

FN: 1:552: “Subjects of the *Phaedrus*.” Surely the subjects of the *Phaedrus* are: (1) love, noble and ignoble, that is, with friendship and without; (2) rhetoric, neither [the] art of persuasion nor knowledge of the truth alone, but [the] art of persuading men of the truth (the truth to be found out first) by knowledge of characters and of what arguments persuade what characters, i.e., [the] art of persuasion founded on knowledge of truth and on knowledge of character.

ED: Jowett gave five, quite different, subjects of the *Phaedrus*: (1) false or conventional art of rhetoric, (2) love or the inspiration of beauty and knowledge, (3) dialectic, (4) true rhetoric, which is based on dialectic, and (5) superiority of the spoken over the written word (1871 1:552). He did not change the passage in the next edition but did add considerable text on the subject of love, to be discussed below (1875 2:88-92; 1892 1:903-04).

FN: There are other touches of inimitable grace and art and deepest wisdom in the *Phaedrus*, such as the prayer at the end (what collect in your service equals those words: “Give me beauty in the inward SOUL.” Is not this an echo of what he had just said, that what is *written* in the SOUL is the only “true way of writing”? and “may the outward and the inward man be at one,” the whole or at least half St John of the Cross’s²¹ doctrine in ten words. Such as the “great name” “which belongs to God only” (for “only” read *alone*), such as the whole passage, equal to St Paul, about being acceptable to God and not to man,²² pleasing one’s Master and not one’s “fellow servants.”

21 The name used by Juan de Yepes, friend and disciple of Teresa of Avila.

22 An allusion to 1 Thess 2:4.

ED: The dialogue has Socrates stating: “Beloved Pan, and all ye gods who haunt this place, give me beauty in the inward soul” (1871 1:615). Nightingale’s marginal note says “collect” and indicated “alone” to replace “only,” the usual construction, which Jowett adopted. He repeated the prayer in his introduction and called it a “collect” in the further material he added to the 1875 edition:

Jowett 1875 text: There is an echo of this in the prayer at the end of the dialogue, “Give me beauty in the inward soul, and may the inward and the outward man be at one.” We may further compare the words of St Paul, “Written not on tables of stone, but on fleshly tables of the heart,” and again, “Ye are my epistles known and read of all men.”²³ . . . So in other ages, weary of literature and criticism, of making many books, of writing articles in reviews, some have desired to live more closely in communion with their fellow men, to speak heart to heart, to speak and act only, and not to write, following the example of Socrates and of Christ. Some other touches of inimitable grace and art and of the deepest wisdom may be also noted, such as the prayer or “collect” which has just been cited, “Give me beauty,” etc., or “the great name which belongs to God alone” or “the saying of wiser men than ourselves that a man of sense should try to please not his fellow servants, but his good and noble masters,” like St Paul again, or the description of the “heavenly originals” (1875 2:99; 1892 1:420).

FN: It would be hard to say what the “continuous thread” of the Sermon on the Mount is. It *is* morality, but founded on the only real source of the highest morality, that is, perfect union with the perfect Being, in contrast to the morality of law and ceremony. Without this it is not a complete description of the Sermon on the Mount, which too has many episodes, such as the touches of mysticism, etc. But surely the main topics of discourse are these two: (1) love and (2) rhetoric.

I do not follow quite what you say that the “continuous thread” is “rhetoric” any more than if you were to say that the “continuous thread” of the Sermon on the Mount is morality (and very much taken aback the Jews must have been to hear it when they were doubtless expecting the “Messiah” to preach his *messiahship*). Nor that the “first speech” of Socrates is merely an example of the “false rhetoric,” nor that the “art of rhetoric in the lower sense,” etc. Will you not “delete” the words “*in the lower sense*” and put something to the effect

²³ 2 Cor 3:3.

that “the art of rhetoric” is founded on a knowledge of the characters of men *by which to persuade them of the truth* (something of this kind). Is not that paragraph (1:552): “The subjects” to “peculiar study” somewhat patchy? (I think it was written at 5:00 A.M.)

ED: Jowett did not delete the “lower sense” but qualified Socrates’ first speech as “an improvement” though still partaking of false rhetoric. He further qualified “true rhetoric” as being “neither the art of persuasion nor knowledge of the truth alone” but founded on knowledge of “truth” and of “character” (1875 2:86; 1892 2:86-87).

There is further material on the *Phaedo* in Nightingale’s annotations on the volume itself. In the introduction she marked, regarding immortality of soul, “Jowett says that we are more certain of the *existence of God* than we are of the *immortality of the soul*, and are *led by the belief in the one to a belief in the other*” (1:395). An annotation at the side asks: “What ‘God’? What ‘immortality.’ ‘Belief’ in *what*? ‘Belief in what others?’, immortality of PROGRESS? or of REWARD and PUNISHMENT?” At the top margin: The eternal error of supposing “God” something *distinct* from “*truth and right*.” Another annotation states: “But it must be a God leading to progress and perfection. What do you mean by immortality? Do you mean progress? And we may fall away always from eternal salvation as rise from eternal damnation. To say the least of it: *There MUST be an extraordinary difference in a ‘God’ who plans the ‘immortality’ of REWARD AND PUNISHMENT and in a ‘God’ who plans the ‘immortality’ of progress (for all).*”

Nightingale underlined Jowett’s statement (1:380): “Because *man is not his own property but a possession of the gods and he has no right to make away with that which does not belong to him*. But why, asks Cebes, if he is a possession of the gods will he wish to die and leave them? for he is under their protection and surely he cannot take better care of himself than they take of him.” She added a comment on the side: “Mysticism. No higher ‘mysticism’ than that of the *Phaedo*.”

Jowett 1875 additional text: No one can duly appreciate the dialogues of Plato, especially the *Phaedrus*, *Symposium* and portions of the *Republic*, who has not a sympathy with mysticism. To the uninitiated, as he would himself have acknowledged, they will appear to be the dreams of a poet who is disguised as a philosopher. There is a twofold difficulty in apprehending this aspect of the Platonic writings. . . . By mysticism we mean, not the extravagance of an erring fancy, but the concentration of reason in feeling, the enthusiastic love of the good, the

true, the one, the sense of the infinity of knowledge and of the marvel of the human faculties. When feeding upon such thoughts the “wing of the soul” is renewed and gains strength; she is raised above “the manikins of earth” and their opinions, waiting in wonder to know, and working with reverence to find out what God in this or in another life may reveal to her (1875 2:102; 1892 1:423).

ED: At the end of the *Phaedo* Nightingale added a comment: “There is nothing in all tragedians, ancient or modern—there is nothing in all art or in all poetry, or in any fiction or history (with the one exception—very different—of the death of Christ) like the death of Socrates in Plato. To end it thus is not only a bathos but quite unworthy of the tone and poetically illogical in its place, because inconsistent with p 397 ++. Why spoil this?” (1:399). The point to which she refers was “a principle which does not admit of death.”

Add Mss resumes:

FN: 1:553 *top lines*: No No No No 100 times No. My dear child, I will not let you so blaspheme against your master Socrates (you are much worse than the present governor general of India, who has atoned). Take out that about the “tour de force” an’ you love me. It is not only “the most beautiful” it is the *best and wisest* of all the Platonic dialogues. And take out that vile Latin phrase in the *third* line. Plato is weeping over your apostasy, and so am I.

ED: The offending passage in the first edition refers to the *Phaedrus* as “one of the most beautiful of the Platonic dialogues,” yet with “more of the character of a ‘tour de force’” and more of “quidlibet audendi potestas [the power to dare anything] than any other” dialogue. The Latin was removed in the next edition and further material added, to read: “At the same time the *Phaedrus*, although one of the most beautiful of the “Platonic Dialogues,” is also more irregular than any other. For insight into the world, for sustained irony, for depth of thought, there is no dialogue superior, or perhaps equal to it. Nevertheless the form of the work has tended to obscure some of Plato’s higher aims” (1875 2:87; 1892 1:404).

FN: (N.B. Plato is anxious to be gentle with you, considering that he owes you much, to give you “room for repentance” and above all not to get up a public meeting against you or a *Saturday Review*. But, if you do not retract these expressions, he waives his right to an apology; he will proceed against you for contempt of court. Amen.)

These things, my son, are about all that the God gives me to say. (It is true I had many more things to comment upon in the “Introduction,” but fortunately for you, for which thank the gods! I have not time or strength.) Was there ever a time when these things more wanted, more cried out, to be said? And who but you can say them?

I think (I am going to be very impertinent) that in the first introduction to the *Phaedo* (the revise is quite new matter) you did not say enough what you thought yourself. But I think that, in this introduction to the *Phaedrus*, you have not said enough what Plato thought himself. I cannot do “the same” as in the *Phaedo*, can I?, because you have not entered at all into the argument in your introduction to the *Phaedrus* in the same way as you did in your introduction to the *Phaedo*, have you? Also, have you not “scamped” the analysis of the *Phaedrus* very much? The *Phaedrus* is much the most popular of the dialogues with the vulgar, like me (always excepting parts of the *Crito*, *Phaedo*, etc., which relate immediately to the death of Socrates). Yet there is no dialogue of which your analysis is so meagre, is there? The following will hardly be more than verbal criticisms.

1:543: “*Symposium* looking forward.” Is this quite consistent with 1:487, or with the fact? I thought the *Symposium* was only concerned with “this world” and that 1:487 says so. I don’t think that the *Symposium* “looks forward” at all. And I think it is singularly “scamping,” as engineers say, both the *Phaedrus* and the *Phaedo* to represent them as solely, or even mainly, concerned with a “former” state. Surely the *Phaedrus* and *Phaedo* look “backwards and forwards,” to the “past *and the future*” not only more than any other work of Plato’s but more than almost any work in the world. Also at 1:487 you indicate this.

ED: Jowett had said that, while both the *Phaedo* and the *Phaedrus* look backwards and forwards, the *Symposium* “is bounded by this world” (1871 1:487). He changed the passage and added considerably more material on the point in the introduction to the *Symposium*: “In the *Symposium* there is no break between this world and another; and we rise from one to the other by a regular series of steps or stages. . . . At first immortality means only the succession of existences; even knowledge comes and goes . . .” (1892 1:539).

FN: Is the *Symposium* to be put on a level with the *Phaedrus* and *Phaedo* any more than Swinburne is to be put in the same category as Aeschylus? [The] *Phaedrus* introduction looks now as if it were by a different hand from [the] introduction to *Phaedo* worked up. I hate a volume

by different authors; it is like a magazine, as if a man did not like to be “alone in the dark.”

FN: 1:543, 45: Pass “the *day*” *Morning?*; it is *before* “the heat of noon” (1:545-46).

ED: The next edition duly has “pass the morning” instead of “passing the day” (1875 2:77) and “spending the morning” in 1892 1:393.

FN: 1:545-46: In the “Fioretti di S. Francesco d’ Assisi,” a work of the thirteenth century, there is a vision singularly like this, and most certainly St Francis never heard of Plato. Only the unhappy person has but 150, instead of 10,000, years to wait before his “wings grow,” but during that time he is or seems to himself waiting on a broken bridge over a torrent of monsters. He has, however, other ordeals to go through: a desert, a fire, before he “beholds” wisdom and goodness “in their essence.”

ED: Jowett changed the wording in the next edition, but did not address Nightingale’s point. In 1892 he went into more detail about the trials of the soul (1:397-98).

FN: 1:546, 9th line from top: why is it put “*in the place of*” true knowledge? This expression will be mistaken, will it not? Do you not mean “in the *form of*”?

ED: The next edition was changed to dwelling “in the region of true knowledge” (1875 2:80; 1892 1:397).

FN: 1:581 bottom, p 546 9th line from bottom: “*deteriorates* his lot.” Is this grammar? His lot *is deteriorated*, is it not?

ED: The revised edition is a compromise: “the lot of him who lives unrighteously deteriorates” (1875 2:81) and in the next more simply: “he who lives righteously deteriorates” (1892 1:397).

FN: 1:547 new paragraph: how immeasurably superior is this conception of “heaven” to that of the Revelations! 1:547 and elsewhere: descriptions of “true mystic.”

ED: The text reads: “The true mystic, who has seen the many sights of bliss, when he beholds a godlike form or face, is amazed with delight, and if he were not afraid of being thought mad, he would fall down and worship” (1875 2:81-82; 1892 1:398).

FN: How singularly alike are these in the Buddhist, the Greek and the Christians of the sixteenth century as “Father and Mother and goods and laws are nothing to him, etc.” [unchanged].

FN: 1:548, 8th line from top: charioteer “*dropping*,” is there no better word?

ED: The revised text has the charioteer “throwing himself backwards” (1875 2:82; 1892 1:399).

FN: From 1:551 to end: it is so much of a criticism of which I know nothing. (I mean not a following out of argument) that I have no suggestions to make. 1:554: the “white horse,” it is not “p 253” (misprint) it is [line] 253, 1:587.

ED: A mistake between page and line numbers, duly corrected (1875 2:93).

FN: 1:555 6 lines from bottom: all that about “sense” and “desires” (always mixed up in Christian mystics) and “saving” knowledge of ideas occurs, almost word for word, in early mystical works of France and Spain.

1:557, 2nd line from bottom: Quetelet makes the remark that we carelessly ignore the difference between “certain” and “probable” [unchanged].

1:560, 3rd line from top: there is something awkward about this, is there not? After “comparing” should you not insert the words *what is said about* “the divisions of the soul, etc.,” or something to that effect? You can’t “compare” “the soul” with the “character of the style.”

ED: The revised text has “taking into account the divisions of the soul” instead of “comparing” (1875 2:101; 1892 1:422).

FN: (If you will not think me very impertinent, I should say that *this* is the confusion apparent in many of your letters to me, especially in your last.) . . . Rhetoric [is an] art like medicine but now not an art, only a dilettante amusement. Men care nothing about *truth*, for example, in law. Have you not scamped this? It is just as true now as then. At least I can answer for medicine, as also for Parliamentary legislation. The account Socrates gives of medicine (1:603) is absolutely true now—more shame for us!

ED: Socrates’ speech referred to a friend who knew “how to apply drugs which shall have either a heating or a cooling effect . . . give a vomit and also a purge” and claimed to be a physician!

FN: And 1:605 [“To impart health and strength by giving food and medicine”]: Hippocrates²⁴ is wanted just as much now, 2000 years after he lived—the more’s the pity! Should not you bring all this out much more prominently than you have done at 1:550?

[The] *Phaedrus* is the most pregnant (in texts) of all the dialogues for the modern unlearned reader and you have scamped it the most. There is not a page from which you could not take three or four texts for essays or lectures, “to help me to speak and think,” especially from 1:594 to 1:608 or from 1:600 to *end*. “Come out, children of my soul” you should say to them. And “panting” modern truth “toils after them in vain” (instead of that, you say to them: go in).

1:552: would you put *that* about the “first speech of Socrates” being “false rhetoric” or class it at all with the “speech of Lysias,” which *is* “false rhetoric”? Is not the “speech of Socrates on the contrary true “rhetoric” in the ironical form —and meant to lead to, not to be in contrast with, his “second speech”? Though Socrates himself says the contrary, yet you know what he says is *not* true (I wish I had written when first I read the *Phaedrus*. Now I have neither time nor strength to write anything to be of the least use. I should like just to write an introduction to the *Phaedrus* *my* fashion and send it to you to be put into sense).

ED: The revised text is more nuanced, now “this higher rhetoric” is based upon dialectic (1875 2:87; 1892 1:404).

FN: 1:552: True knowledge of things based upon ENTHUSIASM *or love of the ideas*. That is capital. My son, bring that out. Even in nursing, there is now no “enthusiasm” or love of the idea. Or, for aught I see, is there any “enthusiasm” or “love of the ideal” about *anything*. Yet “true knowledge” is founded on feeling as well as on intellect, rather all “true knowledge” pertaining to higher human things founded upon feeling and intellect together cannot be founded upon either apart.

FN: Figure of winged horses: I have nothing to suggest. You have said all I wanted—and infinitely better than I could have said it in the revise of the *Phaedo*. Now it seems as if you were argufying merely to make me arguffy, for which I have not the slightest power and less than the slightest inclination. It seems a mere talk for talk’s sake. But then

24 Hippocrates, 5th century BCE, physician and founder of a medical school, whose “Hippocratic oath” is still used.

you begin again (in your last letter) that neither “nature,” “being,” “substance,” “character,” are admissible, when the very argument was that whether of God, or of the “soul,” “being,” “substance,” “nature,” are what we *can* know nothing about. Character, characteristics, qualities, whether of “God or of the soul” are what we can find out all about, if we search. Does not Socrates himself say this? Does he not also say that we are to find out all we can about the differing characters of different persons, in order to know how to deal with them?

How much more important to find out all we can about God’s ways of going on in order to deal with Him. Have you not yourself said that, if God uses successive generations, without giving an individual future of eternal progress for each human being, merely to carry out some plan of His, then to drop off into non-entity He cannot be Goodness, Wisdom, Justice! Is not that describing His “character,” *not* His “substance”? The absurdity of the Athanasian Creed is describing what can’t be described, what we *can* know nothing about: “substance,” “persons,” and leaving characteristics, Goodness, Wisdom, Justice, His plans for our moral regeneration, the “ways of perfection” as things we have nothing to do with, the only things we have anything to do with. For that matter so does the Apostles’ Creed, except in the first clause.

ED: The Athanasian Creed (see the Book of Common Prayer) admonishes against “dividing the substances” and requires having the correct view of the Trinity to be saved.

FN: Are not the following some of the points in which, so striking in the *Phaedrus*, the analysis is somewhat deficient? 1:544 and 1:564: man more wonderful than Typho [a serpent]. 1:545, 1:574-75: “as wolves love lambs, so lovers love their loves,” etc. It appears to me that the whole secret of the question which has received an *immeasurable* development and entirely in the wrong direction by the modern novel literature, a literature far more prolific than any other literature in existence, lies in this, in what Plato has here so tersely put. In spite of all that is said and written to the contrary, my experience asserts that the really good woman sinks in marriage. Why? because “as wolves love lambs,” etc., so she is loved. Yet two together ought to be able to serve God better than those two apart. Why do you scarcely ever see an example of this, why but because “as wolves love lambs,” etc?

(I once heard a person of the greatest ability say as a general proposition: “Oh if *he* could marry *her*, without *her* marrying *him*.” In this I

entirely concur, "*she*" may raise "*him*," but oh how rarely *he* raises *her*. And when "*he*" is higher than "*she*," still it is, generally, the same thing. Why, then, but because "*as wolves*," etc., even the best men love "*their loves*"? There are some glaring instances of the converse, where the *woman* loves "*like the wolf*," but, as a rule, *not* (in England at least).

I have just had the most severe blow of my severe life, to which the death of Agnes Jones was as nothing, a woman of the highest moral nature I have ever known left us in a manner which my committee characterizes as "*sharp practice*," in a manner of which I have never seen anything like the want of feeling, she being or having been my closest, my only friend, because the man to whom she is to be married, confessedly unworthy, loved her "*as wolves*," etc.)

N.B. 1:572-74: compare 1:590 (*bottom*): "*breeding meanness*." 1:572 (*line 239*): "*always employed in reducing him*," her, each other, "*to inferiority*." 1:573: "*in everything dependent on himself, the delight of the lover's heart and a curse to himself*." "*Verily, a profitable guardian and associate*." 1:574: "*mischievous to his love*."

Is there anything more weighty than what lies in these? weighty to the *world* since the world marries, anything more applicable to every day's experience *now*? Please bring this out better. *This* is not "*false rhetoric*," it is Socrates in his weightiest mood, though in his most ironical style.

ED: The text reads: "The lover is not only mischievous to his love, he is also extremely unpleasant to live with." Nightingale took Jowett to task here, and indeed for some pages, both on his failure to pay sufficient heed to the merits of love, and on the dangers of a devouring love.

Jowett added four pages of analysis on love and marriage to the next edition (1875 2:88-92; 1892 1:405-10).

FN: A whole section of the introduction might well be made out of this, for it makes no difference whether the friendship (love) described is that of man or of man and woman. (Put immorality out of the game in either case.) Plato took *man* because women *then* were unworthy, incapable of friendship. N.B. Observe the use of the word "*friendship*," 1:590 *last paragraph*: and the "*heavenly blessings*" which it "*confers*." Also observe that Socrates contradicts himself in attributing to the "*non-lover*" the "*breeding of meanness*" (1:590 *bottom*) and to the "*lover*" the same thing (1:572 (*line 239*) and 1:573-74). This is of course intentional. But have you mentioned this in your "*Introduction*"? (*This* is not "*false rhetoric*.")

“Friendship is not less than love but greater,” says a little novel recommended by J.S. Mill.²⁵ It is because all modern fiction has lost sight of this truth that it is such unutterable trash. It is because modern lovemaking has lost sight of this truth that it is so unutterably “mischievous to its love,” is it not? It is because Plato knew it, that out of this some of his highest creations (as also some of his more horrid faults) have sprung, is it not? May we not fearlessly assert, even from the little distorted experience we have now, that “friendship is not less than love but greater,” that because there is so little friendship in marriage, therefore it is so frequently unhappy. Farther, that one of the highest relations in life possible is friendship (not love) between a *man* and a *woman*, *not* husband and wife, that where marriage is *good* its goodness is enhanced, enlarged, by the husband having *friendship* with other women, married or not (this is not my theory—I have seen the most remarkable instances of this), and also, I suppose, by the wife having friends among other men. This is not theory; I have seen the most remarkable instance of this.

ED: Nightingale undoubtedly was referring to her own relationship with Sidney Herbert. Jowett himself in his additional remarks on marriage described a more idealistic form of marriage when “After many struggles the true love was found: how the two passed their lives together in the service of God and man” (1875 2:91; 1892 1:408).

FN: Surely marriage should enlarge and strengthen all other ties, instead of cutting them off, as in England.

ED: The text states that the two would recognize “a higher love of duty of God, which united them. And their happiness would depend upon their preserving in them this principle—not losing the ideals of justice and holiness and truth,” presumably a reference to the collaboration between Nightingale and Sidney Herbert at the War Office. In revision the two would be helpers” not “hinderers” of one another, “in the fulfillment of military or public duties” (1875 2:90; 1892 1:407).

FN: I think it is *really* the most immoral thing: the tacit assumption in England that it is “dangerous” (the stock word) for a woman to have

25 William Ware, published under several different titles beginning in 1837 as *Letters from Palmyra*, later *Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra*: “Our attachment . . . is not less than love, but greater. It is the sacred tie of nature . . . of brother to sister—it is friendship.” The book was reviewed by Mill in the *London and Westminster Review* in 1838; see *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill* 1:431-61.

any conversation but the merest “persiflage” with any *man* but her husband, that is not to recognize that the *reverse* mode of going on would strengthen, not loosen, the central tie, *if it is good*. But how can it be otherwise in our state of things where marriage is contracted at play and not at work, and where there can be no real friendship except by *accident afterwards* between man and wife? (There indeed it is “dangerous” to have other “friendships.”) Do not you think that while Plato, in the actual society he saw around him (setting aside some prodigies, like Diotima²⁶), found it impossible to describe man’s *friendship* for *woman*, he, in his ideal *Republic*, therefore fell foul of a conception about women which, though monstrous in itself, shows the strength of his ideal (distorted as it is) on this matter? Anyhow, would you pass over with such a very slight recognition a subject so enormous, and so pregnant a hint as that of “as wolves love lambs,” etc?

You can scarcely dismiss, can you?, with such bare notice a subject which evidently occupied so large a place in Plato’s mind; see his *Phaedrus*, *Symposium*, a hint of it in his *Charmides*, and his *Republic*. If I might, I would venture to describe Plato’s state of mind thus: he sees a state of society and of education in which it is impossible for woman to be the mental helpmate or intellectual “love” of man or *friend* of man. He sees this place taken, even as to personal beauty, by young mankind instead of womankind. (I omit immorality, ancient and modern—it has nothing to do with the main idea.) In the *Phaedrus*, he gives with his usual irony and half in joke, but with the deepest meaning, so much is he impressed with the mischief of “love,” a sketch to show that the non-lover’s love is actually better than the lover’s love. (I am not far from agreeing with him; I have seen such mischief from “lover’s love,” I mean even where the most perfect morality is observed according to *man*, though not according to God. Also, alas, from “unloving love” (a sentence once quoted to me by Sidney Herbert, Euripides,²⁷ is it not?) for *both* “lovers’ love” and “unloving love” are devoid of friendship of any high ideal. And this, I take it, is Plato’s meaning, is it not? A person of no little experience in life once gave as its fruit this: “It is much better in marriage for the *woman* to begin

26 Diotima, an actual or fictitious priestess (c470-c400 BCE), from whom Socrates claimed to have learned his theory of love.

27 Actually the expression is from Aeschylus, *Choëphori*, or the *Libation-Pourers*, where it refers to an inordinate love in a female animal or human that prevails over wedded love and leads her to desert for the novelty of another mate.

with much and the man with little love, for whether he begins or not with much love, it is all gone in a year. Then the woman's love endures." This of course means love without friendship and is much the same as what Plato says, is it not?

ED: In the four pages on love Jowett added (1875 2:88-92; 1892 1:505-10), he referred to Plato's use of love between men because of the impossibility in his age of seeing women as being the intellectual helpmate or friend of man. Hence, "partly in joke, to show that the 'non-lover's' love is better than the 'lover's.'" All this is very much what Nightingale called for. Jowett also condemned marriages in which the spouses "monopolize one another's affections to the exclusion of friends and relations, how they pass their days in unmeaning fondness or trivial conversation, how the inferior of the two drags the other down to his or her level, how the cares of a family 'breed meanness in their souls.' In the fulfillment of military or public duties, they are not helpers but hinderers of one another; they cannot undertake any noble enterprise. . . ." He quoted Shakespeare's sonnet 116: "Let me not to the marriage of true minds . . ." (1875 2:89-90; 1892 1:407-08).

FN: After the jesting tirade in favour of the "non-lover," Plato reflects himself to himself and gives the magnificent atonement of the true uses, the true ideal of love, the earthly love as reflecting the heavenly love and leading up to it, than which there is nothing finer in all poetry or art, is there? There is a beautiful illustration of this in the *Symposium*, fellow workers in love "working together for their improvement" (1:473, bottom).

ED: The text states: "This is that love of the heavenly goddess which is of great price to individuals and cities, making them work together for their improvement."

FN: What Plato says in the *Republic* on the subject of man and woman is nothing, is it?, but his glorious ideal struggling out its way among the immoralities and debasements which are all he knows in social real life. He has seen so much immorality in the relations not only of man and woman but of man and man, that he actually conceives an *ideal of immorality*. He makes marriage itself an immorality, that is, the physical connection between man and woman is to be nothing but a physical connection, which by itself in the human being is the meaning of immorality, *is it not?* (He is utterly ignorant of the fact, for it is a *fact*, that you cannot breed human beings as you can calves and that in

the nearest approaches to his plan that are known, the human being degenerates miserably, even in body. It seems very odd that Plato should not with his immense idealism have anticipated or suspected this. However he didn't.)

Plato then goes on to educate woman as the friend of man, to employ her as his equal. It is the finest conception possible, that is, possible to him, but it is the ideal run mad. He separates the body entirely, gives that up to legitimized immorality, as if it were possible to breed the human being (consisting of a body and a soul) in that way. He then *takes out* the souls and minds and puts them in a separate world to themselves. As if men and women whom he has raised to that high ideal *would* consort with each other as to the body like bulls and cows. Surely it is the most curious instance of a metaphysical idea being pursued not only with an utter disregard but in total defiance of the practical or practicable (for in this at least Plato was serious) that is known in philosophy. (Though, for the matter of that, I have a friend much nearer at hand who does not seem to see it so.)

I do not at all allude to the uprooting of the first tie of human society that it would be. I mean that, as far as we know, from all historical experience, the intention of the Creator is that the highest state of things, even for the physical breeding of the human race, should be that one man should keep in marriage to one woman, in love, that in proportion as this is diverged from, the race degenerates even to extinction. (The fact that some of the higher specimens of the human race have been illegitimate children, but born in love though not in marriage, and that marriage *without* the ideal love does *not* breed the finest even physical specimens being not an exception to, but a confirmation of this law or order of things, and that Plato's plan would end in there being no children at all, let alone *fine* children. Races do come to an end in that way, do not they? (Plato seems to have gone in this directly against his own maxim (*Phaedrus* 1:607 just *before* 272): "He must have a theoretical notion first and then see them (conceive of them) in action and follow them with all his senses about him," etc.

I am incapable, but you are so capable. I would not, if I were you, leave this rich mine unworked. Take politics, government measures, public administration, Parliamentary legislation: the language of the Cabinet is *so* different from what it was in my day ten to fifteen years ago. It is exactly what Socrates says: "an art of enchanting" (1) the Cabinet; (2) the House "by arguments." It is *not* this is the truth or, as Plato would put it: this is philosophy, or as we should put it: this is the

right thing (for the country) to do and we must put it before the House of Commons in a manner that will persuade them to give us the money. Or as Socrates would say: We must “learn the differences of human souls” and “what persons are persuaded by what arguments” [1871 1:607].

Sidney Herbert used to say the House of Commons never refused money to anyone who knew that a thing was right and could put it before them. Is not this Plato’s whole “art of rhetoric” put into modern Parliamentary language? What is more, what Sidney Herbert said was true: the House of Commons never refused him anything (I have been told this by Cabinets who did not like him). But there is nothing of that now in Cabinet men. There is a little of it in Forster and a good deal of it in Stansfeld,²⁸ but look at the rest! Look at Indian administration now compared to what it has been in the days of the two Lawrences, the Freres, and a host of others who have settled and civilized our empire there. Look at yourself. Had you anything to say to me when Lord Mayo was killed but that you regretted Mazzini²⁹ more? Lord Palmerston was worth all these modern Cabinets (“rhetoricians”) put together.

It seems to me that the world is divided, that is, the capable world: (1) into people who have a *real ideal* (is that Irish?) that is, who have arrived at the knowledge of some truth and who do not know how to set it forth, how to give it body and substance, or how to persuade others of it, that is, who have not learnt “the art of persuasion” or any knowledge of the differing characters (characters, *not* “natures.” Properly speaking there is no plural to “nature”) of human beings, or “what persons are persuaded by what arguments,” (2) into people who have got hold of the knowledge of no truth but only of what “is *likely to be approved by the many who sit in judgment*” (*Saturday Reviews*, *Pall Mall Gazette*), only of what is “public opinion” about the “truly good” (bravo Plato! was he prefiguring the *Times*?), who do not “know the truth of what they are going to say” but only *how* to say it, who put “good for evil,” in which Socrates and Isaiah seem agreed, themselves “ignorant of the true nature” of each (“nature” is the right word there).

But “studying the notions of the multitude,” is not that what Mr Gladstone openly professes to do? Now, as it is impossible for all this

28 James Stansfeld (1820-98), Liberal, radical, feminist MP.

29 Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-72), leader of the Italian independence movement.

to be set forth better than it is by Plato in the *Phaedrus*, 1:594 to 609 and almost *to end* and as it is equally impossible for this to be so applicable to any time as the present, would you not show in your "Introduction" how this is? If Plato is to do good in the way of philosophy (besides in the way of classical learning), there can be no more practical lesson, no lesson more wanted in any day, but particularly in the present day, than this. (When you call Mr Lowe a "first-rate man," I do not deny it, but he is a "first-rate man" in the way of Lysias. And you cannot conceive how Mr Lowe's work is deteriorated since I knew him and it sixteen years ago.) The whole of the review and periodical literature of this day, is it not almost all a "studying the notions of the multitude"? Even in those who do not (Matthew Arnold [and] Stephen³⁰), can anybody pretend that in those pages of the *Cornhill*, *Fraser's*, etc., they are trying to "arrive at the good first," and then to "persuade" us of it?

Could you do any greater good than by setting this forth before the rising generation, as you only can? People take texts out of Isaiah; there is nothing more perfect in Isaiah than some texts in Plato, and they are often very similar, and very similar to John.

ED: Jowett added references to the epistles of St Paul (1875 2:99; 1892 1:420).

FN: And, as it is not proper to preach in the pulpit from texts out of Plato, I would preach in the introductions from texts out of the *Phaedrus* as you have done out of the *Phaedo*. I will not go on with this for I really have not strength. But it would not require a tithe of your genius and experience to show how Parliamentary life, the law, medicine, the church (especially the church) are all in the most urgent need of Plato's lesson, how they are actually in more need of it now than twenty years ago, how matters are deteriorating in these things, while (almost because) they are improving in other things. . . .

You think of whether *my* "art of rhetoric" is done "like a lady." But the two royal commissions, the Indian sanitary administration, founding "art of rhetoric" employed was simply to find out what "the truth" (the right thing) was and then to "persuade" people of it. This does not comport with writing or not writing "like a lady" and when I began writing "like a lady" it was because I had done with it or it had

30 Usually Stephen, but not Arnold, is included among the "magazine-y" writers.

done with me, did not intend to make any more leaps, merely wrote “by special desire” a sort of “article,” quite beneath the work.

1:557, line 3 from bottom: “first, as expecting, etc.,” to “truth,” I do not follow quite. Is it not rather “first, as desiring to persuade without arriving at a knowledge of whether it is the truth of which we desire to persuade”? Is not this what Socrates says?

ED: Jowett changed the text as recommended, to read: “Rhetoric is assailed on various grounds; first, as desiring to persuade, without a knowledge of the truth, and, secondly, as ignoring the distinction between certain and probable matter” (1875 2:96; 1892 1:416).

FN: *1:557, bottom line to 1:558 end of first paragraph:* it is most impertinent and conceited of anyone, especially me, to differ with you in this.

ED: Jowett did not make any significant changes to this passage in the next edition, but added significant comments on the subject at the end of the introduction (1875 2:96-97; 1892 1:419-20).

FN: But has not Plato, besides the one you have given, a deeper meaning in these three speeches? For the first, of course, he means an unqualified condemnation. For the second, I think Plato told me that in this, though still in his ironical fashion, he meant to tell those deep and universal truths about interested self-absorbing selfish love being such a curse, that “*non-lover’s* love” is even better. Then, in the third, he rises as it were out of all this banter and bluster to the sublimity of his subject and says: “But did I call *this* love? O forgive me, God, for my blasphemy! *This* is not love. Or rather it is the love of this world. But there is another kingdom of love, a kingdom not of this world, a divine, eternal kingdom. And *this* is *what it is* (and he then goes on with his third speech).

ED: Jowett incorporated the moving passage from the dialogue Nightingale cited into the introduction itself in the next edition.

Jowett text: “But did I call this ‘love’? O God, forgive my blasphemy. This is not love. Rather it is the love of the world. But there is another kingdom of love, a kingdom not of this world, divine, eternal. And this other love I will now show you in a mystery” (1875 2:92; 1892 1:410).

FN: Do you know that I have been wont to think there was nothing finer than this “serious” transition except when, Pilate coming in from the furious raving of the Jews outside, and telling Jesus that they accuse him of trying to make himself a king, Jesus answers, apparently quite calmly, but, like all great deliverers, with a touch of irony too: “I *am* a king,

but my kingdom is not of this world. My kingdom is that of truth.”³¹ (When I read that, I do not wonder that they called Jesus divine.)

I think Plato had a far diviner meaning in those three speeches than a mere point of “literature” or “dialectical principles,” no more “dialectical” than Jesus was when he used those words, “My kingdom is not of this world” (or whoever used them). Indeed Plato told me so. One always wonders if they were uttered to Pilate in his judgment hall, where the Jews could not go at Passover time, who reported them. But this is thinking “not of the truth” but of the “country whence the truth comes,” sinning as Socrates said I should.)

1:558 paragraph beginning with “*Dialectic*” down to end “*written law*”: do not you omit something here? For example, Plato’s “paradox that speech is superior to writing,” is this not rather meant, *Plato-fashion*, to introduce the noble passage that what is written in the SOUL (after having been spoken to the soul) is *the only way of writing*? It seems to me one of Plato’s most characteristic bits.

ED: Jowett added several pages to the discussion of dialectic and the comparison between speaking and writing (1875 2:96-99; 1892 1:419-20).

FN: He has got weary and impatient, oh so weary (as I do especially with the government, with the India government more especially), of seeing people thinking that they have done *something* when they have *written* down something, instead of **DOING** it (in administrative matters, especially in a country like India, writing down something is generally equivalent to *not* doing it . . . nay, actually *prevents* its being done). He is so weary of this (the little he knew how the Briton would improve upon the practice he condemns) that he exclaims: “Oh don’t write at all; *speak* and then *do* it, put it into action, let there be only the *Word* and the *Bread*, that is, the ideal made real.” Christ seems to have had exactly the same feeling when he exclaims so often that he is the “Bread,” that we are to “eat” him.³² Does he not mean that we are to make his words our life? Not to write about them but to *live* them, to make them part of our body, our being-in-action (as bread gives life and strength to us who eat it)? To make the ideal of his words real, that is, an actual living existence in ourselves? (I think you *do* that with Balliol.)

I do so sympathize with Christ and Socrates about writing when I see all that mass, all that stifling, choking, dust heap of government min-

³¹ A paraphrase of John 18:36.

³² An allusion to John 6:51.

utes, of reviews, magazines, essays, newspapers, reviews of reviews, novels, fiction, verses, without *one* gleam of the ideal in them, without *one* ghost of an honest aspiration, nay, stifling all aspiration, and people are not even satisfied with that but they must publish “extracts,” “selections,” “excerpta,” “compendia,” “abstracts,” “gems,” “treasuries.”

Note: I think *Middlemarch* beats all in this line that ever was penned, because it states (totidem verbis [in so many words]) that its object is to pronounce aspiration impossible and that, *because* women now can't be Antigones and St Teresas, *therefore* they must marry two men, an uncle and nephew, one an imposter, the other a Cluricaune, within a year. The woman can look abroad over this wilderness of London, where we are crying, imploring, stretching out our hands, advertising for women to come and help us! And write that!!! Her husband's son married Octavia Hill's sister!³³ and she can coolly sit down and write that!! If we could prosecute her, but there is no legal punishment hard enough.

ED: Nightingale and Jowett differed on the merits of George Eliot's *Middlemarch*. See the literature section below for more of Nightingale's views and her remarks in *Theology* (3:12-13).

FN: I feel inclined to cry out with Socrates: “Oh no more writing; what is written in the SOUL is the only writing worth having.” Is not this the main point of the present passage in the *Phaedrus*? At least, would you not go on to say (1:558) as he does, that neither that which is spoken or written is of any great value, unless it is implanted or sown in the soul, and grows up into a mustard tree (as Christ says), so that the birds are able to build their nests in the branches,³⁴ or like a harvest. Christ is full of these metaphors (he is the “WORD,” the ideal of God made into the body of man and so, more or less, are all; *he* is not the *only* Son. This seems to me Plato's true meaning.

ED: Jowett did not change this passage but added a section at the end on mysticism with a metaphor about the “wing of the soul” (1875 2:102; 1892 1:423).

FN: 1:558: “Mind” of king “preferred to the *written* law” (politics). Why? Because he, the king, is (supposed to be) the “law” *incorporate*,

33 George Eliot's partner (not husband) was G.H. Lewes. Octavia Hill was an unmarried social reformer of prodigious accomplishments.

34 An allusion to Matt 13:31-32.

the living “law,” the ideal made life. As in Egypt, Phra. Ramesses, the king, son of Ra the Sun, *he* is the “law” EMBODIED, not “written.”

ED: Jowett’s text referred to the paradox being carried further in the *Statesman*, “the mind or will of the king is preferred to the written law.” He added a page of explanation in revision, using “the royal art of dialectic” and biblical references (1875 1:96-99; 1892 1:419-20).

FN: *Compare 1:550 bottom lines:* is this not scamped? Is not what Plato says much finer than this?, namely, that the principles of justice and truth (delivered by word of mouth) are to be *written* in the SOUL, the “only true way of writing,” the “only right sort of man.” *Compare 1:614 (278):* one of the grandest passages in the grandest of Plato’s poems, the *Phaedrus*.

FN: The speech to which Nightingale refers states:

He who thinks that in the written word there is necessarily much which is not serious, and that neither poetry nor prose, spoken or written, are of any great value if . . . they are recited in order to be believed, and not with any view to criticism or instruction . . . and that only in principles of justice and goodness and nobility taught and communicated orally and written in the soul, which is the true way of writing . . . and that such principles are . . . the legitimate offspring, being . . . [that] which the man finds in his own bosom . . . the brethren and descendants and relations of his idea which have been duly implanted . . . in the souls of others; and who cares for them and no others—this is the right sort of man; and you and I, Phaedrus, would pray that we may become like him. (278)

The Republic

Editor: Although the *Republic* was not Nightingale’s favourite Platonic dialogue it is often considered Plato’s best work and she gave considerable time and effort to reviewing Jowett’s treatment of it. There was such obvious criticism at Jowett’s failure to pay sufficient attention to the famous cave scene. There was Jowett’s (perpetual) failure to pay adequate attention to the family, now in Plato’s radical proposal of raising children in state crèches, separately from their parents, in order to produce virtuous, disinterested rulers (who would have no desire either to amass riches to pass on to their children or to give other privileges to their children). Nightingale’s trenchant critique dealt with both the physical consequences of institutional care of children—higher child mortality (material learned from Quetelet)—and the destruction of the loving relationship of parent to child and husband and wife.

In Plato's fictional republic superior human specimens would breed with other superior specimens in order to produce the best offspring. This meant that inferior humans had to make do with other inferior partners. All newborn children would promptly be taken to the communal crèche, and defective children left in a quiet place to die. Nightingale of course did not believe that such measures would produce a good society, pointing out how the challenge of dealing with "inferior" specimens often brought out the best in people. In her abhorrence of this proposal she went even further than her remarks above, to declare it to be a law of nature that children born from love were superior to those who were not, even if they were born in illegitimate relationships. Love had that much good effect. She affirmed as well that a mother's milk was adapted for her child and no other, another reason for rearing babies at home, not in communal crèches.

This wonderful commentary on Jowett's analysis of the *Republic* reveals Nightingale as a true romantic, a believer in the possibility of love, of thrilling, moving, redemptive love between the partners. There are numerous admonitions to the bachelor priest, even to "blaspheme not against love"! While her 1852 essay, "Cassandra," reveals Nightingale's most negative views of marriage and the family (and her essay on the family in *Theology* is almost as negative), here we see a concerted endorsement of love.

The *Republic* also gave Nightingale a chance to revisit the "woman question" more generally, now with Plato at least having the idealism to consider that women could be educated, with men, to high places in society. She liked the "noble conceptions of womanhood" in medieval times, remarking: "The more we cry out about the rights of woman, the less power we had of forming any ideal of what she ought to be" (see p 609 below). In the course she complained of Milton's conception of women and Shakespeare's lack of heroic women (points themselves dealt with below in the literature section).

Not only did Nightingale's careful proofreading and extensive commentaries result in a more accurate and better-crafted second edition but her comments helped shape the whole direction of Jowett's revision of all the dialogues for which we have her comments. There is much more comparison with other sources, although Nightingale did not succeed in getting Jowett to make as many contemporary references as she would have liked. More of his, and her, opinions appear here than in the first edition, which is much more tied to the text. Jowett's *Dialogues of Plato* were widely used for more than a hundred

years (and still are used to a lesser extent), and doubtless Nightingale's work on them contributed to their wide acceptance.

The experience of this close study of Plato affected Nightingale herself. She liked finding Plato/Socrates supporting her opinions (on truth versus "private judgment," for example). Where she differed, as on Plato's proposals for breeding a superior class, she became even more convinced of her own views. Her opposition to institutional care for children was probably reinforced by working over this material in the *Republic*.

Source: Nightingale's annotations to Vol. 2, *Republic*, in *Dialogues of Plato* vol. 1, British Library, unnumbered pages

Republic. Three cardinal religious (or moral) conceptions in it:

1. the idea of Good = *God* = Law = Order
2. The idea of good shown in the just *man* = lover of God = truth.
3. The denunciation of priests, shams = acting = go-between between us and the idea of the perfect Good = God = religion, under the guise of "poets." All orthodox religion a scheme to enable us to continue in sin and to escape/avoid the consequences.

Three cardinal plans of reform: (1) education, what the true and what the false; (2) philosophy, what the true and what the false; (3) government.

Source: Notes, ADD Mss 45785 ff1-43, 72-74

FN: 2:62: Plato says that sophists, like *Times* newspapers, are the "representatives," rather than the "leaders" (2:73), "corruptors" of public opinion, "give back to the world their own opinions," "make public opinion the test of truth." I think I have heard myself say something like that, and Mr Jowett beat me. Politics of the *Times*, first half page should be "learnt by heart."

ED: The comment Nightingale thought should be learnt by heart reads: "The hireling sophist only gives back to the world their own opinions; he is the keeper of the monster, who knows how to flatter or anger him. . . . Good is pronounced to be what pleases him, and evil is what he dislikes, and truth and beauty have no other standard but the taste of the brute. . . . This is no exaggeration of the case of those who make public opinion the test of truth, whether in art or in morals. . . ."

FN: 2:14, line 5 from top: should bring out this gracious majesty, language of the East, to tyrant whether God or man. End or summing up

[is] rather scanty. Satire on Parliamentary cabinets; methinks I have been whipped for saying this. "Governors of mankind are disinterested because, etc.," I do not see that Plato says this: does he not say that "governors of mankind do not like being in office, because they receive pay"? It is the argument eternally hurled against me by the Roman Catholics because their *soeurs* are not paid. . . .

St Paul's law, 2:149*, command and reflection, should not do what they like but serve the common good. Top of 2:18, weave up the character of the just (2:76). I would summarize or add up what is said throughout by Plato of his idea of the *just man*, tested in the refiner's fire (2:65).

Unjust: tyrant, royal master of himself. . . . this conception one of the, if not the most, striking part of the *Republic*. Like Isaiah's Christ and St Paul's love of God (2:125). Rulers should be saviours. . . . He who rules best is he who loves best and has been tried by many tests and come out of them in full command of himself.

2:7, 2:18, denounces making reputation (2:28) or reward or fear of hell incentive to virtue in this world or the next. Need of virtue: idleness also in Muhammadanism and in orthodox Christianity. . . .

2:28, Book III Hell: fear of hell, the reverse of inspiring (to heroes) [yet is] Christian orthodoxy. . . .

Priests [are] to show us the way to profit by sin without suffering by it, to feel no bad consequence without leaving it off, to avert any bad consequences to ourselves. Priests [are] like poets and like doctors of rich men and fine ladies. Priests to show us how not to leave off sinning, how to have the good effects of good without being good. Raleigh: go tell the church it shows what's good "and does no good." . . .

2:26: Poets = priests, here preaching strange gods ("bad lies"), the "lie in the soul" (2:27). In connection with above (2:19) how to make the best of both worlds, *via* priests, *via* injustice + good manners. Priests: to show us the way to do sin without suffering by it, to feel no bad consequence, without leaving it off, profit by sin and to avert any bad consequences to ourselves.

2:29*: Gifts persuade the gods, e.g., the whole system of gifts to the temple (the sacrifices of God are a broken and contrite spirit³⁵), the sacrifices of gifts to the pope and St Peter's.

2:21: Is Mr Jowett undergoing for the first time the Socratic interrogation? What is your *theodikè*? how do you "justify the ways of God to man"?

35 A paraphrase of Ps 51:17.

Characteristic of the present day, the unjust must appear just and always have a moral reason for doing what they like . . . that politics are the ethics of states, not confusion of ethics and politics. You wrong him. The error of politics and of ecclesiastical religion, has it not been excluding ethics? Anglican church, directed against an error, has become an error.

2:152*: After “political” insert and ecclesiastical maxims.

ED: Jowett’s original text reads: “Plato preserves the true character of Greek thought in beginning with the state and going on to the individual; first ethics, then politics is the order of ideas to us; the reverse is the order of history.” Jowett revised the passage by adding: “In early ages he is not *one*, but one of many, the citizen of a state which is prior to him; and he has no notion of good or evil apart from the law of his country or the creed of his church. And to this type he is constantly tending to revert, whenever the influence of custom, or party spirit, or the recollection of the past becomes too strong for him (1875 3:26; 1892 3:xxxi-ii).

FN: 2:26 bottom 10 [lines]: Take out that “device of style” this minute.

ED: Jowett’s original text read: “When he makes a transition to a second state, which is framed on the civilized model, this is only a device of style; he indulges in a picture of primitive life, but he does not seriously mean to say that one is better than the other.” He took out “device of style” and added: “As he is going to frame a second or civilized state, the simple naturally becomes before the complex. But although, like Rousseau,³⁶ he indulges in a picture of primitive life—an idea which has indeed often had a powerful influence on the imagination of mankind, but he does not seriously mean to say that one is better than the other” (1875 3:30-31; 1892 3:xxxvi).

FN: Mr Jowett undergoing the Socratic interrogation. For it is, is it not, much more than this? Is it not the suggestion of bodily health = mental [illeg]. Luxury/mental = disease, bodily; which Macaulay³⁷ only renews 2000 years afterwards and is yet unsolved?

2:25: Mr Jowett undergoing the unSocratic interrogation. Passion or animal spirits or enthusiasm or convictions, e.g., convictions about

³⁶ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, presumably a reference to his famous *Social Contract*, 1762.

³⁷ Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-59), 1st Baron, world historian (see below).

evils which we want to correct are the secret of courage. Then courage which has no worthy exercise makes devourers in families and those who have no courage but only philosophy are devoured. For single women in families have either only philosophy or only courage and, as the latter have not enough to do, they take to governing their parents and sisters, or if married women without children and with much courage and activity, they may take to governing three families at once. Philosophy is the parent of gentleness, but, without convictions, it does not do much but get devoured.

ED: Nightingale's comment was prompted by the statement: "The human watchdogs must be philosophers or lovers of learning which will make them gentle. And how are they to be learned without education?" (2:25) (1875 3:28-29; 1892 3:xxxiv).

FN: 2:25 2:12: First and greatest principle, greatest and best of Plato's truths (this and the just man) that God is the author of good only. Compare 2:85 (not as Zoroaster and J.S. Mill say of good *and evil*) and as Christian priests and Jewish priests, the Jewish Jehovah = God is perfect and the second principle is like unto this.

ED: Mill in a letter to Nightingale (above) had said that he knew no religious theory "consistent with the facts of the universe, except (in some form or other) the old one of the two principles." She referred to this statement in a letter to her father (above) as Mill's endorsement of Zoroastrian religion, which holds that there are two equally powerful gods, of good and evil respectively.

Nightingale's comment was a response to "our first principle is that God is good, and the author of good, and good only; not that he is the steward of good and evil" (2:25). At 2:12 Jowett stated that "no sage or poet ever said that the just return evil for evil; this was a maxim of some tyrant." He argued that there was a gradual development to the "Christian precept of forgiveness of injuries."

FN: 2:12 (2): With God is no variableness or shadow of turning³⁸ [2:26]. He is Truth, i.e., He is Goodness, He is Truth. . . . God is true therefore [is] not an abstraction. 2:27 Does this not connect itself with what he has just said, that God is absolutely true? *God is TRUTH*: we can only be true, true even by appearing sometimes to be false or partial, like the shield or rather that truth *is not truth* if told so as to convey a false

38 James 1:17.

impression. *Is TRUTH*, if told in a fable, though not true, a lie? Jehovah. The “lie in the soul,” this is *not* remaining in the church: that is only appearing to be false.

ED: Jowett’s text referred to the “lie in the soul,” that involuntary ignorance is worse than voluntary, a real deception. At 2:27 he held that “to represent God as false or immoral, or, according to Plato, as deluding men with appearances, would be a lie.” Jowett added new material to strengthen and clarify the point: “The lie in the soul is a true lie, the corruption of the highest truth, the deception of the highest part of the soul, from which he who is deceived has the least power of delivering himself.” Examples of lies follow and a comparison of the “lie in the soul” with the “sin against the Holy Ghost” (1875 3:33; 1892 3:xxxi).

Opposite to the introduction to Book 4 Nightingale stated: “Our guardians *may or may not be the happiest of men—I should not be surprised to find in the long run that they were, but this is not the aim of our constitution, which was designed for the good or the whole and not of any one part*” (2:39). Opposite “non-Utilitarianism” Nightingale added in the margins a point relative to her own field: “The superintendent never governs well till she ceases to command for her own sake or for its own sake, but only for the sakes of those who are commanded. But this is the highest exercise of self-denial and without it the ruin of the nurses is complete.”

[Add Mss resumes]

FN: 2:42: It is not the “greatest happiness of the greatest number” but the greatest happiness of **ALL** which is the object and result of the divine government (I thought we agreed upon this theodikè). My son, you must take out that: utility is not the basis of morality. But I agree with the orthodox that there can be none of the highest morality without religion, and that there can be no real religion (disagreeing here with the orthodox) except by believing that a perfect God is working out perfection for **ALL**. You say that this is an “insufficient interpreter of the appearances of the world.” I say the “appearances of the world are just the reverse. Nay, what’s more it is actually not the appearances, the *conviction* of **EVIL**, which are so great that they must lead us to look for the *perfect* plan, are not they? (I think this whole paragraph confused.) For example, the “first principle” What?

ED: Jowett’s original text stated: “All the more ideal systems of politics, and of ethics, agree either in denying the supremacy of utility or happiness, or in explaining the term in some other sense than that of

material comfort or prosperity.” He changed the text considerably and added material to address Nightingale’s points, especially her understanding of a role for sacrifice: “The greatest happiness of the individual is certainly to be found in a life of virtue and goodness. But we seem to be more assured of a law of right than we can be of a divine purpose, that ‘all mankind should be saved,’ and we infer the one from the other. And the greatest happiness of the individual may be the greatest reverse of the greatest happiness in the ordinary sense of the term, and may be realized in a life of pain, or in a voluntary death. Further, the word ‘happiness’ is full of ambiguity and may mean either pleasure or an ideal life, happiness subjective or objective, in this world or in another, of ourselves individually or of all men everywhere (1875 3:49-50; 1892 3:lix).

[1892 adds further:] By the modern founder of utilitarianism the self-regarding and the disinterested motives of action are included under the same term, although they are commonly opposed by us as benevolence and self-love. The word happiness has not the definiteness or sacredness of ‘truth’ and ‘right’; it does not equally appeal to our higher nature, and has not sunk into the conscience of mankind. It is associated too much with the comforts and conveniences of life, too little with the ‘goods of the soul which we desire for their own sake.’ In a great trial, or danger, or temptation, or in any great or heroic action, it is scarcely thought of. For these reasons ‘the greatest happiness’ principle is not the foundation of ethics. But, though not the first principle, it is the second, which is like unto it,³⁹ and is often of easier application. For the larger part of human actions are neither right nor wrong, except insofar as they tend to the happiness of mankind” (1892 3:lix).

ED: The emergence of utilitarianism in the eighteenth century marks an advance for liberal thinkers like Nightingale in its advocating “the greatest good of the greatest number” over the interests of an elite aristocracy. Her most obvious objection, then, was not to utilitarianism per se, but to an excessively materialistic, crass, version of it, for omitting consideration of self-sacrifice and heroism as good things. That of course was a standard criticism of utilitarianism, but she went further, for reasons based on faith, to point out that “the greatest number” was not everyone, for a perfect God sought the good of all creatures. Jowett’s additions in 1875 and even more so in 1892 go a long way to address these concerns.

39 An allusion to Mark 12:31: “And the second is like, namely . . . thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.”

FN: 2:42-43: My Quetelet.

ED: Nightingale is referring to comments on the foundations of politics and art, the wise conduct of the state. Jowett never added references to Quetelet, despite her urging.

FN: 2:85: Idea of God as Author of perfection. 2:43 Religion must be based on the highest conception of God, i.e., on the conception of a perfect God. This, the true definition of religion, is to be found in Plato alone, not to be found in Christianity. (I should bring this out most forcibly.)

ED: Jowett's original text reads: "Religion shall be based on the highest conception of the gods," which he did not change (1871 3:53).

FN: 2:152*:⁴⁰ Platonic idea of good seems to be God by law working out perfection. Have you any right to call this an "abstraction"?

ED: Jowett's text, which he did not change, reads: "Those who see in modern times the world pervaded by universal law may also see a faint anticipation of this word of modern philosophy in the Platonic idea of good, which is the source and measure of all things, and yet only an abstraction."

FN: 2:67: Compare 2:75; highest morality can't be without religion, the idea of goodness and truth other than themselves. God = Sun; Holy Spirit = Truth, the cause of growth, *not* in *knowing only* but in BEING. Plato here soars far above himself in other places where he makes Knowledge = Virtue, this thought indeed "more than human."

2:152*: Goodness must be fostered by the contemplation of the idea (Supreme Being) of good = God. Is not there truth in the idea that there can be no morality without religion (and also there can be no religion without morality)? The highest morality can never be without the love and appreciation of the Perfect, which we cannot find to love in humanity (positivism nonobstante [notwithstanding]) but only in God, i.e., supreme Wisdom and Goodness.

2:49: A small remark: "Two contradictions" true??? You are continually told: "With God nothing is impossible."⁴¹ Yes, self-contradiction

⁴⁰ Jowett's page numbers with asterisks indicate sections added to the book after initial typesetting.

⁴¹ Luke 1:37.

is with Him impossible and this explains much of His government. It would be a contradiction to make us perfect through suffering without suffering. . . .

2:30-31: Acting 2:130, so with acting in one's own life that man cannot both live and act. Surely this is all very plain and sincere and very applicable even to modern times, this view of Plato's against *poetry*: mighty issue at stake, the good or evil of soul.

ED: On the question of the degradation of "acting" Jowett added: "Neither can any man live his life and act it" (1875 3:140). In the 1892 edition he added yet another qualification: "The actor is the slave of his art, not the master of it" (1892 3:clviii).

FN: 2:123: All poetry, novels, art, criticism, except heroic and religious poetry: the finding a moral reason to do *whatever* we like, the "acting": banes of present-day as of his. A man cannot live his life and act it. It is simply Plato's way of exposing shams, is it not? And is it not also what I say about novels, that they have no ideal, and about Shakespeare that he has no heroic women? Do not people—especially women—not only become what they act, but they become what they read: pictures, shams, and people, especially women, read nowadays nothing but novels and newspapers?

2:32: Still upon *poetry* and art: style depends upon subject and subject upon the simplicity and harmony of the soul; it is the reflection of [the soul]. Are not (Socratic interrogation) style and subject now almost severed? For either we have Browning's⁴² incomprehensible style or style *without* subject like Tennyson, Swinburne (except Atalanta), Rosetti, etc. None have the simplicity of nature's forms. Actually far inferior poets, and women too, (half a century ago) Mrs Hemans,⁴³ Mrs Barbauld,⁴⁴ Emily Taylor⁴⁵ had more of what Plato would call nature's simplicity and harmony, and Moore [unidentified] and even old Watts.⁴⁶ See Mrs Hemans' *Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers*, Moore's "Eastern Bird," Watts "How Fine Hath the Day Been." . . .

Our author (of what author can we say this now?) shuns by vulgar springs to move the hero's glory or the virgin's love. In pitying love we, but our weakness show and wild ambition will deserve its woe. What

42 Robert Browning (1812-89), on whom see p 749 below.

43 Felicia Dorothea Browne Hemans (1793-1835), poet.

44 Anna Laetitia Aikin Barbauld (1743-1825).

45 Emily Howson Taylor (1795-1872), poet and family friend.

46 Isaac Watts (1674-1748), hymn writer.

springs in novels are not “vulgar” now? And heroes, vulgar or wild, are utterly ignored by them at present. . . . And music . . . what can be said of the opera and the ballet, and what they are fallen to? Rossini’s *Guillaume Tell* is now unknown, unsung. And all that is not unseemly or extravagant or enervating has taken refuge in the oratorio. Music has made an *unfair* ending with love. True love is the daughter of temperance, of heroic virtues (false love . . . monster love as in novels)—I could not love thee, dear, so much/loved I not honour more⁴⁷—and not of novels or music as they are now. Music is now a deteriorating influence. And passion becomes nervous irritability, in consequence of music and novels.

2:130: “Ideal interest to a blacksmith’s or carpenter’s shop.” Yes, but also art has lost its ideal by novelists and painters having no higher ideal than idealizing blacksmiths, mustard pots and asses. It is not as if art painted a Christ in a carpenter, as Holman Hunt⁴⁸ has tried to do; it is rather the reverse, they have degraded a Christ to a carpenter, taken the commonest forms and souls and tried to interest in them like a tour de force till now there seems scarcely any ideal in art: and Pausanias⁴⁹ and Mr Jowett see nothing in the Génie Adorant but Mr Darbyshire returning thanks after the Boat Race at the Lord Mayor’s dinner [in Jane Austen’s novel]. Even Mr Darbyshire who declines the dinner is better than they.

2:130: It does not seem to me that the “antagonism of Plato to poetry” was levelled at the Greek tragedians or the Godlike Aeschylus but at what we call priests and the sophists. . . . Does the modern stage lower or raise us most? *Guillaume Tell* is raising. Is Lytton Bulwer?⁵⁰ Indeed, is Shakespeare?

ED: Jowett’s original text reads (1871 2:131): “Few persons who have any degree of sensibility would deny that they have been really elevated by strains of music or by the sublimity of architecture.” He revised this slightly to read: “Everyone would acknowledge that there have been times when they were consoled and elevated by strains of music or by the sublimity of architecture” (1875 3:141; 1892 3:clix).

47 Richard Lovelace, “To Lucasta, Going to the Wars,” 1649.

48 William Holman Hunt (1827-1910), British painter; he painted in a carpenter’s shop in Nazareth.

49 Pausanias, whose ten-volume *Description of Greece*, written 143-76 CE, described art and architecture.

50 Edward Bulwer Lytton (1803-73), 1st Baron, immortalized for the opening lines of a novel: “It was a dark and stormy night.” A literary award for bad novels was named after him.

FN: See 2:46. Old Italian life of Petrarch: naïf description of struggle between sensualism (he had *two* illegitimate children by different women while sonneting his Laura—real and desperate his remorse) and the ideal love of his Laura.

2:131: So are novelists the only real art of this day, the sophists of this day? Balzac and Miss Braddon.⁵¹ It is said that Balzac has had a large share in forming the Communist Red young man of the present Paris. Then you tell me of *Middlemarch*, “Oh she paints what she finds.” That is just what Balzac said he did. And you say (2:132) what the vocation of art is to do. I say but *does* it? And I say *do* novels ever depict “heroes” now? *Is* that woman Dorothea a “hero”?⁵²

2:133: Compare 2:146* O! O! O! O! I don’t agree in the least, the styling “love” an “illusion,” though a sweeping assertion mollifies me from exclaiming that modern love in modern novels neither “humanizes” nor “strengthens.” For “fairly” read *not*, printed in small caps. The “charms” of poetry have “been transferred to prose.” “Then why does not “prose,” and notably the novel, take up the mantle of poetry? Take out this minute the paragraph: “The philosopher” to “value”?????

ED: The text that prompted “O! O! O! O!” reads: “The philosopher may be excused if he imagines an age when poetry and sentiment have disappeared, and truth has taken the place of imagination, and the feelings of love are understood and established at their proper value.” Jowett did not remove the offensive remarks about illusion, but added nuance in revision: “But may not the stimulus which love has given to fancy be some day exhausted? The modern English novel, which is the most popular of all forms of reading, is not more than a century or two old; will the tale of love a hundred years hence, after so many variations of the same theme, be still received with unabated interest?” (1875 3:145; 1892 2:clxiii).

FN: I don’t at all agree. I think (2:146*) the field of love as two in one (2:133) and one in God, so far from being exhausted is as yet untrod. I think so far from “feelings of love” being now “estimated at their proper value” that they have yet to be “estimated” as an incentive to great heroic deeds. Some approach was made to this in the age of

51 Mary Elizabeth Braddon (1837-1915), poet.

52 Dorothea Brooke, the heroine of *Middlemarch* who married twice and lacked the gumption to nurse or reform London.

troubadours and chivalry, by dear Don Quixote, and by Dante⁵³ and Petrarch, when the lady was never to be united to her lover but to stir him on to deeds of heroism forever. It has now disappeared. Sainte Beuve,⁵⁴ Mme de Longueville Rochefoucauld.⁵⁵ Here is a new untrodden sphere for poetry in prose or verse entirely unknown to the present day. My son, an you love me, take out that mean calumny. Blaspheme not against love.

Art on a level with philosophy or religion. Did you write this in your sleep? Not “on a level” any more than words are on a level with ideas. Art is an expression; it may be a “false and imperfect” one or a true and perfect one. Words in novels now have no ideal, religious or philosophical. You are as bad as Plato with his poets *because* the present religious novel is the worst of all “religious ideals,” therefore you would have none of them.

My son, if you don’t take out that page, I’ll sue you under Lord Campbell’s act (2:133): “Muhammadans” “have renounced the use of pictures and images,” but not of architecture. Mosques are the highest kind of art, the one true representation of the one God, the glory of God in the highest, the most high of the Most High, higher than any Christian art or architecture, as you would say if you had seen the mosques of Cairo!

ED: Jowett’s text reads: Nor can art ever claim to be on a level with philosophy or religion, and may often corrupt them. He changed it slightly and added: The fairest forms may be revolting in certain moods of mind, as is proved by the fact that the Muhammadans, and many sects of Christians, have renounced the use of pictures and images. The beginning of a great religion, whether Christian or Gentile, has not been “wood or stone,” but a spirit moving in the hearts of men. The disciples have met in a large upper room or in “holes and caves of the earth”; in the second or third generation they had had mosques, temples, churches, monasteries. And the revival or reform of religions, like the first revelation of them, has come from

53 Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), on whom see p 737 below.

54 Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve (1804-69), art critic and author of a seven-volume work on *Port Royal*, where Mme de Longueville was imprisoned.

55 Anne Geneviève de Bourbon (1619-79), born at the Castle of Vincennes when her royal parents were prisoners, later married to an older, unfaithful husband, de Longueville, and the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, and herself imprisoned. See *The Youth of Madame de Longueville, or Raw Revelations of Court and Convent in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. F.W. Ricord.

within and has generally disregarded external ceremonies and accompaniments (1875 3:145; 1892 3:clxiii).

FN: 2:133: “To express the highest truth and purest sentiment.” O yes yes yes!

ED: In describing renunciation of the use of pictures and images, by Muslims and many Christian sects, Jowett added that it was possible also “to conceive that they might only be used to express the highest truth and the purest sentiment.”

FN: 2:139: Why do not modern “writers of fiction” write like Plato with a high ideal? Plato continually refers to the “son of a king” becoming “a philosopher”? Had he any “intuition” of Buddha? But Buddha⁵⁶ left his kingship, and so would Plato’s have done.

2:55: The soul which was the *owner* fled (2:32) and soul is the cause and body the effect, Darwin nonobstante. Body and mind: body [the] servant of the mind to be trained to its service (2:155*).

ED: Jowett’s text stated that gymnastic was to train the mind more than the body: Plato’s “whole idea is based upon the notion that the body depends upon the mind, and it to be trained to its service.”

FN: 2:13-14: Teach that, my son, to your young lawyers and doctors, that the detective is not the judge and that virtue may know vice, but vice cannot know virtue (2:156* 2:38) (2:119). One always wonders that Plato gets so far and no farther; he is really the best refuter of Darwin ; he always seems on the brink of the great discovery that the soul makes the body, not the body the soul, that the soul “informs” the body, not the body the soul, that God makes things make themselves, a much more Godlike attribute than making them and not as Darwinians fancy dethroning God, that he does not “make new beasts out of old”. . . .

2:38: Differences in natures of men existing together in a single state. Arthur Hugh Clough used to say we had no occasion to go to heaven or hell, for he saw heaven and hell existing together in this world.

2:119: That man may be like God in this and mankind may create mankind.

2:155*: Plato’s whole idea that the body depends upon the mind; mind *informs* the body. But his ideas of marriage are in diametrical

56 Siddharta Gautama (c560-480 BCE), son of a prince, left his privileged life for years of ascetic wandering to become Buddha, the “enlightened one.”

opposition to this and are a diabolical inconsistency with this. 2:154* bottom: He is always separating two things which must go together and this is akin to his great mistake about marriage. He talks the greatest sense about the whole, parts of a whole, the body cannot be without the mind (2:155*) and the greatest nonsense in making the greatest event of human life or social life marriage and the propagation of mankind depend upon the smallest and lowest part of a whole (2:119).

2:43-45 line 13: I should bring out these invaluable principles or definitions or maxims, that policy = a regard to the whole interests of the state, to have the courage of your opinions, that unity springs from temperance . . . and above all that the object of law = every man to have his own (not 2:17 line 6); of trade = every man to do his own business; injustice = every man doing another's business, which tries to rule and not to serve; justice = perfect order = the right man in the right place = virtue relative to others; Aristotle = law = order = harmony. . . .

ED: Jowett added to and slightly reworded his comments on temperance, clarifying the relationship of temperance (harmony of discordant parts) with that of justice, meaning perfect order in the whole (1875 3:52-53; 1892 3:lxii-iii).

FN: Summing up of this (2:68-69) very poor. . . . Reason solely given to attainment of *truth* not reputation. The want of search after *truth* in modern argument and conversation, only seeking in what one's interlocutor says for what will support one's own argument, not seeking in discussion for the truth; he who kills the truth is a murderer.

2:68: Eclecticism: love of opinion and discussion and controversy merely, not of truth, the bane of the day, degenerates from the widest eclecticism into love of *my* opinion. . . . Philosophy = the love of truth (2:65), of knowledge, not of opinion, of discussion, knowledge = of something that *is*, opinion = of something that is or is not. See 2:59, love of knowledge, not of opinion or discussion, characteristic of philosopher. Woman question (2:15) goes to the root at once; if same employments, then same education.

Family relations 2:53: It is difficult to have patience to go into this notorious blunder and fallacy. But I think you ought not to go into it unless you distinctly mention that God has distinctly provided by His laws that anything even like Plato's plan ends, and that soon, in the destruction of the race. Plato does not know that crèches are the death and deterioration, the slaughterhouses of infants, not their nurseries.

See mortality of 90 percent in the good soeurs' crèches and in all the French inventions. What a fool a woman is to commit infanticide, said an eminent French doctor, when she can do it so much more safely and agreeably to herself by putting the child out to nurse, that in a tenfold proportion as each child has not its own mother, its chances of death and deterioration are multiplied.

2:53: That, as a lying-in woman has more chance in the worst home of life than in the best hospital, so a child has more chance in any but the very worst home than in the best institution.⁵⁷ See ourselves returning to the boarding-out system, to *imitating* the family, though we have some union schools the best in the world my experience, Mrs Senior's⁵⁸ Leavesden: workhouse infirmaries. See infant mortality in masses.

ED: Editor: Jowett added Nightingale's points in detail.

FN: There is another aspect of the marriage question to which Plato is a stranger. All the children born in his state are foundlings. It never occurred to him that the greater part of them, according to universal experience, would have perished. For children can only be brought up in families. There is a subtle sympathy between the mother and the child which cannot be supplied by other mothers. . . . If Plato's "pen" was as fatal as the crèches of Paris, or the foundling hospital of Dublin more than nine tenths of his children would have perished. There would have been no need to expose or put out of the way the weaklier children, for they would have died of themselves. So emphatically does nature protest against the destruction of the family (1875 3:166-67; 1892 3:clxxxix-cxc⁵⁹).

FN: 2:153* paragraph 2: Bentham's association. O ass. ass. ass. Bentham's nonsense. The child must be managed by the mother, not by mothers or by mothers being managed. Then Plato is of course entirely, in laying down the law about ages of, ignorant of the laws discovered by Quetelet, by which sex of child depends on relative ages of parents.

ED: This issue is discussed in the In Memoriam essay above, but Quetelet's data only show a slight tendency for the age of the parents to affect the sex of the child.

57 A major finding of Nightingale's *Introductory Notes on Lying-in Institutions*, 1871 (in *Women*).

58 Jane Hughes Senior (1828-77), first woman Poor Law inspector.

59 Incorrectly numbered; in fact the next page.

FN: Then the strange mistake about mothers *not* to suckle their own children, as if with the greatest care in selecting the nurse we did not know that she could only be a miserable makeshift for the mother. As if God did not know best, had not provided for this, and the mother's milk were not adapted for her own child and no other.

ED: Jowett took up this point obliquely in his new section, referring to the "subtle sympathy between the mother and the child which cannot be supplied by other mothers" (1875 3:166; 1892 3:clxxxix).

FN: "Ascribe to chance what is really the invention of" God. Were men and women left to a really free "selection," "natural affinity," in marriage by meeting freely in work instead of in play under chaperons, or in vice without chaperons (Plato's legitimatizing vice, poetizing crime, far more curious than any of Dr Balzac's or George Sand's novels). The "invention" of *God* would be seen and neither the "invention of the rulers" nor "chance" nor "an ingenious system of lots."

ED: Jowett's text on "ascribe to chance" refers to the rulers breeding inferior persons with other inferior persons, and thus producing inferior offspring, which the ignorant parents would think was the result of chance.

FN: 2:56 a quarrel in a family: He has just abolished the "family" and then is obliged to come back to it.

2:61: Strongest natures most influenced by circumstances, sometimes to such a degree as to reform them (2:70). Plato's discovery *versus* modern theorists; finer natures more dragged down by bad conditions. Most true. 2:63: Degenerating in a strange sort: man can only attain highest development among fellow workers.

2:70: "For the alien conditions" to "another." Yes, but I think this is only another side, a supplementary view, of what he says. The weaker or coarser nature will take the better elements out of the "alien condition," be nourished by them and never think of amending it. This is not the reformer's nature. The stronger and finer nature becomes either a misanthrope or a philanthrope—sometimes, often, both. It may be entirely crushed and corrupted or it may be under certain circumstances or with certain elements in itself so driven and repelled by the alien condition that it reacts altogether and breaks away, sometimes into great good, sometimes into great bad, sometimes into both. This is the reformer's nature. Thousands of Augustinian monks had been brutified; Luther broke away.⁶⁰

60 The Protestant reformer Martin Luther had been an Augustinian monk.

One may touch cursorily on this point, that the “alien conditions” are only “alien” to the stronger and finer natures. The weaker and coarser generally like and find enough to feed upon in these “conditions.” When one of the stronger is thoroughly repelled and stimulated by disgust of these “conditions” then comes the reform, but alas!, many victims before the reformers, many unconscious martyrs. O let *us* be *not* victims but sacrifices, offered to heaven, not conquered by evil!

It is always a curious question to watch in history how long will people, and ought they to, submit to persecution, either religious or political (often degenerating under disabilities)? (The pilgrim fathers did not degenerate; they went to a new country and became a vast nation. The French Huguenots were both massacred and degenerated; they came to London and became Spitalfields weavers.) And when, if ever, they will and ought to rise against it and secure “freedom to worship God”?

Is it not notorious, if we would but *know*, that millions of the finer natures become brutified by family relations (*one* only breaks through them)? (I am not satisfied with Mr Jowett’s answer about “healing influences” in the family, as if God had made the family to be a hospital.)

ED: Jowett added considerable material here, using the precise terms of Nightingale’s points: “In general a man can only receive his highest development in a congenial state or family, among friends or fellow workers. But also he may sometimes be stirred by adverse circumstances, to such a degree that he rises up against them and reforms them. And while weaker or coarser characters will extract good out of evil, say in a corrupt state of the church or of society, and live on happily, allowing the evil to remain, the finer or stronger natures may be crushed or spoiled by surrounding influences, may become misanthrope and philanthrope by turns; or in a few instances, like the founders of the monastic orders, or the Reformers, owing to some peculiarity in themselves or in their age, may break away entirely from the world and from the church, sometimes into great good, sometimes into great evil, sometimes into both. And the same holds in the lesser sphere of the convent, a school, a family” (1875 3:79; 1892 2:xcii).

FN: Summary 2:71-74: It seems that these summings up (2:73) are rather poor and rather unintelligible and do not at all do justice to Plato. (2:72 top): Anselm was the original of Descartes in this.

ED: Jowett did not add any reference to Anselm or otherwise change his summary (1875 3:82; 1892 2:xciii).

FN: Cave (2:84): I think I would leave the explanation of the cave alone or give a much higher one than this. This account of cave much better (2:87). Cave: where is the fire? You do not mention the fire till the ninth line; it is wanted in the three first. Very poor account of the most famous passage of Plato, perhaps of any philosophy in the world. Will you not allude, too, to Bacon's mention of the cave? (2:75). Point out clearly the connection this has with preceding pages, the diviner intelligence turning to good or evil appears to have to do with what is said (2:61, 75) about stronger natures and circumstances.

ED: Bacon used the cave as one of his four "idols," or sources of error in the acquisition of knowledge. Everyone "has a cave or den of his own, which refracts and discolours the light of nature, owing either to his own proper and peculiar nature, or to his education and conversation with others, or to the reading of books, the authority of those whom he esteems and admires, or to the differences of impressions."⁶¹ Jowett did not add any reference to Bacon but did move up the reference to fire (1875 3:83; 1892 2:xcix).

FN: 2:127: To teach a man to choose the good. Education to comprehend the whole of life, another education in next world (2:66).

2:70: "Monster corporation, party organization" how true. Archbishop Whatley⁶² used to say that the great evil of the Church of Rome was not its doctrine this or doctrine that but its being a "great party" guided by party principles.

2:110-11: Freedom—of what? of evil? slavery—of what? of good? Everyone to do as he likes? in evil?, or may he like to have slaves? The soul poor a more miserable than the most miserable; he who has the right and the power to do as he likes and the whole city or the whole family is in a league to give it him. I think you are unfair to these masterly maxims.

Government 2:99-101: I think this quite unfair to Plato; I think he shows quite a prophetic idea of perfection and its possibility. . . . (2:100-01) Comte,⁶³ not Plato, conceives, thinks only of an order of thought, not of

61 Francis Bacon, *The Great Instauration*, in *Works* 4:54.

62 Richard Whatley (1787-1863), Anglican archbishop of Dublin.

63 French philosopher Auguste Comte, much criticized in *Suggestions for Thought*. In his *Cours de Philosophie positive* Comte theorized three stages of development through which all societies were said to progress, from the theological, through the metaphysical, to the positive or scientific.

a succession, of time. Last paragraph prophetic, not historical or historical foundation (2:101), prophetic of Napoleon's revolutions, Paris. . . .

2:101 top line: Because you can't discern the order why say it can't be discerned? Is this not the impudence of ignorance? Good definition of history, filling up one outline with others. 2:101 bottom: Individualism *is* dissolution, everyone doing as he likes (2:97) striking picture of family life (2:102). As in religions it is the element of good which gives power to bad ones.

ED: Jowett's discussion explained that Plato had described the ideal state in previous books and was now returning to "perverted or declining forms," using parallels between the individual and the state. Plato "conceives democracy as a state of individualism in which everyone is doing what is right in his own eyes." There is much more on the role of the statesman bringing order out of disorder in the new section (1875 2:111; 1892 3:cxxxv-viii).

FN: FN: 2:103 top line: You give us quite too much credit.

ED: Jowett's text reads: "Debt and land were the two great difficulties of the ancient Law-Giver; and we may be said to have almost, if not quite, solved the one of these difficulties but hardly the other." The 1875 text remains unchanged but there is a minor change in the third edition: "In modern times we may be said to have almost, if not quite, solved the first of these difficulties, but hardly the second" (1875 3:112; 1892 3:cxxix). Nightingale's passionate concern for land and debt reform, especially in India, has appeared above. In the classical world a person could fall into slavery for debt; Nightingale considered that the Indian peasant was not much better off.

FN: Summary 2:116-18: I find this summing up scanty (2:116 line 1). I think he means more than this. See 2:113, experience of sin a greater and more real life.

ED: 2:116.1 reads: "What, then, shall a man profit, if he 'gain the whole world' and become more and more wicked?"⁶⁴ and was not changed in 1875 (3:125) but given more nuance in 1892 (3:cxlvi).

FN: 2:104-08: I skip the number of the Beast⁶⁵ which I don't understand. But Plato always seems to have had a sort of prophetic indication of Quetelet's discoveries in number in which he shows that num-

64 A paraphrase of Matt 16:26.

65 An allusion to Rev 13:18 where the number is 666.

bers are exactly dependent on other numbers. For example, the number of births and respective numbers of sex, of births exactly dependent on respective ages of parents, i.e., on other numbers, etc.

2:94: Democracy = equality among unequals (2:102), every man doing what is right in his own eyes. Democracy (2:94) quite irrespective of anybody else, *profession* of patriotism (2:95), saying anything that comes into his head.

ED: Jowett's text has the "only qualification" democracy demands "is the profession of patriotism" (2:94) and was unchanged.

FN: 2:96: "Mankind's epitome," two lines not appropriate, too good.

ED: Jowett's two-line quotation from John Dryden's "Absalom and Achitophel" was:

A man so various that he seemed to be
Not one but all mankind's epitome.

On revision he dropped this favourable reference to the character, Zimni (lines 545-46), for a less favourable one, line 548: Everything by starts and nothing long (1875 3:105; 1892 3:cxxii).

FN: 2:161*: More's *Utopia*.⁶⁶ You see that More's "priests" correspond with Plato's "poets." Plato could not have meant Aeschylus for that "being, not seeming" is from Aeschylus, is it not? (2:183). 2:162*: Campanella, his "Sun" borrowed from Egypt where the King or principal magistrate was called Phra or Pharaoh or Ramesses (Ra: the Sun).

2:97: Paris: proclaiming abolition of debts and division of lands.⁶⁷ Bad education and bad government. Causes.

Forms (2:134-35). Where do the souls come from which are put into (or which make) our bodies when we are born? This question seems to be treated here by Plato under a symbolical form. 2:140: Pray don't call Plato's "paradoxes." You really deserve 3000 years for that.

ED: Jowett did not change the 1875 text but made a modest concession in the third edition, changing "The paradoxes of one age often become the commonplaces of the next" to "The paradoxes of one age have been said to become . . ." (1875 3:155; 1892 3:clxxiv).

FN: 2:138: Use of evil: make a better choice: experience. Those who come from earth choose better than those who come from heaven.

66 Thomas More, *Utopia*, 1516.

67 Presumably a reference to the Paris Commune.

Life may go from good to evil from this world to the other and from the other to this. Most seek only to avoid their former condition.

ED: Jowett added material here about the Pythagorean League, as an aristocracy of virtue: “For once in the history of mankind the philosophy of order or κόσμος expressing and consequently enlisting on its side the combined endeavours of the better part of the people, obtained the management of public affairs and held possession of it for a considerable time” (1875 3:153; 1892 3:clxxiii).

FN: 2:146*: Married love: no instance of its inciting to great deeds (Dante or Petrarch). This should be one of the offices of the new poetry of the day. Adam and Eve were married, I suppose, but no one has sung married love since Milton sang, or since: a virtuous woman is [the] crown of [her] husband. (But even she was bought by a good many rubies.⁶⁸) And how body of Adam and Eve. On the contrary the novel always stops at marriage.

2:140: *Communism*: curious that it should be at once a counsel of perfection⁶⁹ and a red republican flag.

ED: Jowett added to his discussion of the early Christians their practice of holding property in common, and the following: “A like spirit, but fiercer and more violent, has appeared in politics. ‘The preparation of the gospel of peace’ is also the red flag of republicanism” (1875 3:156). In 1892 this was slightly revised to “soon becomes the red flag” (3:clxxvi).

FN: 2:141: Abolition of slavery for “only” read “*not*.” Sir B. Frere and Livingstone would tell you.

ED: Jowett’s text has the abolition of slavery “completed in our own day.” In referring to Bartle Frere and David Livingstone Nightingale was giving examples of two people who actually worked to end slavery in Africa, but slavery was not eradicated and indeed still exists there. Jowett qualified the statement to refer to “our West India colonies” (in 1875 3:157) and “the abolition of slavery in America and the West Indies” (1892 2:clxxvii).

FN: 2:143: *Woman question*! Noble conceptions of *womanhood* in medieval times, the conception of the virgin mother, a noble and true con-

68 An allusion to Prov 30:10-11. John Milton (1608-74), on whom see p 744.

69 An allusion to Jesus’ counsel to the rich young man to sell all and give to the poor to be perfect, Matt 19:21.

ception. In these times there are none, nor had Shakespeare any. It would seem as if the more we cry out about the rights of woman, the less power we had of forming any ideal of what she ought to be (2:144 top). Milton's: He thy God: thou mine.⁷⁰ Eve to Adam her God, not her companion.

ED: Jowett added: That Plato should have emancipated himself from the ideas of his own country and from the example of the East shows a wonderful independence of mind. He is conscious that women are half the human race, and in some respects the most important half (*Laws* vi,781B). He brings philosophy to bear upon a question which both in ancient and modern times has been chiefly regarded in the light of custom or feeling (1875 3:159). In 1892 he slightly reworded and added further that Plato "for the sake both of men and women" desired "to raise the woman to a higher level of existence" (1892 3:clxxx).

FN: 2:110 line 10 from bottom: for "vain pomp" put "outside" or "vain outside" of "tyranny."

ED: Jowett's original text refers to someone who "will not be struck all of a heap like a child by the vain pomp of tyranny." He did not change it in the 1875 edition but in 1892 he revised it to: "not be panic-struck by the vain pomp of tyranny" (1875 3:120; 1892 2:cxxxvii).

FN: 2:128: Changing into animals similar to the idea of animal marriage among men and women (2:144). I think I am very good to enter into this question after having been beaten. 2:145*: Plato contemplates marriages "without feeling" or "imagination." Yet when men or women are destitute of either—query: are *any*?—we justly call them brutes occupying the lowest step of humanity, unworthy of humanity, etc. Many women, and men too, are made up of feeling and imagination and these the highest specimens of their race, when something else is added. Yet in marriage Plato takes away these and adds --- what? Nothing.

2:145*: The improvement of the race in "mental qualities." Query how? *Not* "possible" in this animal way. What provision does Plato make for "mental qualities" in this gigantic blunder, a contradiction of himself in every other part, for example, that the soul makes the body,

⁷⁰ From Milton's *Paradise Lost*: God is thy Law, thou mine: to know no more/ Is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise. IV.637-38.

owns the body. 2:145, second paragraph: instincts. Do you call some of the highest feelings which distinguish mankind and womankind from the brutes “instincts”?

ED: Jowett changed “instincts of human nature” to “higher feelings of humanity” (1875 3:160; 1892 3:clxxxii).

FN: Lower brutes desert wives soon after pairing. Plato would have men and women do so *immediately* after pairing, higher animals do not: golden eagle, elephant, even lesser birds assiduously attend their mates and feed little ones till they fly. Higher animals, golden eagle: 100 years a mate, higher animals, “improvements in the breed.” You *couldn’t* “improve the breed” in this way. God has taken care of that. Providence has provided that the improvement of the race of man shall not be in this fashion of brutes. To the Greek, etc., this is rather trying at an explanation of Plato’s colossal blunder (in philosophy as well as in fact) than a serious discussion of the matter.

2:146* (middle): Certainly, what was natural is now incest. So will it be with these other relations. They will no longer be “fancies,” are you serious? but something deeper and “regulated” not by “law,” by feeling the same sort of feeling that “regulates” “incest.” That is not by “law,” by feeling. Second paragraph, see 2:133. But “family attachments” MIGHT (alas! there are few examples) *promote*, not “interfere with” “higher aims.” My ideal in novels would be to make “love” and the “family” tend to producing the heroic or the ideal. *My Quetelet* (2:147*): Quetelet—prophetic consciousness of a new power for man’s progress.

ED: Jowett strengthened his argument against breeding for the improvement of the race, stating that regard for the weakest of human beings was “one of the noblest results of Christianity,” adding: “We have learned, though as yet imperfectly, that the individual man has an endless value in the sight of God, and that we honour Him when we honour the darkened and disfigured image of Him. . . . This is the lesson which Christ taught in a figure when he said, ‘Their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven’ ” (1875 3:161; 1892 3:clxxxii).

FN: 2:150*: “Feminine” (take out that). For feminine read “ecclesiastical,” “papal,” or “Bourbon,” or “Stuart.” All the great historical instances we know of this have been of men, not of women. Elizabeth, Catherine, etc., have shown just the contrary. Churches [are] the type

of it, consist exclusively not of women but of men, *regarding that only as the better life which makes men better* and leaving the rest. . . .

ED: Jowett's sexist remark was: "The great crises in the history of nations have often been met by a sort of feminine positiveness. . . ." Of Nightingale's proposed substitutes for "feminine" he chose "ecclesiastical" (1875 3:174; 1892 3:cxcviii).

FN: 2:155*: Plato: the first great sanitary author: Gymnastics = hygiene and sanitation. Medicine attends more to *Materia Medica* than to the sanitary and preventive. . . .

ED: Jowett added other examples of Plato on medicine, from the *Timaeus*, that "no man of sense . . . would take physic" and from the *Laws* declaring that "the limbs of the rustic worn with toil will derive more benefit from warm baths than from the prescriptions of a not-overwise doctor" (1875 3:179; 1892 3:cciv).

FN: 2:156*: The "powers of observation" are not necessarily "quickened" by sin. No one likes pain or is likely to be mistaken in thinking it pleasure. While the reverse *may* be the case with sin, I would not put "crime" but sin: (line 14 from top), evil, vice. Virtue may know vice but vice cannot know virtue, etc.

ED: Jowett left in the statement that a doctor who experienced disease would have "quickened" powers of observation, but omitted Nightingale's second objection on sin and crime (1875 3:180; 1892 3:cciv-v).

FN: 2:82-83, 156: Education terribly scamped. This is one of the most striking conceptions in Plato. Remember that, my son, from thirty-five to fifty on, we will say from thirty-five to fifty-five, you are to have the actual experience of life, then you are to go back *and on* to the conception of the Perfect and in its rays give us forth the result (Jesuits' second novitiate). . . . The importance of this principle, modified as you will in practice, of the education of life being just as essential after fifty as before and a great deal more so, after middle age, because then you have had the experience of life. "To him that hath much, etc."⁷¹ Jesuits' second novitiate after ten years' active work. Was it after fifty that Socrates began his life of interrogation?

71 A paraphrase of Luke 12:48: "For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required."

ED: Jowett added several pages on education at the end of the introduction in the 1875 edition, and fleshed it out further in the 1892, notably that “Plato is far in advance of modern philosophers and theologians when he teaches that education is to be continued through life and will begin again in another. Following the precept of Solon, he would have ‘every man grow old in learning many things.’” Jowett then considered how practically Plato’s view of continuous education could be brought about, for “men and women cannot be brought together in schools or colleges at forty or fifty years of age,” and teachers and advisers were unavailable. “A few only who have come across great men and women, or eminent teachers of religion and morality, have received a second life from them, and have lighted a candle from the fire of their genius” (1875 3:183-84; 1892 3:ccix-x).

FN: The rest of the *Republic* always seems to me as if Plato were advertising that if we accept his *Republic* we shall hear of some things greatly to our advantage: collateral advantages—I will not degrade Plato by calling them cardinal advantages. For one especially he seems hardly to take au sérieux and, in its cardinal stupidity, one loses sight even of its immorality. It is not even ironical, it is simply grotesque. These “advantages” seem to be three: (1) the question of body and mind, treated of in a sort of superficial and contradictory way but full of genius; (2) communism in property; (3) the woman communism in marriage (pairing) question.

Plato the prophet more than a match for kings and priests = poets = tyrants. Three or four great religious and moral conceptions, of which his utopian republic, merit the vehicle just as the Jewish prophet’s fancied Messiah’s reign merely conveys (to us at least) his great religious conceptions. Your excuses for Plato passim (all that about the ideal non-practicable) very much beneath you. God’s verdict against polygamy [many wives] final. But this is the exaggeration of polygamy: it is polyandry [many husbands], polygyny [many wives], polymatry [many mothers], polypatry [many fathers], polypaidy [many children], poly everything. Even a breeder of animals would tell you that he could not carry out matters in this way (Livingstone, *Good Words*⁷²).

72 Bartle Frere, “Dr. Livingstone,” *Good Words* 1874:279-87. In this article Frere stated that polygamy could not co-exist with Christianity any more than slavery could, arguing that monogamy “is found in its practical results to be a certain safeguard for social progress” (285).

As a great man has hardly ever had a great father, still less a great woman a great mother, we see how very little comes of this at all. How many, many, more elements than Plato has in his philosophy enter into the question of breeding great men and women, let alone the fact (which Plato takes no cognizance of at all and which by the abolition of family *can* be taken no cognizance of at all) that if you go back even eight steps, and *at least* these enter into the composition of a human being, there are 256 progenitors to be consulted and taken into account.⁷³ But, according to Plato, you are not even to know even who your *own* father and mother are, much less who these progenitors are. It is all such nonsense. They make themselves known by God's law whether you will or no.

What do we mean when we say that Providence's condemnation of polygamy is final? Is it not that no civilization can stand against polygamy but either it must die or polygamy must? The race must decrease and become extinguished, the dynasty or the aristocracy must cease to be: these are the inevitable results of polygamy, while the inevitable result of what we call morality: viz., one man to one woman, is social progress. The statesman's "thoughts are fixed not on power or riches or extension of territory, but on an ideal state in which all the citizens have an equal chance of health and life, and the highest education is within the reach of all, and *the moral and intellectual qualities of every individual are freely developed*, and 'the idea of good' is the animating principle of the whole. Not the attainment of freedom alone or of order alone, but how to unite freedom with order, is the problem which he has to solve."

ED: Jowett added considerably to his discussion of marriage, using Nightingale's points and terms: "History shows that wherever polygamy has been largely allowed the race has deteriorated. One man to one woman is the law of God and nature. All the great civilized peoples of the world at some period before the age of written records have become monogamists. . . . Dynasties and aristocracies which have disregarded the laws of nature have decreased in numbers and degenerated in stature; 'mariages de convenance' leave their enfeebling stamp on the offspring of them. . . . The marriage of near relations, or the marrying in and in of the same family, tends constantly to weakness or idiocy in the children . . ." (1875 3:163) and further points and nuance in 1892 (3:clxxxiv-v).

⁷³ See Nightingale's discussion of Francis Galton's article, "Blood Relationships," on the progenitors (see p 657 below).

ED: As well as making the above substantive comments, Nightingale noted a number of misprints, all of which were either corrected in subsequent editions, or the passage dropped. For example, she pointed out a misspelling of “soit” in the motto “honi soit qui mal y pense” (2:51) duly corrected (1875 3:59). She found a misprint for government (2:89). She noted a sloppy omission of a negative, “*un*just actions” (2:75 12th line from top). She noted that “six” divisions should be only “*five*” (2:2 paragraph 2 middle and 2:89). She called for a new paragraph at 2:14 instead of a mere. . . . , which was done.

FN: 2:152: Timocrat [ruler by virtue]: not an English word. If used must it not be explained? (enlist on its side combined endeavours of better part of people, severe training of superintendents in order to train others), a voluntary rule over voluntary subjects. . . .

ED: Nightingale had objected earlier to his use of “timocracy,” a word not in Johnson’s *Dictionary* (ADD Mss 45785 f25 on 2:89). Jowett continued to use “timocrat” without explanation.

FN: 2:132: Lets them rule instead of ruling them. Refer to this when you say what the highest poetry is.

ED: Jowett expanded considerably on the relationship between poetry, excitement, emotion, truth and good in the third edition (1892 3:clxii).

The Gorgias

Source: Note to Benjamin Jowett, ADD Mss 45785 ff45-71

FN: Three great moral truths: (3:60) To do is worse than to suffer wrong, to be and not to seem is duty [page torn]; (3:64) to do wrong unpunished is wor[se] . . . than to do wrong and be punished for [page torn] (3:65-66, 73-74, 76). Also, the difference between truth and opinion [page torn]. Private judgment may be actually the oppos[ite] of truth. (I do not think it unfair but simply and unbearably provoking of Socrates to wrap his moral convictions in that cloud of dialectic. There is less of this in the *Gorgias* than in any (3:8). He is so terribly in earnest that he even throws all his dialectic aside (at the end) and it becomes very much what you would call in me a scream and even makes Callicles in earnest (3:76, 59) and Polus. Mr Lowe is truly Gorgias. Art only to be pursued . . . [with] a view to truth or improvement, [poet]ry: not to minister to the weaker side [o]f human nature (3:20). [Al]so: rhetoric to be used for self-condemnation (3:106) *not* “extravagant.” . . .

Gorgias: Is not Socrates more ineffably tiresome and at the same t[ime] does he not speak higher tr[uth] in the *Gorgias* than anywhere else? (3:4). Why call the highest truths “paradoxes,” at least not the two first? I should not call the third so either (3:58). Are not your sermons always a sort of apology for talking to them of God? And why should your introductions be a sort of apology for recognizing that Socrates speaks the highest truth and no paradox?

Have guarded statements, whether about [Go]d or any particular moral truth, ever produced enthusiasm of religion or in morality? (You say your sheep; dogs “don’t like religion.”) And you [gi]ve the reason: the “highest ideals” only are those which can move mankind. And (3:8) you must *suffer* for your ideal to love it. Is it “unfair” or simply and unbearably provoking of Socrates to wrap his moral convictions in that cloud of dust and dialectic?

But whatever it is, is there not less of this “unfairness” and more of the great moral teacher in *Gorgias* than in any? Is there any dialogue, not even excepting the *Phaedo* and *Crito*, where he is so much in earnest? He is so terribly in earnest t[hat] he even throws all his diale[ctic] aside, towards the end, and makes even Polus in earne[st]. . . .

To me, speaking as one of the stupid and ignorant, it seems that the introduction dwells too much on the *form*, the literary part of the *Gorgias*, and does not bring out in sufficiently striking relief the great truths which Socrates labours so strenuously to enforce, that you think ideal synonymous with paradox? Words sometimes seem almost confused, almost seems to lose his method in the introduction. . . .

ED: Jowett added twelve further pages of substantive comment in the revised introduction and more in 1892 (1875 2:302-14; 1892 2:302-24).

FN: FN: I do insist upon the bottom lines of 3:26 and the top lines of 3:27 being taken out.

ED: These lines read: “If we say that the ideal is not true as a matter of fact, and that the world will by no means agree that the criminal is happier when punished than when unpunished, any more than they would agree to the stoical paradox that a man may be happy on the rack, Plato has already admitted the objection which we are urging against him.” Jowett modified this slightly to read: “If we say that the ideal is generally regarded as unattainable, and that mankind will by no means agree in thinking that the criminal is happier when punished than when unpunished, any more than they would agree to the stoical para-

dox that a man may be happy on the rack, Plato has already admitted that the world is against him” (1875 2:295; 1892 2:295).

FN: I object entirely to 3:26-27, 1, 2. If Plato was not writing logically, why should you be at so much pains to show that his writing is not logical? Might you not as well write pages to show that a Raphael is not a Teniers? I graciously condone your not taking out these pages, as I know you won’t, but then you must graciously omit the word “paradox,” and bring out more in relief the real moral truths. These great moral truths ar[e], are not they?, it is a greater evil to do than to suffer injustice. If you call this a “paradox,” why do you not call the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah a paradox? Is it not the highest of truths?, that it is better to suffer wrong than to do it?

ED: Jowett did not omit the word paradox, but qualified it by adding “to the common understanding” (1875 2:296; 1892 2:296). Isaiah 53 portrays the coming Messiah as “despised and rejected . . . a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief . . . he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth.” Jowett later added several references to Jesus for comparison, but did not use Isaiah (1875 2:302-04; 1892 2:302-03).

FN: It is a greater evil not to be punished than to be punished for wrong. . . . I have no idea why you call this a paradox. It flows quite naturally out of all the rest. That to do wrong unpunished is the greatest of evils follows not only if you accept the first truth but from all the higher experiences of the life of every one of us. Sovereigns never have fair ch[ance] because they are so shielded fro[m] the consequences of their own act[i]ons until immense downfall comes and this often not their own fault.

The very bad come from the highest ranks—Socrates—and from the lowest (not Socrates) for very much the same reason, because *too* low to see the consequences of their own actions. . . . (In family life I see this every day of my life; I see the “spoilt child” making himself and oftener herself miserable, and eve[ry]one else, down to mature life or extreme old [age]. Though the “punishments” of my life have been somewhat severe, y[et] I can bless God even in this world that never in all my life have I been allowed to “do as I liked.”) Also that rhetoric is to be used for self-condemnation flows quite naturally out of the former truths. . . . Pray take out that about “extravagant” irony” (3:32); it is not “extravagant” at all.

ED: The objectionable passage reads: “The extravagant irony in the reason which is assigned for the pilot’s modest charge and the pro-

posed use of rhetoric as an instrument for self-condemnation.” Jowett left the phrase in (1875 2:301; 1892 2:301), but added several pages on the subject of suffering injustice, bringing in comparisons with the New Testament (1 Pet 3:17 and Matt 5:10 (1875 2:302-04; 1892 2:302-05).

FN: [I]t is odd that I should be the apologist of Socrates to you, to whom his method is simply provoking, while to you it is so agreeable that you even used to practise it upon a poor old dog like me. Would you punish your enemy, you should allow him to escape unpunished, for the purpose of punishing him (3:68, 75), is another corollary of the same truth. This *is* irony, of course. Don’t make an apology to your readers for speaking to them of the deeper things in Plato. . . .

[I] object entirely to 3:26-27; [it] is not a reason why you should [leav]e them out. But it is a reason [wh]y you should bring out more the [r]eal moral truths. [I]f Plato was not writing logically why should you be at so much pains to show that his writing is not logical? Politics/rhetoric is a mechanism for making one appear to know what one does not. This or something like it was in your first abstracts of Plato which you showed me nine years ago. I remember it because I was so delighted with the word “mechanism.” And I pointed out first that the government offices, especially the War Office and the Cabinet and also Parliament were a “mechanism” for appearing to the public to know what one does not. Secondly, that Mr Lowe was Gorgiasissimus. Would you not make a great deal more of this than you have done, both at 3:12 where, after the cheer Socrates “gently points out” and afterward in the introduction. You seem to let the point drop.

I think the first abstract I saw of yours was better. All this has to do with Plato’s great distinction between truth and opinion, knowledge and private judgment. Private judgment often stands opposed to truth, but the whole dialogue is really the natural flowing of one thing out of another. . . .

3:33 30(a): The *Gorgias* is not “the assertion of private judgment.” It is something far higher than this. It is asserting the pursuit of truth *against* “the right of private judgment,” truth versus *opinion*. The “right of private judgment” is not truth. It is *opinion* and, in the present day, “private judgment” is asserted so as to be actually the opposite of truth, the opposition, the obstacle to the search after truth. (3:30 a 1 2) Should it not be the *infinite* and *finite*?

Also, so much more might be made as to rhetoric with regard to law and lawyers of the present day. The end of life to be and not to seem. . . . You have brought this out more strongly in a sermon I have

seen of yours than even in this introduction. Do I tolerate Socrates for the sake of his great truths? Do your introductions seem to tolerate the truths for the sake of Socrates? Not exactly, but the vulgar public, not the learned, will never read Plato except for these great truths, even with *one* being wiser than every other world.

Other great truths seem to be: where did Plato make Mr Lowe's acquaintance? Was it you who told Plato how to embody him in *Gorgias*? What politics and statesmanship should really be, the statesman's proper business. . . . (My son, I really must hand you over to Plato—you, the son and father of Plato—I am ashamed of you! I think F.N. has sometimes in milky and obscure language ventured to hint at these truths about statesmen to you and been told that she “screamed.”)

Akin to Plato's view of statesmanship are his views or truths that you must be like the multitude to influence them, that making ourselves like the powers of the day is the way to escape suffering (my son, you did not make yourself “like the powers of the day,” and yet you “expected” that that bishop who has climbed up the “excessively tall tree” and those two deans should stand by you), that “to be despised and rejected” is the fate of the righteous man. . . .⁷⁴

Also that (3:63, 66) if we have no better argument than *numbers*, we have no argument at all that numbers are a kind of proof, of no value where truth is the aim. All this does bear so directly on the statesmanship and indeed on the literature and criticism of the present day.

The exclamation wrung from Callicles (3:76) shows him to have been more accessible to truth than the proverb: “One may be wiser than another; one can't be wiser than every other,” of which the reverse is more true, since every reform has [breaks here]. . . . Might this not be a little more brought out in the introduction? (3:23).

ED: Jowett's text had Callicles being like the statesmen he applauded, “who pandered to the vices of the citizens, and filled the city with docks and harbours, but neglected virtue and justice.” Again this point is brought out more in the addition to the introduction.

FN: By making himself like the ruling powers, he may escape the lesser evil, wrong-suffering, but to escape the greater evil, wrongdoing, he must (he, the just and righteous man) make the community in which he lives like himself. Is it possible to put the moral truth that we

⁷⁴ An allusion to Jowett's difficulties over *Essays and Reviews*, in *Theology* (3:615-23).

must make “the kingdom of heaven within”⁷⁵ *without* too into better political form? Was there ever a time when this was more wanted?

Great statesmen and great men are so far from doing this that they all suffer from the state’s or mankind’s injustice, showing how ill they had performed their highest duty. Or if they don’t suffer, it is because they neglect their highest duty, what they are there for. But we have got much farther than all this now for no one cares (and everyone prates) about performing or not performing the “highest duty.” We don’t care enough now to make the “great statesmen” “suffer,” so we do not have any. We are not vigorous enough to be “unjust,” to revenge ourselves upon the “statesmen” for *not* doing us good. . . .

Why was Plato not martyred like Socrates? It must be more aggravating to write than to speak (and Gorgias read the *Gorgias*). Was it because they were then grown so indifferent, like us, that they did not even care to murder him. . . . It was not indifferentism, certainly, that murdered Socrates. I think I had rather be murdered than see truth not listened to or, what is worse, listened to with indifferentism.

As to “truth” being made “to depend upon numbers” (3:14), would you not work this out as to the method of determining truth by majorities (Parliamentary representation), etc., of the present day?, which really means determining what is truth by those who are least likely to know what it is, for a majority must consist of the least educated, least wise, least excelling in any way.

“We are always taming down the nobler spirits among us to the conventional level” (3:17) says the enemy very truly. Bring these out in your introduction but also don’t contradict them in your conversation.

ED: This point is dealt with in the extensive new section.

FN: What art and poetry and criticism should be, not flattery, not shams, not the “art of gratifying,” not *savoir faire*. What true art should be: making provision for the soul’s highest interest, only to be pursued with a view to truth or improvement. . . . True artists—definition: bringing order out of disorder. (At this point, my son, I expect an apology to Plato from you. What was that you said to me about *Middlemarch*?) Is *Middlemarch* “true art”? What poetry should be . . . not to minister to the weaker side of human nature, to consider improvement and not pleasure (of soul) of multitude. There’s “rue” for Mr Swinburne though I do declare his “Atalanta” *is* an ideal, not a para-

⁷⁵ An allusion to Luke 17:21.

dox. What criticism should be, have: knowledge, good will, frankness. This of course *is* ironical. (3:17, 81) Still it is a very good stipulation for what criticism should be. And were it complied with the criticism of the present day would not be what it is. "What! read a book I am going to review!"

3:55: Not an art but an experience or routine. ([Victor] Cousin: une espèce de routine). Nurse = Training: difficulty of preventing training, which should teach why a thing is to be done *this* way, why not to be done *that* way, from becoming a routine, an empirical practice. That is, real training versus routine . . . intensely applicable to present day. Surely the whole of *novelism*, really the chief of our "arts," is nothing but a "flattery," an "art of gratifying." What pretence does it make to bringing "order out of disorder," an ideal out of social life, to making provision for the soul's highest interests? Novelists = prophets of present day. What do they "prophesy"?

Surely the whole of criticism: occupying the *dog in the manger's* place in our overgrown periodical literature is nothing but "opinion," no search after "truth," nothing but savoir faire, the "knowing" how to "*do*" an article, to put together words in literary form.

"To Plato the whole world appears sunk in error, based on self-interest," self-interest tempered by literary self-amusement. Plato about imitation, the literary self-amusement, now necessary to us to temper "self-interest," is mainly derived from imitation arts, imitation poetry. (6) Of course all that about law, order, constitution (3:21, 78, 104) is most delightful to me. But could you not bring it out a little more? At 3:21, virtue is due to order is what I mean by saying that "grace" is regulated by the law, not the caprice of God.

ED: 3:21 reads: "Virtue, whether of body or soul, of things or persons, is not attained by accident, but is due to order and harmonious arrangement." Jowett did not add anything here, but did add extensive new material on the issue at the end of the introduction (1875 2:302-14; 1892 2:302-04).

FN: The quotation from Pindar at 3:78 is charming. But much might be done to elucidate 3:104-05 to the vulgar, like me, that the virtue of everything is dependent on order.

ED: The quotation reads: "Law is the king of all, mortals as well as immortals." Nothing further is added here but in the new section the point is made: "The true statesman is he who brings order out of disorder, who first organizes and then administers the government of his

own country, and having made a nation, seeks to reconcile the national interests with those of Europe and of mankind" (1875 2:307; 1892 2:308).

FN: 3:104 just above line 507 expresses exactly what I mean by law, but if in the introduction something could be said about this implying a certain order, or constitution, this proper order or law inhering in everything, everything having its proper or essential constitution or order it would unite it more to the modern idea of law, which so possesses us now, but which yet, as you say, is at present little better than a "metaphysical expression." Also the soul "which has order is orderly": does this mean the soul being rightly constituted? It would be more intelligible. I prefer the word law to constitution, but you yourself have told me the word "constitution," order, almost synonymous here. The highest doctrine (3:22, 110) "leaving all to God" follows here. For how could we, without stupidity, "leave all to God" unless He had a settled order or law which we knew to be good, the law of almighty Wisdom and Goodness?

ED: The passage at issue [3:110] refers to the noble and good being possibly differing from saving and being saved, that the noble "leaves all that with God."

FN: 3:105 just above line 508: I am not sure that the word "communion," unless interpreted in the introduction to mean sympathy, fellow feeling, will be generally understood. Communion = *union in feeling*; people think it "conversation." The "old mistake" of virtue being knowledge = an art, the "old confusion of the arts and the virtues" (3:12, 50).

FN: 3:12, 50: (Confusion of arts and virtue), fallacy that a man who knows justice must be just. A man who knows justice or right is not just or righteous, but a jurist or judicial, as a man who knows morality is not moral but a moralist. Would you not bring this out more? The above distinction is in Whewell.⁷⁶

Has not Plato got beyond that here? Does he not say that virtue is an order, a constitution? Does he not imply that it is a state of the soul, not a piece of knowledge?, a "way of human life." . . .

ED: The passage at 3:105 says: "Communion and friendship and orderliness and temperance bind together heaven and earth and gods and

⁷⁶ William Whewell (1794-1866), philosopher of science, author of *History of the Inductive Sciences*.

men, and that this universe is therefore called cosmos or order, not disorder or misrule.”

ED: Jowett took up Nightingale’s points at the end of his analysis.

FN: That the “way of human life” is the most serious of all questions (alas! how little we think so now!), that the combat of human life is the greatest of all combats. Is not this a considerable advance over virtue is knowledge? It rises to Christian asceticism, to the strain of St Paul: virtue is a good soldier “enduring hardness,”⁷⁷ *not* virtue is knowing the highest doctrine.

ED: Jowett’s new section has a lengthy discussion of the strenuous requirements of a statesman, beginning with self-control, before he can control others (1875 2:308; 1892 2:308).

FN: Though Plato says that Pericles is just dead he forgets this himself and speaks of Pericles and others as statesmen “of former ages, of old time,” as you have at 3:7.

ED: Jowett revised this to “of Athenian statesmen of a former generation” (1875 2:275). There is further detail in 1892 about Plato’s mistake as to the “recent” death of Pericles (1892 2:275).

FN: 2:60 *A geographical rem[ark]*: contemporary/historical allusi[on] the man going into the agora [market] with a dagger—the conspiracy of the 400—it would make the introduction more historically interesting to give them. Also it would recall the reader’s attention to the fact that our commonest principles of morality were not known then, which brings out more into relief Socrates’ indignation with Polus, whose sentiments *then* were perhaps the ordinary ones. [I]t would be impossible for Polus to say these things now. [O]n the contrary, Lord J. Russell has to say what he knew, that they knew that he knew to be false. Louis Napoleon did the coup d’état because he thought it right for [the] country’s good. Polus would have said tout crûment [entirely crudely] that it was right for the tyrant to do it for his own good. I say nothing about hypocrisy: homage vice [pays] to vir[tue]. We really [are] not much better now than then.

Gorgias, seventh truth. 3:4. 3:58 the third Socratic paradox: This may be technically called a “paradox,” but if you do, should you not bring out its consummate beauty and truth?, doing something for the

⁷⁷ An allusion to 2 Tim 2:3.

sake of something else . . . making a mistake and intending to do something for our good, which we then find out is not for our good. All this, which means that success is given not to benevolence, nor to good intentions, but to wisdom, and that we have to find out [wh]at are the consequences of our own actions, that these consequences are invariable and constitute a law so exactly that it may be expressed numerically, e.g., not only that indiscriminate almsgiving whether by Poor Law or charity produces pauperism, but exactly how many paupers. Is this not doing what we *don't* intend, and what if we had looked before, we should have seen, seen that what we did *not* wish we were going to do and not have done it? So that in fact we *are* doing what we do *not* will. A man who founds a foundling hospital produces an exactly appreciable increase of exposed illegitimate children. Is he not doing what he does not will? (3:59). He has the "least possible power," for he is actually bringing about the reverse of what he intends.

ED: The third Socratic paradox is "that bad men do what they think best." Nightingale has turned the focus from doing versus suffering evil to doing evil even with good intentions. In the next edition Jowett added a page on this point, using one of her examples and language: "Socrates would teach us a lesson which we are slow to learn—that good intentions, and even benevolent actions, when they are not prompted by wisdom, are of no value. We believe something to be for our good which we afterwards find out not to be for our good. The consequences may be inevitable, for they may follow an invariable law, yet they may often be the very opposite of what is expected by us. When we increase pauperism by almsgiving, when we tie up property without regard to changes of circumstances, when we say hastily what we deliberately disapprove . . . we are doing not what we will, but what we wish. All actions of which the consequences are not weighed and foreseen are of this impotent and paralytic sort, and the author of them has 'the least possible power' while seeming to have the greatest. For he is actually bringing about the reverse of what he intended" (1875 2:305).

Jowett went on to call Socrates' thesis that virtue is knowledge a "half truth, seen first, in the twilight of ethical philosophy, but also the half of the truth which is especially needed in the present age. For as the world has grown older men have been too apt to imagine a right and wrong apart from consequences" (1875 2:306; 1892 2:306).

Other Philosophers, Greek to Modern

Editor: Nightingale read considerably in philosophy when her father was educating her, and continued to read certain philosophers later in life. In addition to the comments made below, there are brief references to many other philosophers in her correspondence. The section begins with material comparing a number of philosophers.

Source: Note to or from a conversation with Jowett, ADD Mss 45785 f258

9 March 1865

Idea of Law traceable in all the old Greek philosophers: Heraclitus⁷⁸ and others. They seem to have had a sort of intuition of future knowledge. Were they not prophets as truly as the Hebrew ones, not anticipating the future of morality and religion, but the future of philosophy and knowledge? Socrates [was] the first who said distinctly that whatever is is best.

Source: Undated note to Benjamin Jowett, ADD Mss 45783 f82

Inspiration of error: it was said of Plato: "If he had not erred, he would have done less." It may be said of every great man: "If he had not erred, he would have done nothing." The fallacies of a great writer serve, not the less effectually because indirectly, to the advancement of truth, by stimulating the energies of the writers who oppose the fallacies. Thus David Hume⁷⁹—to Hume we owe the philosophy of Kant.⁸⁰ Had some mistaken benevolence suppressed the publication of Hume's sceptical theories, Kant would have continued in "dogmatic slumber," Reid⁸¹ would have remained in quiet adhesion to Locke,⁸² the materialism of Condillac⁸³ would still be reigning over the schools of France, the man who gave the whole philosophy of Europe a new inspiration and direction.

78 Heraclitus (c540-c480 BCE), Greek philosopher who conceptualized a cosmos of *change* regulated inexorably, by what would later be seen as "law."

79 David Hume (1711-76), Scottish moral philosopher.

80 Immanuel Kant credited David Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature*, 1739, with rousing him from his philosophical slumber.

81 Thomas Reid (1710-96), Scottish idealist philosopher and Church of Scotland minister.

82 John Locke (1632-1704), British empiricist.

83 Étienne Bonnot de Condillac (1714-80), French philosopher on sense perception.

Source: Notes on Plato, Aristotle and Christianity, Add Mss 45845 f8

The main, central principle, that of considering *not the visible but the invisible* as the *truly existent*, *not this life but the future* as the *true life*, has so much connection with Christianity that we cannot but recognize in this principle a preparation for it, or of mankind for it, on the part of the Greeks.

Plato makes not virtue the means for attaining happiness but happiness to consist in virtue, makes virtue insofar as it has its reward in itself, independent of all impure motives, even of a regard to future recompense, which, nevertheless, he emphatically inculcates. Thus he raised the idea of virtue as much above the Christian idea of it. Only the foremost of the Christian teachers have in this respect come near to Plato.

Aristotle, in accordance with his tendency to outward experience, laid more stress upon external good and evil as possible helps or obstacles to moral effort.

Editor: The main section of material on Socrates is, of course, in the *Dialogues of Plato* above. For scholarship on Socrates Nightingale recommended George Grote (already cited and in 1:259-60). To a friend she described his *Socrates* as: “*real life*—you don’t feel as if it was a painting or a bit of art but as if you had lived with him all your life. Only compare it with Thirlwall. Why, none of us ever knew Socrates before.”⁸⁴

Source: Note to Benjamin Jowett on Socrates, Add Mss 45783 ff187-89

I think, again, you are unfair to the ancients and too kind to the moderns, for they do now just what Socrates deprecates. The modern theories about finding out the beginning and the end are just the same as what Socrates warns us against. No one thinks about finding out the character of God, which “is entirely within the sphere of human,” not “consciousness” perhaps but “human” inquiry, investigation, discovery, experience.

If I were you, I would write a sermon drawing *not* a contrast but a parallel between the idea of Socrates that this is life, to “know thyself,” the idea of the Evangelist that this is eternal life, to “know

⁸⁴ Letter to Mary Clarke Mohl, 7 February [1851], Add Mss 43307 ff303-04. Connop Thirlwall (1797-1875), bishop and liberal historian.

God”⁸⁵ (in which I agree with him, more than any church can). The earliest Christians (by whom I mean the writers of the New Testament) made an immense beginning by declaring this, that “this was eternal life, to know God.” They made an immense step by declaring farther that God is love.⁸⁶ But I don’t think they ever went much farther. And we have not gone farther at all; we have rather retrograded. (For certainly Christ would not have killed John Huss,⁸⁷ would not have excommunicated Bishop Colenso,⁸⁸ would not have burnt Servetus.⁸⁹) No one has ever shown what a God of love is, what He would do—how God is a God of love—how this is consistent with the state of the world as it is, with His having His world in such a state.

I think it so natural of Christ to say (what Strauss⁹⁰ thinks so offensive), that he would show them in his own acts what God was, that He was the way. He could not teach them in any other way that God was a God of love,⁹¹ in any other way to know God. But no one has ever even tried to show how God being love is an explanation of the horrible state of the world as it is. George Fox explains it by saying God did not create the devil. And, though he was persecuted himself, he seems ready to have persecuted the “ranting woman” who drew away his followers on this point.

Goethe says He did, that God did create the devil. And we ought to be very much obliged to Goethe, who certainly did not trouble himself much about God, for having by the force of his surpassing genius insisted so much upon this. There was certainly as wide a gap between Job (and his follower Goethe who understood that God did *not* hate the devil and that mankind was *very* much in want of him to stir them up) and the whole evangelical, Roman Catholic and high church twaddle upon this subject as there is between “Aristotle and a little boy.”

When Mephistopheles says that he is a part of that force which always wills evil and always does good—he seems to have hit the “mys-

85 A paraphrase of John 17:3.

86 An allusion to 1 John 4:8.

87 John Huss was burned at the stake by the Inquisition in 1415 for writing heresy on the Trinity.

88 John William Colenso (1814-83), bishop of Natal, was prosecuted for heresy. Nightingale supported his defence.

89 Servetus was burned at the stake in Calvinist Geneva.

90 David Strauss, *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*, 1835. See *Spiritual Journey* 2:440, 417 and *Theology* 3:366 on his views.

91 An allusion to John 14:6.

tery” exactly.⁹² But then you must acknowledge that God made the devil. (I would even go farther and acknowledge that God made the *Times*,⁹³ though that may be going too far.)

God is love, *because* there is evil—is the “mystery” we ought to find out. And “until you have first made out this mystery” don’t puzzle yourselves about beginnings and ends. “That is a knowledge which is the condition of all other knowledge and which can never be exhausted or come to an end.”

“He is pious who knows how to please the gods.” Then you must “know God” in order to know how to please Him. If God is a perfect God, it is quite true that right is in pleasing Him, but not at all if He is not. Now certainly Christians have never gone about finding out *what* a perfect God is, though the New Testament did do so much for the knowing of God. But as certainly they were only the founders of the knowledge of God as you say Socrates was of moral philosophy. And as certainly we are just as much in the infancy of the knowledge of God as you say Socrates was in the infancy of moral philosophy, although the father of it.

If, for example, I believed in Calvin’s God, by whose “good pleasure” so many are “predestined to eternal damnation,” I certainly would not love Him or try to please Him. Therefore it would be no use recalling to me that the New Testament says God is love. I would try, partly to defy Him and partly to think of something else, but I would never try to conciliate Him. Evangelical Christianity, so far from making out how God is love, has oftener made *Him* out to be worse than the worst of human tyrants and murderers.

Source: Note to Benjamin Jowett on Aristotle, ADD Mss 45785 ff78-80

The *cause* (the *quid* and the *cur*) [what and why] of Aristotle. *Cur* and *quid*: in both we aim at ascertaining what the cause is, but in *cur* what we discover is perhaps some independent fact or event which is the cause of the event. In *quid* what we seek is the real essence or definition of the substance, the fundamental, generating immanent cause of its concomitant attributes.

Four *causes* (1) *essential* (form), formal; (2) necessitating conditions (matter); (3) *proximate* mover or stimulator of change (*efficient*), e.g., why

92 Mephistopheles, in Goethe’s *Faust, A Tragedy*, Part 1, discussed also in *Theology* 3:44-45.

93 The *Times*, a conservative newspaper, often took positions with which the liberal Nightingale thoroughly disagreed.

did the Persians invade Athens? Because the Athenians attacked the Persians first; (4) that for the sake of which (*final* cause or end). For example, why does a man walk after dinner? For the purpose of keeping up his health (digestion is the *efficient* cause of health). *Final* cause prior in order of nature, posterior to terms of conclusion in order of time or generation.

Efficient cause prior in order of time or generation, *formal and material* simultaneous with effect, neither prior nor posterior. Same fact may proceed both from a final cause and from a cause of material necessity. For example, light from lantern passes through to guide us in dark passes through because particles of light [are] smaller than pores in glasses.

In the final cause or end of action there is always some ultimate end, for the sake of which the intermediate ends are pursued, and which yields when known *the only complete explanation of the action*. So also with the formal cause; there is one highest form which contains the *why* of the subordinate forms.

Aristotle SUGGESTS that the *essence*, which is declared by *definition*, CAN NEVER BE KNOWN BY DEMONSTRATION. Definitions [are] *principia* from which demonstration departs; in going back upon demonstrations, *we must stop somewhere* and must recognize *some principia undemonstrable*. *The definition can never be demonstrated*, for it declares only the essence of the subject and does not predicate anything concerning the subject; whereas demonstration *assumes the essence to be known*, and deduces from such assumption an attribute distinct from the essence (the *dubitative* treatment). (You assume as your premisses two essential propositions in order to prove as an essential proposition the conclusion: inadmissible—for your premisses require demonstration as much as your conclusion. You have committed a *petitio principii* (donc la démonstration de l'essence ainsi entendue est absurde—Barthélemy-St Hilaire.) *You have assumed in your minor premiss the very point to be demonstrated*.

Aristotle: the celestial bodies revolve. It is therefore possible for them to revolve, but *it is not possible for them not to revolve*. (Impossible possible: le possible qui n'est jamais, et qui par cela même porte en lui une sorte d'impossibilité [the possible which is never, and which holds in itself a sort of impossible], B. St Hilaire)

Cause = essential nature of the thing itself (sometimes) as essence of triangle is cause of its having its three angles = two right angles, as well as of the other properties.

Editor: Nightingale's fondness for the Stoics, a school of ancient Greece founded at the time of Aristotle, which lasted many centuries, is evident also in *Mysticism and Eastern Religions*.

Source: Note on the Stoics, ADD Mss 45845 f8

Stoics: superiority of wise men consists only in his having put himself in accordance with the *law* of the universe, and adapted himself to the general reason of the world, and resignation *to destiny as the will of God* the *subordination of the individual will to the will of the Divinity* is preached by the Stoics like precepts of Christ. Stoics—the first to look upon all men as brothers, all having God for their father x x a family under the common law of reason, prepared the idea of the *Logos* [the Word]. Stoics, in interpreting Homer and Hesiod, pointed out to the Alexandrian Jews and to the Christians in the study of the Old Testament and New Testament the way of substituting at their pleasure a different meaning when they did not like the literal one.

John Chrysostom and Descartes

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45845 f120

St John Chrysostom⁹⁴ [trans. from French]: However laudable the intentions of a man, whatever the goodness of the measures he takes to execute them, *one never does good on one's own*; for something to be *accepted and fruitful*, the world must approve the means by which it is accomplished.

To rise above others one must begin by believing in oneself. Descartes doubted everything, but especially himself.⁹⁵ In short, he had, to sustain himself in the execution of a heroic undertaking, *only the feeling of duty*, and this bare feeling, reduced to itself, breaks down more than it supports. *One does no good in the world without feeling secretly the joy of living and acting*. All men *who have accomplished great sacrifices* were following the leanings of their nature.

Anselm

Editor: Nightingale underlined (here shown in *italics*) and commented (shown in **bold**) on a theological book, *Monologion*, as discussed in a book on Anselm (c1033-1109), bishop of Canterbury. Anselm was referred to unfavourably for his “formula” in correspondence with Jowett (in *Theology* 3:540-41). (See also p 604 above.)

94 John Chrysostom (347?-407), mystical writer.

95 Descartes' *Discourse of Method*, 1637, set out a method of radical doubt in which a person questioned everything he or she had previously learned.

Source: Annotations to R.W. Church, *Saint Anselm*, Florence Nightingale Museum

p 75 The basis of his method, one of several he says, but the readiest, *is the existence of certain qualities in man and nature, moral and intellectual excellences and whatever we call good, which, he argues, to be intelligibly accounted for, presuppose, as the ground of their existence, the same qualities in a perfect and transcendent manner in a Being who is seen, on further reflection, to be the one without whom nothing could be, and who Himself depends on nothing.*/Formula 1/

15 June 1872

pp 75-76 **FN comment:** This, the marked part, at p 75 and the marked part of bottom of next page, p 76, [are] two examples of formulae, expressions of God. But, even if perfectly correct in reasoning, would they make anyone believe who did not believe without them? This is the disadvantage of formulae: when you have found them what do they do for you? Do they not rather show how *little* they lead to conviction than how *much*?

pp 76-77 *That the idea of God in the human mind of itself necessarily involves the reality of that idea.*/Formula 2, **This is the other formula. Can anyone say that it helps one to believe in God?**/

pp 77-80 **FN comment:** Let us search out “laws,” parts of the “vast scheme of universal order,” and not go on making formless formulae which would not convince even were they true, or putting questions ever the same, which is nothing but a slavery throwing one into naked and useless speculation, and obscure metaphysics, taking one out of the kingdom of “facts” and real progress. These things are after all nothing but abstractions, metaphysical abstract ideas, easily degenerating into fixed ideas, assimilating with nothing. (The idea of “law” is nothing but an abstraction—a contemplation of an idea in one’s own mind—unless you tell us what *are the laws*.) Do you not see the danger? It is like a lump of leal lying in the stomach, which can never be assimilated by digestion. Or rather it is like good food lying like a lump in the stomach where there is no gastric juice, no power of assimilating it with the rest of the frame.

This is the fate of abstractions, “*idées fixes*,” unless they are reduced to or spring from calculable or observed facts. Tell us no more: *there is law*. Tell us *what the laws are*. The first is only an idea in one’s own mind. The last is our salvation.

p 247 Goethe’s *Iphigenia* 11,I. *And what we do is, as it was to them, Toil-some and incomplete.* 29 September 1871.

pp 292-93 And if nothing else had been gained, or if when he was gone, the tide of new things—new disputes, new failures, new abuses and corruptions—flowed over his work, breaking it up and making it useless or harmful, this at least was gained, which was more lasting—the example of a man in the highest places of the world who, when a *great principle* seemed entrusted to him, was true to it, *and accepted all tasks, all disappointments, all humiliations, in its service. . . .* He was not afraid of the face of the great, *of the disapprobation of his fellows. . . .* But when Anselm dared to tell what he believed to be the truth in the king's court, it was more than the bluntness of a rude code of manners; he accepted a call which seemed divine, with its consequences; *the call of undoubted truth and plain duty.*

29 September 1871

pp 293-94 Though what was romantic and what was unromantic in his fortunes—whether the contest showed in its high or low form—as a struggle in “heavenly places,” against evil, before saints and angels, with the unfading crown in view, or as a game against cowardly selfishness and the intrigue of courts, cheered by the sympathies of Christendom, by the love and reverence of the crowds which sought his blessing or brought *down from his height of feeling by commonplace disagreeables the inconveniences of life . . . low insults and troublesome friends*, through it all his faith failed not; it was ever the same precious and ennobling cause, bringing consolation in a trouble, *giving dignity to what was vexatious and humiliating. . . .* What are all reforms, restorations, victories of truth but *protests of a minority*; efforts clogged and incomplete, of the good and brave, just enough in their own day to stop instant ruin—the appointed means to save what is to be saved, *but in themselves failures? Good men work and suffer, and bad men enjoy their labours and spoil them.*

p 295 Anselm may have overrated his success. Yet success and victory it was—a vantage ground for all true men who would follow him, and if his work was undone by others he at least had done his task manfully.

Benedict Spinoza

Editor:⁹⁶ Nightingale's extracts show a careful reading of the *Ethics* of Benedict Spinoza and a good acquaintance with his correspondence.

96 I am indebted to Gérard Vallée for the introductory analysis, translations from French and Latin and identification of sources.

Often she paraphrased Spinoza freely, or used a source paraphrasing him. Her extracts and paraphrases are interrupted by brief critical comments which somewhat qualify her basic agreement with the philosopher. Nightingale valued his rationalist stance, his notion of freedom as conduct guided by reason, his understanding of virtue as the essence of blessedness and, above all, the central place of justice and charity in religious life. She showed dissatisfaction with his hard determinism and pantheism which, for her, amounted to excessive human self-aggrandizement.

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45845 ff122-29

If this be so then, replies Blynbury, bad men fulfill God's will as well as good.⁹⁷ It is true (Spinoza answers), they fulfill it, yet, not as the good. The better a thing or a person be, the more there is in him of God's spirit and the more he expresses God's will. While the bad, being without that divine love which arises *from the knowledge of God* and through which alone we are called (in respect of our understanding), his servants are but as instruments employed for a special work and which are in the hand of the artificer. *They serve unconsciously* and are consumed in their service.

FN comment: No, they are only on their way to something else. Spinoza's proposition wants a corollary.

But once for all, Spinoza adds, this aspect of things will remain intolerable and unintelligible as long as *the common notions of free will remain unremoved*.⁹⁸

The condition of a country a hundred years hence is already in embryo in existing causes, in the same sense in which the properties of the circle exist. Spinoza's illustration (I think this absolutely true, though Froude scoffs at it. F.N.)

Spinoza: Little or nothing issues as we expect. We look for pleasure and we find pain, thus arises the ineffectual character which we so complain of in life—the disappointments, failures, mortifications which form the material of so much moral meditation on the vanity of the world. The mind is too infirm to be entirely occupied with higher knowledge.

97 Letter 22, 19 February 1665, in *Collected Works of Spinoza*, trans. Edwin Curley 384.

98 To be free is to be guided by reason (*Ethics* 4.67).

The conditions of life oblige us to act in many cases which cannot be understood by us except with the utmost inadequacy. And the resignation to the higher will, which has determined all things in the wisest way, is imperfect in the best of us. Yet much is possible.

The phenomena of experience, after inductive experiment and just and careful consideration, arrange themselves *under laws uniform* in their operation and furnishing a guide to the judgment, and over all things, although the interval must remain unexplored forever because what we would search into is infinite, may be seen the beginning of all things, the absolute eternal God. Inasfar as we are influenced by inadequate ideas, we are but instruments—instruments, it may be, of some higher purpose in the order of nature, but in ourselves nothing, instruments which are consumed in effecting it. (No, on the way to something else.)

*

Spinoza: When we say that a man does this or that action, we say that God does it, not *quâ* [that] he is infinite, but *quâ* [that] he is expressed in that man's nature.

FN: (No, I know that I am not God. St Paul's vessels—reverse true. The reverse appears to me to be true.) St Paul says: "We have this treasure in earthen vessels that the excellency of the power may be of God and not of us."⁹⁹ Is it not rather that God's purpose is that the "excellency of the power" may be of *us* and *not of God*?

Spinoza: To discover the pure good of man, to direct his actions to such ends as will secure to him real and lasting felicity, and by a *comparison of his powers with the objects offered to them*, to ascertain how far they are capable of arriving at these objects, and by what means they can best be trained towards them—aim of philosophy.

*

"Most people deride or vilify their nature; it is a better thing to endeavour to understand it."¹⁰⁰

*

There is no general power called intellect, any more THAN THERE IS ANY GENERAL ABSTRACT VOLITION (no *will*, only wills (F.N.), but only *hic et illa intellectus* and *haec et illa volitio* [this and that act of intelligence and this and that act of will]).

Conduct may be determined *by laws*, laws as absolute as those of matter, and yet the one as well as the other may be *brought under con-*

⁹⁹ 2 Cor 4:7.

¹⁰⁰ *Ethics* 3 introduction.

trol by a proper understanding of those laws. The better we know, the better we act, and the *fallacy* of all arguments against necessarianism lies in the assumption that it leaves no room *for self-direction*. It merely insists *in exact conformity with experience, on the conditions* under which *self-determination is possible*. Conduct depends on knowledge.

*

Spinoza: Men were all, so to say, rather playing experiments with life than living, and the larger portion of them miserably failing. [trans. from Latin] Justice and charity are the unique and the most certain sign of the true Catholic faith and the true fruits of the Holy Spirit; and wherever these are found there Christ really is, and wherever these are absent Christ is absent. For only by the Spirit of Christ can we be led to the love of justice and charity.¹⁰¹

[English resumes:] To know God, as far as man can know Him is power, self-government and peace. This is virtue and this is blessedness.¹⁰²

Happiness depends on the consistency and coherency of character, and that coherency can only be given by the knowledge of the one Being to know whom is to know all things adequately, and to love whom is to have conquered every other inclination. The more entirely our minds rest on Him, the more distinctly we regard all things in their relation to Him, the more we cease to be under the dominion of external things we surrender ourselves consciously to do His will, and as living men and not as passive things we become the instruments of His power.

The more we understand the less can feeling sway us; we know that all things are what they are, because they are so constituted that they could not be otherwise, and we cease to be angry with our brother.

FN: Yes, but we must go on from this.

Spinoza: Because he disappoints us, we shall not fret at calamity, nor complain of fortune, because no such thing as fortune exists, *and if we fail it is better than if we had succeeded*, not perhaps for ourselves yet for the universe. *We cannot fear*, when nothing can befall us *except what God wills*, and we *shall not violently hope*, when the future, whatever it be, *will be the best which is possible*. *Seeing all things in their place in the everlasting order, past and future will not affect us.*

101 Letter 76 to Albert Burgh, end of 1675, in Spinoza, *Chief Works*, trans. R.H.M. Elwes 2:415-16.

102 Paraphrase of *Ethics* 5.

The foolish are led astray by the idea of contingency, and expect to escape the just issues of their actions; the wise man will know that each action brings with it its inevitable consequences, *which even God cannot change without ceasing to be Himself*.

Spinoza acknowledges no hell, no devil, no positive and active agency at enmity with God, but sees in all things infinite gradations of beings, all in their way obedient, and all fulfilling the part allotted to them.

FN: Yes, but only on their way to perfection. That is the only sense of this scheme. Spinoza stops short.

Spinoza: He will not hear of a virtue which desires to be rewarded. Virtue is the power of God in the human soul and that is the exhaustive end of all human desire.

[trans. from Latin] Blessedness is not the price of virtue but virtue itself. It is nothing other than the very contentment of the soul which arises from the intuitive knowledge of God.¹⁰³

[English resumes:] The fullness of God suffices for us all and he who possesses this good desires only to communicate it to everyone and to make all mankind as happy as himself.

“The wise man will not speak in society of his neighbour’s faults and sparingly of the infirmity of human nature, but he will speak largely of human virtue and human power, and of the means by which that nature can best be perfected, so to lead men to put away that fear and aversion with which they look on goodness, and learn with relieved hearts to love and desire it.” *He who loves God will not desire that God should love him* in return with any partial or particular affection *for that is to desire that God for his sake should change His everlasting nature and become lower than Himself*.¹⁰⁴

If knowledge be followed as it ought to be followed and all objects of knowledge be regarded in their relations to the one Absolute Being, *the knowledge of particular outward things*, of nature, or life, or *history*, becomes, in fact, *knowledge of God*, and the more complete or adequate such knowledge, the more the mind is raised above what is perishable in the phenomena *to the idea or law which lies beyond them*. It learns to dwell exclusively upon the eternal, not upon the temporary, and being thus occupied with the everlasting laws and its activity subsisting *in its perfect union* with them, it contracts in itself the character of the objects which

103 *Ethics* 5.52 and 4 Appendix 4.

104 *Ethics* 5.19.

possess it. Thus we are emancipated from the conditions of duration; the more we possess such knowledge and are possessed by it, the more entirely the passion is superseded *by the active*. The human soul may become of such a nature that the portion of it which will perish with the body, in comparison with that of it which shall endure, shall be insignificant and *nullius momenti* [of no importance].¹⁰⁵

[trans. from French] For Spinoza as for Plato, *God is the good in Himself, the idea of good* as in the Christian trinity, the ineffable and indefinable source of all life and *of all perfection*. That is, the “substance”—Spinoza, the *substance*: the highest reality, the highest perfection possible.¹⁰⁶ The infinite being is thus *the infinite perfection*. As for Descartes, *being, reality, perfection* are one and the same thing. As Descartes, Malebranche, Bossuet, Fénelon¹⁰⁷ all define God “the infinitely perfect Being.” Descartes, St Anselm, Fénelon *do not say in what this perfection consists*. The “modes” are the most perfect which are the closest to the “attributes” of God. Each perfection must have its roots in God. “God is an infinite substance, constituted by an infinite number of attributes infinitely infinite,”¹⁰⁸ as for Hegel.

The principle of things is NOT (for Spinoza) in the slightest possible identical with nothingness. It is not, as for the post-Hegelians, matter with its physical and chemical properties but being in its fullness, in its eternal and absolute essence.

On the one hand God, unique “substance” [1.14] and *immanent* cause [1.18] of all things, on the other *true beauty* consisting in *the knowledge* [4.28] *and the love of God*¹⁰⁹ and in reaching the [joug] of passions by the exact discernment of their causes, such are the two terms, the two poles of Spinoza’s philosophy.

Spinoza’s followers (the saints): “Hey! Would they have been so perfect if they had marched like the children of God in the ways of their fathers, *expiating their faults with joy and satisfaction?*” It is well that “Man in recognizing his imperfection becomes sad and is annoyed to see in himself that he is imperfect.”

105 *Ethics* 5.38. Only the “nullius momenti” is from *Ethics* 5.38, one of the few passages actually identified in Nightingale’s extracts.

106 A paraphrase of *Ethics* 1.

107 Nicolas Malebranche (1638-1715), priest, philosopher; Jacques Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704), theologian and bishop; François Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon (1651-1715), theologian and bishop.

108 *Ethics* 1 definition 6.

109 *Ethics* 5.32, 36, 42, and *Theologico-Political Treatise* chap 4.

“Heaven over the earth, what a description of real joy.” “When one considers the necessity of suffering *in the eternal order of God*, punishments are no longer punishments.” The Son is the wisdom of God, His thought and *God’s thought is immediate reality. In the beginning was action, and the action was in God, and God was action.* In a word, “to believe is nothing but to understand.” It is not satisfaction from Christ to God, but from God to us, for God, being light and love has not wanted thus to remain in error. In a word, etc.

Spinoza, “De Diabolis”: “How can such a being exist and exist *eternally*, not possessing any degree of perfection? For otherwise the duration but the devil is, by definition, *separated from God*, and stability of a thinking thing *depends on its union with God*; thus it cannot exist.”¹¹⁰

Source: Notes on Spinoza and Mill, ADD Mss 45845 f130

[There is a] germ in Spinoza of most of what is true in this age’s ideas. Prophet not foretelling things like a gypsy, nor telling where things are hid like a clairvoyant or detective policeman. There does not seem to be the slightest evidence that they laid claim to such powers. And the greatest of them all, the “great Unknown,” as Ewald calls him (Ewald expressly says) never prophesied about a Messiah, but simply described the good servant of God under suffering, as in Isaiah 53.¹¹¹

A man who seems to have formed his mind much on the mould of Spinoza’s, J.S. Mill, says:

An inestimably previous unorganized institution x x the prophets x x were a power in the nation often more than a match for kings and priests, and kept up, in that little corner of the earth, the *antagonism of influences, which is the only real security for continued progress.*

Religion has always been, he says, in other places, *a consecration of all that was once established and a barrier against further improvement*,” only not there, because of the prophets. After speaking of the “vast interval between the morality and religion” of Hebrew conservatives of the sacerdotal order” (he means the authors of the historical books and the Pentateuch, but I mean Dr Pusey and company) “and the morality

110 *Short Treatise on God, Man and His Well-Being*, chap 25 in *Collected Works of Spinoza*, trans. Edwin Curley. The chapter title was in Latin, the extract in French.

111 Georg Heinrich von Ewald, *Die Propheten des alten Bundes* 3:20. The great Unknown was Ewald’s term for the “second Isaiah,” the prophet who wrote the chapters from Isaiah 40 on.

and religion of the prophecies,” he says: “Conditions more favourable to progress could not easily exist; accordingly, the Jews, instead of being stationary like other Asiatics were, next to the Greeks, the most progressive people of antiquity and, jointly with them, have been the starting point and main propelling agency of modern cultivation.”

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45845 f6

Obedience unto death will be turned into obedience unto life. Free will (according to Spinoza), the more perfect a being the less free will he has. God has no free will. The more perfect a being the more he acts according to the necessity of his nature. Will [is] not the same thing as choice. Will = power; power springs from the nature. Free will [is] not incompatible with the foreknowledge, even in a human being of what we shall do (J.S. Mill). Will = power. If we could exchange the word we should see them, viz., that “power” is not incompatible with foreknowledge.

G.W. Leibniz

Editor: The philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) was also a mathematician, co-founder of calculus and writer on religion, including a remarkable theodicy, a justification of the ways of God to humankind. This declared that God permitted only the least amount of evil in the world requisite for the good functioning of the world, or “the best of all possible worlds.”

Source: Notes on Leibniz, heaven and hell, ADD Mss 45783 ff200-01

Leibniz on eternal punishments: Far from feeling of Leibniz as of the sanitary [?] councils: “I don’t want to hear what they say, I want very much to hear what Leibniz says,” perhaps Leibniz, Spinoza, Lord Bacon and Plato are among the greatest benefactors of the human race, even to millions who have never heard their names, don’t know who they were and would not care if they did. But I entirely differ with Lessing.¹¹² Why should we want to be sharper, cleverer than Leibniz and more philanthropic than Socrates? It is just because we don’t want that [that] half the mischief of this world is done. It is just because everybody looks upon religion from the historical or the critical side, and never from the practical or the constructive side, that there is no religion at all or hardly any. Exactly in proportion as there

112 Gotthold Lessing (1729-81), German philosopher.

was greatness in Leibniz and in Socrates would they (Leibniz and Socrates) have urged us to do greater things than they.

The highest of all said, And greater things than these shall ye do,¹¹³ but this the whole world always forgets. If people would leave the things that are behind (except as a scaffolding) and press on to the things that are before,¹¹⁴ they would find the meaning of this. Not however as Swedenborg¹¹⁵ did, who seems to draw upon his imagination only for his heaven and hell. We can reason about either only from analogy and from what evidence there is of the moral character of God. As for heaven, there will be no heaven till we make it; that is certain. We have no reason for thinking that the way of making it differs materially from the way God has appointed for making it here. As for hell, this world *is* hell.

There is no objection, if people will have their “eternal hell,” to look upon it in this way, for in any sense in which we can conceive eternity, there may be an eternal hell. Everybody may have to pass through hell, but nobody will have to stay in it. As the succession of human beings may be eternal (in the only sense in which the word has any meaning to us) so you may have an eternal hell, if you like it.

I would try most carefully to distinguish ideas which we never can define, while we are human, such as “beginning,” “end,” “eternity,” “infinity.” For example, there can be no “eternal hell” in any sense, if everybody is to become perfect. Buddhists lose themselves in perplexity because they don’t know what to do with their human beings when they are perfect. Are they “absorbed?” Or do they come back again to imperfection? Leibniz does the same about “beginnings.” The same reasoning which makes us suppose we have no end will do to prove we have no beginning. But when we have proved it, what do we understand a bit the more for that?

Neither “beginning” nor “eternity” can we understand. For practical purposes, I would distinguish the difficulties of religion under three heads: (1) such questions as what is eternity? beginning? the nature of God? how does God act? what is He about now? and set them aside at least till we have solved the more practical ones, such as (2) the character of God, of His moral government. Upon these hardly anything is known and upon these mankind must labour incessantly, at least till something is known.

113 A paraphrase of John 14:12.

114 An allusion to Phil 3:13.

115 Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772), founder of a form of Unitarianism, with no angry God to appease and hell a matter of choice.

Mankind has written creeds upon creeds about the nature and person of God when we don't know even our own nature or principle of life. Mankind has attempted to define, pantheistically and anti-pantheistically, the relation of God to the external world, whether He is "*immanent*" or creative, when we don't even know how our own lives (souls) are put into our own bodies, while the greatest and most vital of all questions, one would think—namely, God's character, what His plans are for us—is left almost untouched. Yet if we believe in a God at all, it must be more important to know what He is like than to inquire the character of any human being, even of a husband or wife. It is as if saying to a wife: "Be very careful to study in your husband the relation of his soul to his body, how the principle of life resides in the brain. It is indifferent to study his character, his plans, how you can be his fellow worker."

I would settle and have done forever with such questions as the pretended difficulty of not being able to reconcile foreknowledge with free will (confounding free will with power), of the existence of evil with the existence of a perfect God, which are perfectly easy to understand if people were not too lazy. I would leave off quoting Milton and would teach people these things like grammar, for example, not to call things good in God which would be bad in man. Also what are the elements of a perfect God according to our human powers of finding out? Kant surely did immense harm in saying we could not find out.

Education does not do so little. Few people would have found out for themselves that the earth moves round the sun, but, having been taught it, they accept it. But if Copernicus and Galileo had spent their lives in commenting what Ptolemy said, they never would have found out—though if Ptolemy had never been, Copernicus and Galileo would never have been.¹¹⁶

I think it quite true to say that the world now, as in the future (as is the beginning, so now and ever shall be) as God's scheme, is *perfect* even though every individual in it is, as yet, as imperfect as possible. Just as it might be quite exact to say that a professor's school is perfect, even while not one of the scholars, as yet, could state an element correctly. I would apply this to the proof that the existence of evil is

116 Ptolemy of the second century CE had the earth stationary with the sun revolving around it. Nicolas Copernicus (1473-1543) used Ptolemy's mathematical computations, but switched the positions of the sun and earth. Galileo (1564-1642) was condemned by the Inquisition for teaching the "Copernican" theory, i.e., that the earth revolves around the sun.

not only not inconsistent with, but the necessary concomitant of, the existence of a perfect God.

Certainly much of God's scheme could be demonstrated like a mathematical proposition, for example, that God cannot be God without His creating other beings for perfection (happiness), but, if He created them gods at once, then there would be more gods than one, which is a contradiction and, if He were to create beings *not* to work out their own perfection, these would be animals. He must therefore create other beings to work out their own perfection; and how can perfection be worked out by the human being's own will, without evil and without sin?

So it could be shown, as that a triangle cannot be without angles, so God's perfection cannot be without evil, and thus that the existence of evil is not only not inconsistent with but necessarily co-existent with the existence of a perfect God (by "necessary" meaning "must without a contradiction"). But whom would one convert by such propositions? One had much better be cleaning out the drain. I see no sense at all in illustrating perfection by the "rectangle" or the "triangle."

Immanuel Kant

Editor: Nightingale's disapproval of Kant's views on the human inability to discover the elements of a perfect God has already appeared above. It is to be expected that, with her orientation to British empiricism, she would not be partial to his idealist methodological views either, much as she was an idealist in other respects.

Source: Note to Jowett, ADD Mss 45783 f190

I think Kant is a sophist, a prince among sophists, but still a sophist. "Man is the measure"¹¹⁷ may be found in Kant and it is not true what he says about our making God after our own image. Certainly we can only judge of what God is by our own faculties and efforts. So we can best judge of the moon only by what we see through the telescope,¹¹⁸

117 The classical statement of relativism, by the fifth-century-BCE sophist, Protagoras.

118 Kant described his "man is the measure" claim as a "Copernican revolution" in philosophy: "The understanding does not draw its laws (a priori) from nature, but prescribes them to nature" (*Prolegomena to Any Future Metaphysics* 82).

but he might just as well say that we make the moon after our own telescope. We do no such thing. We know very well that there is a great deal to see in the moon which we don't see—that what *we* do see we see only imperfectly—and that the existence of the moon does not depend at all upon what *we* see (spite of Berkeley).¹¹⁹

G.W.F. Hegel

Editor: See also Nightingale's comparison of Hegel (1770-1831) with Spinoza on p 636 above. above.

Source: Note to Jowett, ADD MSS 45785 ff75, 77

Mr Jowett's Hegel: I don't want to hear what Hegel thinks of God, nor what you think about what Hegel thinks of God, but what you think of God. I don't want to hear the philosophy of Hegel (I know it already) but the philosophy of God. I don't want to know your criticism of what Hegel thought that God thinks. (At that rate philosophy would be nothing but what the nineteenth century thinks of what the eighteenth century thinks of what the seventeenth century thinks of what the fifth century before Christ thinks) but what *you* think that God thinks. . . .

The history of philosophy [is] the most interesting of all histories, but it is to me as if you were to give me the history of foods or the chemistry of foods when I was starving.

Source: Notes to Benjamin Jowett, extracts taken from Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion* and *Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion*,¹²⁰ ADD MSS 45783 f164

[trans. from German]

The present indifference of certain dogmas

Immediate religion

magic

cult

Religion of masses

Religion of fantasy

Religion of being-within-self

cult

Natural religion in transition to religion of freedom

119 Bishop George Berkeley (1685-1753) taught that what we perceived exists only within our minds. See his *Principles of Human Knowledge*, 1710.

120 Thanks to Gérard Vallée for the translation and identification of the excerpts, chapter headings and paraphrases.

Religion of the good or of light
 cult
 Religion of anguish (pain)
 Religion of enigma
 Religion of spiritual individuality
 necessity
 expedience
 Religion of sublimity
 God's goal with the world
 Religion of beauty
 the way of God [which is not in Hegel]
 cult as service
 religious service of reconciliation
 Religion of expedience or of *understanding*
 Absolute religion
 revealed, positive religion
 religion of truth and freedom
 Metaphysical concept of, the idea of, God
 God in His eternal idea, in and for itself
 the kingdom of the Father

The eternal idea of God in the element of consciousness and representation, or the difference: the kingdom of the Son, the world, determination of humanity. The idea in the element of community, or the kingdom of the Spirit. Realization of the spiritual in general reality.

Source: Note from reading of Benjamin Jowett?, Add Mss 45785 f250

[1895]

Hegel: the almighty logician, strong practical sense, yet conceiving all things, the form of categories, and believing the categories to be God. So strong a sense of the identity of their own actions with the will of God as to exclude every other feeling who have neither wished to live nor wished to die except as they fulfill His will x x Such a sense of things would no doubt give infinite rest and almost infinite power. . . .

Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-72)

Source: From a letter to Frances Nightingale, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9000/125

1 September 1863

Feuerbach says the characteristic of a true philosopher is not to be a professor of philosophy. I agree. The characteristic of a true religious man is not to be a divine.

Auguste Comte

Editor: For Nightingale's lengthy, critical discussion of Comte see *Suggestions for Thought*.

Source: Note to Benjamin Jowett, ADD Mss 45783 f187

Comte says that the "construction of the world" is "altogether" *imperfect* and that he (Comte) could have made the world much better than God. I don't think it at all follows because the construction of the world may not be perfect that God has failed in "adapting means to ends." It does not at all follow that His "end" was to make a perfect world. As far as we know, His "end" was to make a world which should make mankind "perfect" and this certainly could not have been done except by making mankind work hard, though, as Mr Milnes says, that is "a bore."

Certainly, as Lord Macaulay said, mankind is lowest where the fruits of the earth grow with least trouble.

NATURAL SCIENCE

Nightingale had a good layperson's acquaintance with science. In her teen years she made notes on scientific discoveries and inventions. A notebook from 1836 has survived with copious lists, several examples of which are given below. She kept up with scientific advances and controversies (for example, Darwin on natural selection). She was interested in scientific method, as the items on Claude Bernard and Voltaire show. She dropped history of science analogies into other correspondence. For example, in discussing the ignorance of the authorities of the Gordon Boys' Home, she said that she would "mutter" to herself, as Galileo was reputed to have done after he was forced to recant the hypothesis that the earth moves around the sun: "E pur si muove [but still it moves]."¹

In describing the poor handling of cholera epidemics to Lord de Grey, Nightingale complained that the current course science was taking was "the very reverse of Newton's and Bacon's: *Now* it starts from a central hypothesis, fills up with facts, perhaps half a degree of the circle—leaves out, I need not say, the opposing facts—and declares the hypothesis proved, the circle completed."² Dalton's early work on atomic structure was turned into a joke in a letter on the budget for India: "In February we are all to be blown into the smallest atoms Dalton ever invented or discovered (I don't know which) by the 'defence' of the India military authorities in Parliament."³

1 Letter to Frederick Verney 5 February 1892, ADD Mss 68887 f44.

2 Letter 11 February 1869, ADD Mss 43546 f130.

3 Letter to Lord de Grey 16 December 1863, ADD Mss 43546 f95.

Source: Note in 1836 Notebook, ADD Mss 45848 f2

Eras	BCE
Creation	4007
Deluge	2351
Greek Olympiads	776
Rome built	752
Death of Alexander	323
First of Julius Caesar	44
	CE
Christ born	A.C. [?]
Hegira	622
. . . First balloon ascended	1783
to 4½ miles	1804

Proportions of oxygen and nitrogen, and magnetic influence *same* in every part of atmosphere.

Source: Notes in 1836 Notebook, ADD Mss 45848 ff8-9

Calendar: Civil year 365 days. Real d[itt]o 365, 48 m 51,6 s.

Excess amount to nearly one day in four years, hence leap year or bissextile intercalated by Julius Caesar. Every year divisible by four a leap year, but the correction being too great by 12m, amounting to one day in 129 years. Error corrected by Pope Gregory, 1582, who suppressed ten days bringing vernal equinox to 21 March. Correction of eleven days not made in England till 1752. Three days now omitted every 400 years. Error of calendar as at present constituted will be only one day in 4237 years.

Chronology [of discoveries and inventions]

	BCE
1st eclipse of moon observed at Babylon	720
Thales predicts an eclipse	600
Pythagoras, astronomer	530
Plato	430
Aristotle	360
Euclid	300
First sundial at Rome	293
Paps. Cursor	
Archimedes	270
Hipparchus, father of astronomy	162

	CE
Figures employed by Arabs	813
D[itt]o English	1253
Mariner's compass, Venice	1260
Clock Westminster Hall	1288
Spectacles, windmills invented	1299
Gunpowder	1300
Decimals	1402
Printing invented (Fust ⁴)	1441
made public	1458
Watches made (Nuremberg)	1477
1st voyage round world (Magellan)	1522
Copernicus	1543
Telescopes	1590
Tycho Brahi	1601
Galileo	1642
Bacon	1626
Kepler	1630
Descartes	1650
Thermometers	1610
Barometers	1643
Pascal	1650
Air pump	1653
Royal Society, London	1662
Observatory, Greenwich	1675
Newtonian Philosophy 1726	1686
Steam Engines	1696
Reaumur, Halley	1742
Leibniz	1650 to 1700
Franklin identity of lightning/electricity	1747
Harrison, timepieces	1750
Galvanism	1791
1st telegraph (France)	1794

Cycle: Circulation of time between returns of same event. Cycle of sun, twenty-eight years in which days of month return again to same days of week. Cycle of moon or golden numbering nineteen years, in

4 Johann Fust (d. 1466?) learned printing from his business partner Johann Gutenberg, then took over the printing of the "Gutenberg Bible" when his partner failed to repay his debt to him.

which same aspects of moon return to same days of month. Cycle of indiction, fifteen years, arbitrary period established by Constantine, 312 CE, for regulating certain payments of his subjects. Julian Period given by multiplication of solar, lunar and indiction into each other, making 7980 years, in which time all return in same order. Commencing before all known epochs serves as a receptacle of all. To find it, add 4713 to any year of Christ or subtract from it any year before Christ. Creation 4007 BCE,⁵ Julian Period 706. Catoptrics reflection of light.

Scientific Method and Discovery

Source: Note, Add Mss 45845 f135

During the last thirty years the world has lived at a rate out of all proportion to former times. Inquiry has been more daring, discovery more rapid, than it ever was before, and that in all directions: discovery by sea and land, discovery among the primeval elements of the world's formation, discovery among the buried monuments of prehistoric life, discovery tending to throw *argument if not light* on man's origin, discovery in the combinations of chemistry, in the agencies of light, in the mechanic forces of the elements, in the secrets of the electric current, discovery even in the remote and apparently useless geographical mysteries which have puzzled mankind for so many centuries.

Source: Note on Materialism and Spiritualism, Add Mss 45845 ff47-48, 55

God is a Spirit. He creates other spirits; these spirits create their own casing. When He throws off the germ, the germ creates its own body, its own material always the same. Thus materialism disappears, or rather is the best evidence of spiritualism. When physiologists operate upon the body you justly say the spirit is not there. They investigate the material without its spiritual, its creator. It was the spiritual created the material (Aristotle/Stahl). Materialism = the truest proof of spiritualism.

Now there has sprung up another kind of language different from the Old Testament, different from the New Testament, in which men

5 The date of creation estimated by Archbishop James Ussher (1581-1656), using the life spans of the patriarchs. By the Egypt trip in 1849-50 Nightingale knew better.

speak to one another *of truth and duty and the law of God and nature*. This is the language of *moral and political philosophy*. Is this another gospel or not another but the same, accidentally expressed in different words? Is there any antagonism between Christianity and the true analysis of the laws of human action? This is the principle of disinterestedness, of self-sacrifice, of living for others and not for ourselves, *of separation from the world and from our fellow men*, that in a higher sense *we may be restored to them*. Three forms which the principle of self-sacrifice may take in men: there is the love of truth, the love of mankind and that in which the two others meet or ought to meet, the love of God. Higher spring of human nature = love of mankind. And of such an absorbing love as Christ had or as St Paul had of all men everywhere there is seldom *now* to be found a trace among men.

The lover of truth is an *unaccommodating* being. He tries to judge fairly of things and persons and refuses to condemn where he has not heard, conscious of his own ignorance, and will only judge within the limits of his own knowledge, *fair-mindedness*. He will not *say what he does not know*. *He must think for himself, within the range of his own faculties*; he cannot accept the opinion and authority of others unless he has proven them.

Mathematics:	fix the attention
Natural sciences:	increase powers of observation
Study of language:	gives subtlety and exactness in the use of words
Reading of history:	gives experience and insight into the world
Moral sciences:	impart (or ought to impart) a knowledge which comes still nearer home to us the knowledge of ourselves.

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45845 f91

Hypothesis is a most gracious aid to science. But there seems to be some danger of the exact sciences *becoming inexact*, if they are allowed to entertain conjectures *so far in advance of facts*.

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45845 f122

The freedom of the will, as if a blacksmith would ever teach a boy to make a horseshoe *by telling him he could make one if he chose*.

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Ms 9004/128

21 October 1870

Buffon⁶ says: *cet animal féroce mord tous ceux qui veulent le* (“flatter,” you think he is going to say, but it *is*) “*tuer.*”

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45845 f231

Dramatis Personae: Babbage’s calculating machine,⁷ vivified with Promethean fire called Moltke.⁸ Enormous machine in which each individual part is a living and thinking and acting being, and swallows up the whole nation called the Army.

Claude Bernard

Editor: The eminent French medical researcher and vivisectionist Claude Bernard (1813-78) is recognized as the founder of the discipline of physiology. He is renowned also as a pioneer writer on experimental method, which work Nightingale appreciated. A note cites Bernard that “The brain is only an organ like the blood. The heart may be the seat of the *moi* [ego] rather than the brain (Claude Bernard).”⁹

Source: Note to Benjamin Jowett, ADD Mss 45783 ff173, 179

[1865 or later]

Claude Bernard says (in his *Introduction à la médecine expérimentale*, 1865, p 295): “Il faut *avoir une foi robuste et ne pas croire*; je m’explique en disant qu’il faut en science croire fermement aux principes et douter des formules; en effet, d’un côté nous sommes *sûrs que le déterminisme existe*, mais nous ne sommes jamais certains de le tenir.” [One must have a robust faith and not believe. I will explain this by saying that in science one must believe firmly in its principles but doubt formulae, in effect to be sure that, on the one hand, determinism exists, but never to hold it as certain.] (“Déterminisme” is his word for “principes de la science expérimentale.”)

[English resumes:] That is just what I think about religion, only I can’t put it into Claude Bernard’s strong plain words. There *is* a truth and we must find it. We must never believe but that *there is* an absolute

6 Georges-Louis Leclerc Buffon (1707-88), leading French natural historian.

7 Charles Babbage (1792-1871), mathematician, with Ada Lovelace, constructed the prototype computer.

8 Count von Moltke (1800-91), head of the Prussian Army in the Franco-Prussian War, which saw an enormous increase in fire power.

9 Undated note, ADD Mss 45845 f7.

truth, but we must always believe that we do not know it yet. Nor shall we know it except through the efforts of all mankind in eternity. Inspiration of error: see Claude Bernard.

Claude Bernard, the only philosophical man in medicine now, says [trans. from French]: “In sum, hypotheses and theories, even wrong ones, are useful for leading to discoveries. This remark is true for all sciences. The alchemists founded chemistry in pursuing chimerical problems and today’s false theories. In the physical sciences, which are more advanced than biology, one can still now cite scientists who made great discoveries by founding them on false theories. This appears in effect to be a necessary consequence of the weakness of our mind, not to be able to arrive at the truth except by passing through a multitude of errors and dangers” (299).

Source: Note to Dr Sutherland, ADD Mss 45753 f248

[c1869]

What I hear people who *wish* to believe in Claude Bernard ask is: has he not done the same thing as Huxley and other pretenders have who generalized from two or three facts when he, C.B., says that he has discovered by all his nervous facts that there is a distinct creative intelligence, the moi [ego], which makes its casing?

Voltaire¹⁰

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45845 f161

Voltaire [trans. from French]: My dear philosopher, these two bad verses are mine. I am like the bishop of Noyon, who said in his sermons: My brothers, I have taken none of the truths I tell you about either from scripture or from the church fathers; they all come from the head of your bishop. This joke applies exactly to the physicians of the period, *who take their physics from their heads, instead of from nature*. Voltaire’s merit is precisely to have given in to this fault much less than others, and to have nourished his thesis with *a certain number of well-observed facts*.

Source: From a letter to W.E. Nightingale, ADD Mss 45790 f205

28 April 1861

It is said that Voltaire remade his age, but had he not been a 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.

10 François-Marie Arouet (1694-778), leader of the French Enlightenment.

Robert Angus Smith

Editor: Nightingale corresponded with chemist Robert Angus Smith (1817-84) concerning water analysis for her India work. In the course she took the opportunity to congratulate him on his first report on the effects of pollution abatement technology, installed in the “alkali works” in England’s “black country,” Staffordshire. This was the first attempt to deal with what we would call *acid rain*, on which Smith became a world expert.¹¹ Legislation adopted in 1863 required that emissions of hydrochloric acid be reduced to 5 percent. It also required annual reports to monitor the state of vegetation in the area. Nightingale’s letter not only demonstrates her interest in scientific advance but her enormous confidence in the powers of science and her assiduous reading even in areas outside her field.

Source: From a letter to Robert Angus Smith, Private Collection of Hugh Small, copy Balliol College

15 June 1865

I cannot forbear wishing you joy, and wishing England joy, of your first Report on the condensation of gases from alkali works which, in its complete state, I have only just seen. You have clearly shown how advantageous it is to employ scientific men on scientific work like this. In the end there is every prospect that you will be able to rid the country of a great nuisance.

Evolution and Heredity

Charles Darwin and Evolution

Editor: Scattered references to Darwin (1809-82), more often to “Darwinianism,” which we modernize to Darwinism, appear throughout Nightingale’s correspondence and notes. A negative reference has already appeared in this volume in the annotations to Quetelet’s *Physique sociale*, where Nightingale noted how scientists erroneously establish extreme positions, “by neglecting the numbers which contradict the result they wish to obtain,” and added: “Darwinism” (see p 20 above). It seems that Nightingale relented on Darwin later in life, for she sent a Verney grandchild two books by Darwin, *Voyage Round*

11 Robert Angus Smith, *Air and Rain: The Beginnings of a Chemical Climatology*.

World and Earth Worms, not *The Origin of Species*.¹² Nightingale late in life used the expression “evolution theory” in a much broader sense than the Darwinists in discussing work in India by Morant. She indeed linked the concept with her early and never-abandoned interest in the “moral government” of God.

Source: Undated note or part of essay, ADD Mss 45842 f17

You say of Darwinism, how curious if all this theory, founded on such “careful” observation, should collapse. I deny altogether the “careful” observation. They have constructed a circle on two or three points in the circumference, and all the points which would not come in to that circumference they have put out of court. However, Darwinism is a very venial sin, not at all the “sin against the Holy Ghost.”¹³ That sin is alleging the experience of the past not as a ground for doing something but for doing nothing.

Source: Letter to an unknown recipient, Columbia University, Presbyterian Hospital School of Nursing C2

Embley

12 October [1847?]

Dear Sir

I am afraid that you must have thought me very ungrateful in returning your books without one word of thanks, but it was the “poverty” of time and not of will “consented.” I read the phrenological journal with the greatest interest, and should, if we had remained longer, have ventured to borrow the first volume, which is, I believe, a *very* good one. But, as we were going away, I was fearful of intruding on your kindness.

Dr Engledue’s essay¹⁴ interested me much, though I could not quite go along with him in many things concerning “mind” being *nothing* but “cerebration.” He says that, “In ascending link by link the chain of organic life,” we arrive as naturally from the monkey to man as we did from the sheep, etc., to the monkey, and that we have no more business to presuppose anything super added to the organization of

12 Letter to Margaret Verney 11 April 1886, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9011/13.

13 An allusion to Matt 12:31, where blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is said not to be forgiven.

14 William Collins Engledue (1814-59), an authority on cerebral palsy; essay unidentified.

man because he is superior to the monkey than we have to the organization of the monkey because it is superior to the sheep. But there seems to me a very *great* difference, and that there is a gap between the most sagacious monkey and man, which no link can bridge, and which must always be jumped over. Dr Engledue is himself an instance of it, for he is an example of the *progression* of the human race, a progress we never see in animals. Sheep and monkeys are the same as they were before the heptarchy,¹⁵ but a Dr Engledue could with difficulty have been produced in King Alfred's time, when he "would not have had a stool to sit on."

We may spend all imaginable pains in perfecting an individual dog or monkey, but we never improve the race—its children are at last no better than its fathers. Man commits greater mistakes than the animal, it is true, but he learns by them and teaches again, while the beaver makes no better huts now than he did before the Flood; he neither learns nor teaches. No, there seems to be an inherent and everlasting difference between the highest animal and the lowest man, which defies Dr Engledue's chain of links.

Another thing which I did not quite understand in his reasoning was that (in his admirable directions to us for reforming and regulating our poor brains) he seems almost to contradict himself in the assertion that there is nothing higher than the brain. He says that "Man's actions necessarily result from his organism," then, that he "has the power of modelling his organism." But can an organism modify itself?

He refers to the fact that every function in man is referable to a particular organ, arguing that there can be no function without an organ, and then he tells us to modify our organs. But a liver cannot modify a liver, the brain must do that, by using certain means, and what is to modify the brain? Dr Engledue tells us that we are sovereign masters of it, that all its functions are subject to us, seeming himself to imply therefore that there *is* something higher. You are sometimes told that there is an organ of the brain, which generates will, and sets in action other organs, but where is the will which guides the will, what the organ which sets in action this organ?

Dr Engledue has only driven it a step further back. And it seems as if about the human will there hung a mystery which no physiologist can solve. Though he says that "No manifestation of any power whatever is demonstrable in living beings without being referable" to some

15 Kingdoms of the Angles and Saxons.

cause, i.e., some portion of their structure, he must come at last to a power, the last link, not referable to any organ, i.e., to action without a cause, unless we refer it to the Great First Cause.

All that Dr Engledue says upon the treatment of criminals as *patients* is so admirable that I could not refrain from copying out a passage in a letter (which I have just had from Dr Howe of Boston) to show you the coincidence of feeling of generous minds on both sides the Atlantic on this subject. He says that any attention must lead “to the conclusion that the hue and cry which has so long been raised by society against criminals as a class has served it as the cry of ‘stop thief’ has served many a guilty one, to turn attention away from its own wrongdoings and shortcomings.” “You will conclude,” he ends, that the “criminal class” has been evolved just as necessarily in the imperfect development of civilization as has the “upper class” and “middle class,” etc.

I have written so far at the risk of taking up your precious time from more valuable occupations, in order to prove to you that your books were not unread or wasted by me, and will now release you, only begging you to believe me,

yours very truly and gratefully

Florence Nightingale

P.S. I took the liberty of writing in pencil one or two names in your “Contents of the *Quarterly Review*,” but I know so little of the writers in that review that I was not sufficiently sure of any others (except by common report, to which it is not safe to trust) to give them.

Source: From a copy of a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9020/19

5 March 1860

Neither Cuvier nor Darwin nor any naturalist will ever make me believe that Sir John Lawrence and Lord William Paulet,¹⁶ for instance, are of the same genus, for I SEE they are not.

Source: Note, Add Mss 45847 f198

Darwinism: Wallace—survival of the fittest, cruel. Colours of birds not created for the pleasure of other birds, he says. Rationalism/Religion—no place for the wicked in their scheme.

16 Brigadier-General Lord William Paulet (1804-93), commander in the Crimean War.

Source: From a letter to Parthenope Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9011/20

1 May 1886

The thrushes sang a little evening prayer to God and I even thought I heard a young nightingale, but faint. Then there was the murderous cuckoo, and only inability prevented my rushing out and murdering him, as he will murder the innocent young hedge sparrows, and toss them out on the ground. What does Darwin say to that?

Francis Galton and Heredity

Editor: The article discussed in the three items below, Francis Galton's "Blood-Relationship,"¹⁷ was enormously important to Nightingale for long-standing personal reasons. Galton's discovery of 256 progenitors—that we have 256 ancestors in seven generations—Nightingale took to explain how she and her sister could be so different, although they had had the same two biological parents, the same socioeconomic environment and were only a year apart. The large number of sources for inheritable material permitted an enormous number of permutations and combinations. The discovery of the *mechanism* of transmission of genetic material was of course much later: chromosomes not until early in the twentieth century, DNA later in that century. Galton's article at least provided a plausible explanation for differences in inherited characteristics. The theory also supported her own decision not to marry.

Source: Undated note, Add Mss 45843 f295

We know so absolutely nothing of the laws which determine a particular idiosyncrasy of what will be the choice out of the 254 [256] sets of elements, latent and [blank] of Mr Galton. We can hardly in the least guess what will be the character of any particular child born of any particular father or mother. Nay two born at but a year's interval under apparently precisely similar circumstances may have apparently diametrically opposite characters.

We know generally that races deteriorate in close town life, in unsunned valleys, by marrying in and in. But in particular instances we scarcely know anything, how vigour of mind and even of body may sometimes come out of the least vigorous parents, and much more

17 Read before the Royal Society 13 June 1872, published in *Nature* 27 June 1872:173-76.

often the reverse, namely, out of the most vigorous parents the smallest vigour of mind or body. Then there is the whole chapter of accidents, no, of circumstances, of the influence of which we know so little that one author has said that the only influence of education that we really do know is reaction against it.

Source: Incomplete letter/draft/copy, with printed enclosure of article, ADD Mss 45793 ff215-16

30 August 1872

HEREDITARY QUALITIES

MANKIND CREATING MANKIND

Mr Galton's essay

Dearest Aunt Mai [Mary Shore Smith]

I had so much wished to see this lecture on "Blood Relationship" that I wrote to ask Dr Farr to ask Mr Galton to lend it me. (Let us say at the outset that it is all the more trustworthy because he admits that we are "profoundly" ignorant of "most if not all" of the "points of detail" and can only at present indicate a "fact.") It seems to me that this "fact," when the points of detail are discovered and the "facts" which Quetelet's book (which I have) indicate modify—indeed transmogrify—the whole of our theory—of what you and I have talked so much about, about fathers and mothers, about God's plan in creating their children in creating mankind.

(As I cannot go into all we have talked about, I shall merely allude to two or three, not the most important, of our cogitations, in order to recall them to you.) You and I have often discussed the extraordinary variety there is between sisters or between brothers born under almost exactly the same circumstances specifying, for want of a better, the difference between my sister and me. You, I remember, had two theories to account for it, (1) that a year might make such a difference between the respective conditions of the parents, (2) that the difference in the children was the direct hand of God. To both of these I demurred, and I believe both were dropped. Now Mr Galton's theory or fact places [breaks off]

Source: Unsigned letter/draft/copy, ADD Mss 45793 ff219-23

30 August 1872

Dearest Aunt Mai [Mary Shore Smith]

The most enlightened rationalists, those who believed in a God *and* in a plan, have hitherto been content to say there *are* laws which if kept *this* way ensure your progress, if kept *that* way ensure your deteri-

oration. Not a word about bringing us all to keep them *this* way. The question of (your and my) rationalism goes much farther and says that God's plan includes the teaching us, each and all, i.e., in eternity (1) *what* these laws are; (2) *how* to keep them; (3) and the *will* to keep them *this* way, that. *Is not this your question?* to bring evidence *for this* and to state the "*paths*" of 1, 2, 3, the "*facts*." But what a tremendous item the Galton law is in this. How *are* we to get all our "256 progenitors" to keep the laws? It seems to me they have a Gatling gun,¹⁸ the most unfair advantage over us. They reach us by (the old villains) from behind an ambuscade, and *we can't* reach them.

The whole thing [is] on an immeasurably larger basis, but also on an immeasurably more remote one and more difficult to manage. For example, you may marry with every attention to moral, physical and sanitary law (and no attention to your own happiness) for the sake of creating proper children. But what *are* you to do with "256 progenitors"? You may avoid first cousins, madness, syphilis, consumption, etc., but what *are* you to do with your "256 progenitors" whom you *can't possibly* even know? And with all *their* "latent qualities," "qualities" which you *can't even* know and which, it appears, are 256,000 times more important than the "patent qualities," though you can't even know *these*?

I must despair of knowing even the "*patent* qualities" of "256 progenitors." But to know the "*latent* qualities" of 256 progenitors is and must remain forever impossible. Yet upon the "latent qualities" (of "256" progenitors *at least* whom we can have but the faintest idea of) *picked out of* by God, by a *law* which we have not the remotest idea of, but by *law* we may be sure, depend the qualities of my children. This opens so enormous a field that I am quite out of breath. It seems to take it so entirely out of our own hands. We have sometimes said, you and I, that if we would attend to law, the law which created Socrates, we might come to having Socrateses for our children. But the prospect seems now inconceivably remote.

Yet this tells on any idea we ever CAN have of the plan of God, the order of God, almost more than anything else. We, you and I, are always writing "circumstances and organizations," "organizations and circumstances" (make the man), "God brings the human being into the world with exactly such and such an organization and no other,"

18 The Gatling gun was an automatic weapon which greatly increased fire power, first used in the American Civil War.

etc. He does indeed, and we have not the smallest, not the faintest, not the remotest shade of an idea upon what principle He makes the selection among the “latent” qualities, which we don’t even know, of my “256 progenitors,” to make Parthe, to make me.

There is but one regret in *all* my life that I *never* have, and that is that I never married. Yet, fortunately for those who desire the continuance of this world, probably I am the only person in the world of this persuasion. Except those who *are* married, there is perhaps not one who does not wish or did not at some time wish to marry, or who does not regret not having married. But to me the idea of bringing children in the world, not at random we know—God takes care of that—but of performing an act so entirely beyond our own control (i.e., of modifying the children’s natures) has always appeared too immeasurably awful to perform. And this whether marriage was or was not for my own happiness.

In anything that you and I may ever write again about mankind creating mankind we must look at Galton’s “fact” as all-important. If ever God’s laws or order should be discovered as to His principle or law of selection among the “latent” qualities of the “256 progenitors,” in order to make me to make A, B, C, D, etc., it must form of course the all-important essential in any theodikè of ours, in any theory about “mankind creating mankind,” in any thoughts about *how* God is leading every individual of mankind to perfection, because He makes the “organization” of each individual. Again, for example, *for want of a better illustration*, I have often told you that I felt in myself qualities of Eliza Shore, qualities of dear Grandmama, and that I felt for them a sort of compassionate reverence, though knowing them to be much better than I, because they had passed out of the world with those qualities, as it were, only in a “latent” state. And I, though I have passed a life not of *years* but of “*lives* of mental agony” (as Mr Jowett once said of me) should still *not* have liked *not* to have had those qualities. I seem then to have been groping after Galton’s law, and this, though an unimportant item I am obliged to recall, in order to recall to you the whole discussion.

Source: From a letter to Frederick Verney, ADD Mss 68886 ff76-77

17 September 1889

God is dwelling in him, the real Friend and Inspirer (I wish I could be as confident that He is dwelling in me). And while it is His work, *of course* it will have the highest success, of which he is allowed to see a

part, but there will be more. We are part of His “evolution”—let us never forget that—if we are fellow workers with Him. If not, we are *still* part, against our wills. I should feel very much interest (but this is not for him) in his idea of conquering “hard prejudices” and “violent superstitions” by a book on the “evolution theory,” or on the “childhood of the world,” but that I do not believe that that is the way to conquer “prejudice.” *He* is conquering “prejudice” by *living*.

For fifty years almost I have had the idea of always asking questions—which nobody answers—what *is* God’s moral government of His world? seeing the divine?! eternal damnation—moral government theory is quite exploded—and of writing “a book” upon it. But it is not even begun and perhaps we must find out what His moral government is by observing *individual* lives and the results on *masses* of lives of political and social conditions à la Quetelet, for a long time first, and above all by *practising*.

Books on Biology

Editor: Nightingale’s concern to get good books in botany for Lea School is echoed in the search for material on other biological subjects. She unsuccessfully sought appropriate books on the seashore for the children of Fred and Maude Verney. She finally sent Maude Verney two books, the best she could get, with coloured plates, but alas not books for children at all. “Coloured plates is the necessity. I remember when I was a child how I used to toil over the uncoloured woodcuts (without proportion) in a chonchology book and never identify a single shell. Catalogues are aggravating.” Conchology was Nightingale’s childhood enthusiasm. Her collection is at the University of Nottingham. She particularly wanted a book each on seaweeds and British butterflies, “but there is no science *for children*, except in Margaret [Verney]’s head.”¹⁹ There are two letters also from 1887 on the lack of good material for children in botany.

Source: From a letter to Dr George Watt, Clendening History of Medicine Library, Kansas University Medical Center

Private

4 March 1887

With insular unwillingness to delay, in which we differ so widely from our Eastern fellow subjects, I have tried while you were yet in England to get something started as to your finding a London publisher for

19 Letter to Maude Verney 2 September 1887, ADD Mss 68885 ff44-45.

your *Elementary Botany*, or, as I persist in calling it, your invaluable plant and flower life. I hear this very morning from my emissary and cousin, Mr A.H. Clough,²⁰ son of the poet, that his friend, Mr Arnold Forster (nephew of the Forster who carried the Elementary Education [Act] in 1870), acting for Cassell's, "has very little doubt that Cassell's would be glad to undertake the publishing of the book. Would Dr Watt be able and willing to call on him (Mr Arnold Forster) at Cassell's offices, close to Blackfriars, between 2:00 and 4:00 *today*, or on Saturday morning by appointment." Mr Arnold Forster's address (to make the appointment) is: 2 Onslow Houses, Onslow Square, S.W. Cassell's is, as you know, the enterprising great publisher of the day, especially for elementary books.

Mr Clough was not able fully to explain whether the books for India would be in Hindustani (if so, Cassell's would scarcely be able to undertake them) and whether, if in English, there are enough readers to make a large sale for them.

If you see Cassell's, you will kindly explain to them. Mr Arnold Forster said, however, as you anticipated, that he must *see* the book, *Lessons on Elementary Botany* (which you kindly left with me). *Can you show him one?* If I lend him mine, I shall most likely never see it again. I most earnestly hope that you will be able to spare time to see Mr Arnold Forster at Cassell's, as probably one quarter of an hour from you would advance negotiations further than months of correspondence, especially between you in India and Cassell's here. This is the reason why I have been so anxious to make a start while you were still here. Pray believe me,

yours sincerely

and hopefully as to "plant life," if you undertake it,

Florence Nightingale

Source: From a letter to Margaret Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9011/170

Claydon

2 September 1887

6:00 A.M.

My mind has been intent upon one of the most valuable letters ever written and not only upon botany, ever since you wrote it to me from Leipzig. I cannot bear to drop it. (You know no one could write such a

20 Arthur Hugh Clough, son of poet Arthur Hugh Clough and her cousin, Blanche.

book on plants and on birds as you if you had but the time.) I spoke to a member of the Education Office on the idiotic way we teach botany to children. And he too was fired about it. And I read him the part of your letter which you now see. But I had no time to make copies of it. Would you object to my printing it, as I now enclose, simply as a copying machine, and having perhaps twelve copies thus of it? Your little sketch of three and three will be lithographed, and put in the blank space, p 2 of the printed leaflet.

In the winter an Anglo-Indian showed me a very small book of his out of print on plants in Bengal, the only approach to your system I have ever seen. And we have had “pour parlers” with Cassell about it for my Anglo-Indian to do English plants. He is a professor at the Calcutta University, etc.

But my object now is if we *could* introduce *something* of your system into elementary schools here. O that you were a professor! I trust you will not object to my little leaflet. Could you kindly let me know by return of post with any remarks? as I am not remaining here.

ever dearest Margaret

your loving

F. Nightingale

. . . I am so very anxious to know how dear Ellin prospers at Miss Buss's and how Lettice goes on.²¹

F.N.

21 Ellin and Lettice Verney, daughters of Margaret and Edmund Verney; Frances Mary Buss (1827-94), founder of North London Collegiate School (for girls).

EDUCATION

If Nightingale had not become a nurse, she might have become a schoolteacher! In the long years her family did not permit her even to study nursing, she found an outlet for her calling to service in teaching poor children in ragged schools and young women in evening classes. At home she coached her cousin, Shore, and taught Greek and algebra to Hugh Bonham Carter in 1845.¹ She joked about lessons she gave then, when she was age twenty, to her cousins on: “Transylvanian, Sanscrit, Hebrew, Greek and the mathematical and diabolical instruments. Bee [Shore Smith] and I get on very well in Virgil and Euclid.”² When staying with Uncle Octavius Smith’s family she similarly said: “I am Pygmalion and when I speak, let no dog bark, for my educational cares increase daily and now I’ve Vally, Flora and Baby.”³ The letter immediately following recounts her coaching of cousin William Nicholson, whom she continued to coach in algebra until he left for Sandhurst.⁴ Yet the lessons had to be kept a secret for it would be shameful for a young man to be taught by a female cousin.

Nightingale did not go to school herself but was taught at home by a governess and her father. The items on the scientific meetings at Southampton show her delight at being able to attend lectures, as do those further on from her visit to Oxford University. Her appreciation of astronomy was aided by visits to the Campden Hill observatory of Sir James South.⁵

1 Letter to Parthenope Nightingale [c1845], Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8992/105.

2 Letter to family February 1840, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8992/4.

3 Letter to Frances Nightingale 13 May 1840, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8992/14.

4 Letter to Frances Nightingale 1844, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8992/67.

5 Edna Healey, *Lady Unknown: The Life of Angela Burdett-Coutts* 63. Apparently Burdett-Coutts and Nightingale became acquainted there.

Source: From an incomplete copy of letter to Frances Nightingale, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8992/61

[November 1844]

As William's appetite for improvement is insatiable, and his agitation at the approach of Sandhurst visible *but too well*, I have very little time after the flagellation of a few children and a visit or two, except when he is after the wily partridge. He is a good boy, always at work and gives no trouble. I hope you are a perfect tomb about his object here as Uncle Nicholson says it would make it impossible for him to go to Sandhurst if it were talked about. You know the ungenerous feeling, the want of sympathy which there is among boys. Men are inconsiderate enough about feelings and how is it likely that ignorant boys should behave even civilly to another? Besides, I should not like to be laughed at about it myself at all by Uncle Sam and company for my setting up as a professor, for you do not know the little help I can give him.

I am always afraid of not seeing what he is thinking about, of not catching the difficulty as it arises in his mind and taking his view of the case, but of suggesting perhaps on the contrary to him difficulties which did not occur to him, of explaining too much in short, and giving him my idea, instead of *making his* idea his own. You know what Mr Kroff says, "What we *know* is not *our*, what we *feel*, dat is *our*."⁶ And he is such a meek boy, as you know, that he does not help me with suggesting his questions.

How true it is that the meek shall inherit the earth,⁷ even in this life. How they live in so many lives, and enter into so many feelings and draw down so many sympathies, that, though they may not have a strong and striking character of their own, yet perhaps their existence is richer even than those that have and they "gagnent bien" [are the winners] by laying down their own individuality, for they multiply themselves in a thousand others. But I find it more difficult perhaps to give a plain theory of the first steps than if one were teaching what one had just been learning oneself.

Have you seen Miss Martineau's paper in the *Athenaeum*⁸ on her case? We must send it and curiously enough (all this morning) arrived from Dr Beddome—a letter of Mrs Wyngard's, entering fully into particulars, and saying Miss M. authorized her to spread them.

6 A Bohemian visitor.

7 An allusion to Matt 5:5.

8 Harriet Martineau, later a friend and collaborator, published a series of five articles on hypnosis in *The Athenaeum*, 1844: "Miss Martineau on Mesmerism."

Source: From a letter to William Shore Smith, ADD Mss 46176 ff30-31

[ca. 16 September 1846]

We are just setting off for Southampton to do the Scientific.⁹ Laura meets us there and goes with us to hear the *Emperor's* opening address (i.e., Sir Roderick Murchison's¹⁰) which will conclude with his ascending through the ceiling in a transport of enthusiasm for "my friend, the Emperor of Russia." I have invented a new system of *logarithms* (finding the capacities of *arithmetic* not sufficiently extensive) to count the number of times "Imperial Majesty" occurs in the speech, but as I may be baffled the first time of using it I wish I had you with me to help.

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 46176 ff32-35

[postmarked 17 September 1846]

My dear friend [William Shore Smith]

All hands here are at work on the Scientifics, all eyes fixed on the Prince or the President, all legs engage in running from section to section to see a cock on a dunghill (*no* personal allusion is here intended to Rev Professor Whewell, a crow on a tree, which bird Sir J. Herschel strikingly resembles, though in all respects the God of my idolatry. The Glorious Apollers are however winding up their concerns and the Perpetual Grand of the Glorious Apollers (I mean Sir Roderick Murchison, Grand Cross of the Order of St Stanislaus, etc.) is laying on the butter and humbug thick. Towards 2:00 o'clock we all begin to churn, price of churns is, "i.e.," and towards 8:00 we proceed to butter. The humbug at the evening meetings is tremendous and there was such a strong smell of *incense* in the section rooms that I felt quite faint.

The poetic parcel (I mean Monckton Milnes) divided his time unequally between sleep and science. Sleep, I think, had it (we could not sleep, being always in a state of moral staring). The other night Lord Palmerston sat down to play at chess. Mr Milnes: "I wonder you've time to play, with such another game upon your hands." Lord P. "Why, I've lost my *Queen* and I don't see how I can checkmate the *King*." *Twiggest du?*, the Queen of Spain being about to marry her

9 Meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which also she attended at Oxford University the next year.

10 Sir Roderick Impey Murchison (1792-1871), geologist, known as the "Emperor of Siluria" on account of his geological discoveries in the Silurian stratum.

cousin and her sister to marry a son of Louis Philippe's, which rather disgusts England.

But to proceed: our brain pans are so much enlarged that we've been obliged to have new bonnets, or, in more scientific terms, the *dolichocephalous* are become *brachiocephalous*. The infant Apollers have got heads as big as turnips, or bigger. Tell Hughie that Jack is here but very lame and that I saw two carriages leave Southampton yesterday. In one was Sir J. Herschel with a very bad hat, in the other Aunt Joanna,¹¹ but that was all the presence *she* vouchsafed to this flummery festival.

You know that all that ingenious reasoning of Nichol's,¹² proving that the formation of suns is going on *now* from nebulae, is upset. He thought that we could positively detect a nebula in the act of condensing into one tight sun and that the comets were messengers to us from the nebulae to show us their substance. But Lord Rosse's telescope¹³ shows all the nebulae yet examined to be only such on account of their distance and to be really good, solid conglomerations of stars.

How often I have thought that all our knowledge is but like that of one looking out of a narrow window, anxiously expecting someone's arrival, and not knowing the exact time when he set off, but speculating when he will arrive, but we cannot see the road which comes before the terrace, where he must appear for us to see him and he must HAVE *gone over* that bit of road first, to come to the terrace. And we cannot see the bridge over which he must have passed before he can come to the road, so that we are speculating without our premises. (Now I have waited in the stable at Cromford Bridge with the pony, looking through the window for Smith to come from the orchard) and thinking how like it was to ALL our speculations.

The astronomical theories of the inhabitants of the other side of the moon (who never see the body around which they revolve) must be strange ones, as someone has said, and *our* theories must be at least as queer. (In estimating the value of opinions we should always take into account the position of the opinionist.) Our theories must look strange ones to an angel because *we* cannot *ever* know all the premises—we *often* do not know the pivot on which everything turns. If I were to write a book, I would call it "Fragments of a Law" of so and so—all our

11 Joanna Marie Bonham Carter (1791-1884), sister of Frances Nightingale.

12 John Pringle Nichol (1804-59), professor of practical astronomy at Glasgow.

13 William Parsons, 3rd Earl of Rosse (1800-67), designed and had built the then-largest telescope in the world.

knowledge is but fragments. Of metaphysics we know absolutely nothing and yet 6000 years ago, if Adam had been asked, which would be best understood *now*, viz., the laws of that little star—the light of which is 30 millions of years in reaching us, or the law of our own minds, which are materials always *at hand* for us to study, which are not hidden from us, neither far off, which are not in heaven, that we should say, Who will go up for us to heaven and bring them unto us, that we may examine them, nor “beyond the seas,”¹⁴ but very near to us and always with us. Adam would undoubtedly have said the latter. But it is not so.

And now, my dearest, I must leave off for I have not time to tell you some curious discoveries about the polarization of light, which Laura and I heard at Sir J. Herschel’s section, to which we two stuck pretty close. I have not time to tell you either how glad I was of your letter. You know, dear, that you are too old already for your name to be put down for *Woolwich*. Give Fan my best love, and thank her for her letter very much. I have not time to answer it now, as I should like, so this letter must do for all. I am very sorry that you have left off your flute—the commercial mind of Great Britain is so strong within me that I always think of turning my penny from everything, i.e., of never losing the value of any part of us, and cannot bear to hear of lost trouble, or a neglected power. Ought we not to set up in business with all our stock? And isn’t it a pity to leave off a thing on which we have already spent some trouble? But I must go to breakfast, so farewell, my dearest friend, and believe me, in great haste,

ever thy Bos

Best love to Hughie. Your Pater has been here for this Glorious Apollers’ meeting. He is still talking of Scotland *this week* with Harry.

Visit to Oxford University

Editor: Nightingale visited Oxford University probably twice in her lifetime, most notably with her father in 1847, when she was aged twenty-seven, where they attended meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science (the year after the Southampton meetings related above). A brief visit to Oxford in 1840 is mentioned in a letter to her mother, where they “saw the whole of Oxford colleges” in a morning en route home from another visit.¹⁵ Oxford Uni-

14 A paraphrase of Deut 30:12-13.

15 Letter to Frances Nightingale ca. September 1840, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8992/18.

versity later became enormously important for her, not only as the home of her friend Benjamin Jowett, master of Balliol College, but, as the greatest source of future civil servants, her preferred site for a chair in social physics. The first letter below to a friend reflects the great range of her interests, from natural science experiments through religion and university life. It would be decades before women were admitted as students to Oxford. Nightingale here acknowledged that she would like to have been a “college man.”

Nightingale recounted the 1847 visit also to her cousin, Marianne Nicholson, from which only an excerpt with remarks not already in the other letters is included. The meeting was notable for the bringing together of the two discoverers of the planet Neptune, who had each worked without knowledge of the other: Urbain-Jean-Joseph Le Verrier (1811-77), the senior French astronomer, and John Couch Adams (1819-92), the junior British astronomer. Sir John Herschel brought the two together. Adams failed to get the credit for his earlier work because the astronomer royal, George Airy, failed to do the necessary observations; Adams had sent him the material correctly predicting where to look, but he put it aside.

Nightingale was interested in the history of science and the process of discovery. The discovery of Neptune was first made by observation of perturbations of the orbit of Uranus, which it was hypothesized must have been caused by the presence of a large planet (Neptune).

Source: Letter/draft/copy to Mary Clarke, Add Mss 43397 ff283-88 and 292-300

Oxford

[9 June 1847]

Never anything so beautiful as this place is looking now have I seen abroad or at home, my dearest, with its flowering acacias in the midst of its streets of palaces. I saunter about the churchyards and gardens by myself before breakfast and wish I were a college man. I wish you could see the astronomical section: Le Verrier and Adams sitting on either side the president, like a pair of turtledoves cooing at their joint star, and holding it between them. Struve, Herschel, Airy,¹⁶ etc. each a lovely Pleiade sound.¹⁷

16 Sir George Biddell Airy (1801-92), astronomer royal.

17 In Greek mythology the Pleiades were the seven daughters of the Titan Atlas, turned into constellations, in astronomy a close group of seven stars in the constellation of Taurus.

Adams gave the history of his discovery, of which the principal gist was, that, as good luck would have it, the periodic time of *his* star was very nearly exactly twice that of Straus, which caused those very aggravated and startling improprieties committed by Straus, without which the attention of astronomers would not have been directed to the unusual influence under which he was acting, that is, without the pertinacious attraction exerted every two years, almost at the same place (by Neptune) owing to the very small alteration of the *line of conjunction*.

The party here is much the same as at Southampton, that is, we the ignorant mob, the philosophers better both in quantity and quality. We work hard—chapel at 8:00, to one of those glorious services at New College or Magdalene. Sections from 11:00 to 3:00, then colleges or Blenheim, then lecture away at 8:00 in the Radcliffe Library, and philosophical tea and muffin at somebody's afterwards, Fowlers, Hamilton Grays, Barlows, Bucklands and serves the muffins, Wheatstone,¹⁸ Hallam, Sewell and the great guns the philosophy.

On Sunday we go to church every two hours, not being able to “do it” without taking a “snack by way of a damper”¹⁹ at Christ Church on our way with a Mr Buckland, son of the dean's. I asked a little bear of three months old, which he had got chained up at his door, in to luncheon. It began directly sucking our hands and then proceeded to the butter on the table. But, the butter getting into its head, it became obstreperous and (on its master making it put on its cap and gown!) violent. After it had behaved like a thing possessed, or a prince in the disguise of a bear (a thing commonly met with, you know, in the Arabian and Oxonian regions, Oxonian, so-called from the liver Oxus) it was carried out in disgrace.

When we came out, it was still walking and howling on its hind legs, gesticulating and remonstrating in a state of aggravation and nervous excitement. I spoke to it, but Papa pulled me away, for fear it should bite. I said, Let alone, I'm going to mesmerize it. Mr Milnes²⁰ followed the suggestion and in half a minute the little bear began to yawn, and in three minutes was stretched fast asleep on the gravel in a position in which its master said it never slept naturally. After it waked, I was

18 Professor Sir Charles Wheatstone (1802-75), who visited Embley after the meetings, and on whom more below.

19 A damper is a kind of cake, cooked in ashes.

20 Richard Monckton Milnes, then a suitor of Nightingale, was interested in mesmerism. He later dedicated a poem to Harriet Martineau, on the publication of her book on mesmerism.

afraid it would go into hysterics, but after an hour, during which it was drunk, it came to, and in the perfect use of its senses, a clear case of collusion between the infant bear and Mr Milnes. Otherwise the colluding bear would have been a good subject.

Faraday's lecture was admirable on his diamagnetism. He had a famous electromagnet, belonging to Oxford, which, being of the purest iron, *leaves go* directly. That one at the Royal Institution being only of cast iron, it nothing but a bad sort of steel, therefore gets magnetized itself and, retaining the electricity, will not leave go, directly contact is NOT made with the Grove's battery. The Grove's battery is merely a series of porcelain cells, filled with nitric acid with plates of platine in them, with an inner series of cells, filled with sulphuric acid, and not watertight, and with zinc plates. When the current of magnetism passes, the oxygen in the nitric acid is disengaged, and makes, writing with the hydrogen in the sulphuric acid, water, and this process generates a considerable amount of electricity, which *electrifies* the magnet the moment contact is made with it. I held up an enormous weight, fitted with a ring, by the point of its finger, I mean by the top of its ring, by merely touching (Faraday could hardly lift it to set it down again) and then collected a cluster of nails round its head (like the top of the monument), but the beauty of it was that the moment contact ceased with the battery, everything fell off like a shower.

But you are tired and so am I. The Albertian day was a bore. Lady Hastings showed us her *Crocodilus Hastingsic*, named after her,²¹ a doubtful compliment, for the beast has a bad expression of countenance. . . .

Source: From a letter to Marianne Nicholson, ADD Mss 45767 ff210-15

Oxford

Monday 28 June [1847]

Le Verrier spoke in French, but Adams gave the most interesting account of his own discovery, and of his pitching on the *right* conclusion at first from *wrong* grounds. But, as I daresay you don't want to hear about all that in London, I will leave it for a future time. Lalande's

21 Lady Hastings' travels with her husband from Calcutta to Delhi and back in 1814-15 resulted in a magnificent series of Indian paintings of natural history which she commissioned. She had a menagerie at Barrackpore, the governor general's country residence outside Calcutta.

discovery of it sixty years ago²² (he blotted out his entry, thinking he had made a mistake) has enabled them to anticipate sixty years in their calculation of its orbit.

Teaching and Lesson Plans

Editor: In Rome in 1848 Nightingale observed the classes at the orphan school of the Convent of the Sacred Heart given by the “madre,” Laure de Ste Colombe, acquiring material that she later put to use in her own classes at ragged schools. In Athens in 1850 she spent much time at the girls’ school founded by her American missionary friends, the Rev John Henry Hill (1791-1882) and Frances Hill. Some of the items that follow are notes from Mrs Hill’s instructions or her own observations. She recorded that some of the happiest times of her life were spent in teaching an evening class to girls at a “ragged school.” A letter to her mother from Kaiserswerth asks her to pay “the printing bill of the Ragged St Ann’s Dormitory.”²³ The lesson plan from Berlin “Deaf and Dumb” presumably was acquired on her trip there in 1850, en route to Kaiserswerth.

It is not clear how or by whom most of the lesson plans were used, or who originally devised them (they are in Nightingale’s handwriting). Further material on lesson plans from Kaiserswerth appears in *European Travels*.

Source: From an incomplete letter to an unknown recipient, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9023/7

As to the planets, my young friend, the heads are thus. Venus is an evening star, as she sets about 9:30, in the northwest; she is near the Pleiades. Mars is a morning star, therefore of course you mean him. Jupiter is very near Venus, quite close to Aldebaran; he sets about 11:30 [?], also west of the north. I presume you know Jupiter from Venus—Saturn is a morning star.

22 Joseph-Lefrançais-Jérôme Lalande (1732-1807), French astronomer, recorded observations of Neptune and Pluto in 1795.

23 Letter to Frances Nightingale 31 August 1851, Add Mss 45790 f141.

Source: Lesson plans, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9023/1

[postmarked] Leeds 12 January 1842

2nd Division 2nd Class, Lesson for Week

M - Mental Arithmetic, reading in 3rd book, study for examination, with dictation.

T - Arithmetic lesson in historical questions, reading 3rd book, lesson in grammar, write abstract of lesson read.

W - Write in copybooks lesson on map of Europe, read a lesson in Miss Taylor's England, its people, with dictation.

T - Arithmetic. Read and repeat Poetry (Garland), read a lesson 3rd book with abstract of it.

F - Mental Arithmetic. Repeat collect and explain. Read and examine chapter in gospel. Write collect. Map of Palestine.

Dog—Notes of Reading Lesson

Kind of animal, domestic state, brutes, what its friend in prosperity and adversity, how it acts towards its master, its friends, what mindful of, whether of benefits or injuries. How it acts when at point of being struck, disarming, resentment, submission. No. of teeth in man, canine, how placed, how claws differ from cat's, protruded, retracted. Nose, whether formed like cat's. Covered, fur, live variety, freedom.

Matstiff, where found, peculiar, its manner and habits, how employed, violent if so, how it acts, long time. Bulldog, size, what to, what in, surpasses what named antipathy, how seizes bull. Terrier, why named, varieties, difference in two, sent to [illeg] vermin. Chief quality [illeg] encounter, what animals they tease.

Newfoundland, how derived name, island situated, its habits docile, sagacity, how useful, expert, how rewarded, how feet formed, for what purpose, sagacious, powerful, its temper uniform, universal favourite.

Bloodhound, formed, colour, esteem, huge [illeg], employ what, show acuteness in, Spanish West Indian Islands, names of some used, shape, manner and habits of greyhound, how it courses. Shape, qualities, employment, where found chiefly.

Spaniel, if these are the only species of dog, what used for in Greenland, Kamchatka, [illeg] Canada. Bernard dogs, where found, how sent out. Mentioned in scripture, if so how used.

Grammar through lessons

Geography, boundaries, countries, chief towns, how situated with respect to each other.

English History

Who first invaded England? How ancient Britons were divided, in what state people?, what thoughts of religious rites?, under whom were they in subjection?, what called, where dwell, when religious worship performed? Why? What thought of Great Britain by more civilized nations? Where they dwell, what did, why they sent vessels to Cornwall, under whom England invaded, where, how long under Romans, what change then? What year Augustine?

Notes on Reading Lesson, France

Division of world in which situated, direction from this country, boundaries, ancient name, what ancient nation conquered the country. Questions concerning them, divisions, towns, rivers. Appearance of country to a stranger. Town at which person going from England would land. Questions concerning it. Principal productions of country, on Paris, on Brittany. Climate, physical features, islands belonging to France. Remarkable persons connected with them, character, dress, religion, government, past and present. Grammar questions where occurring.

Grammar (adjective), what it is, what parts of speech qualifies. Examples. Forms how formed, explained on blackboard. Positive. Comparative. Superlative.

English History, Henry VIII, time of accession, claim, character proceedings at beginning of reign, minister, character and death. Lesson to be learned from him, religious houses, their character, destruction, motives of destroying them. Marriages (Henry's), to be continued next week.

Geography, Europe, boundaries, countries, rivers. Palestine, situation, boundaries, mountains, rivers, circumstances connected.

Scripture, continuation of former lesson, descent of Christ from Abraham, David, David's occupations during life of Saul, manner in which he acted towards Saul example for us. Concerning his kingdom after death of Saul [page torn] events of his reign [c]haracter, [s]ins, [pr]eparations he made for building Temple. Prophets, their office. David's death and successor.

Source: Undated Notes for Sunday School games, ADD Mss 43402 ff50-91

Games: to find out for every number or psalm from scripture the three fasts of forty days—Elijah, Moses, Christ; and the four evange-

lists, the four greater prophets. To propose a question what shall I do to be saved? The next Sunday to make them bring an answer from scripture. If any are wrong, pointing out to what other subject they [illeg]. They are too proud to copy from one another. One to propose a subject and bring all the texts you can upon it.

Source: Notes on lesson plans, ADD Mss 43402 ff84-91

[1850-51]

Arithmetic: add together 4 first dictating different numbers:

5

6

9

to teach the children the places of tens, units, etc. The sum is 24, i.e., four units and two tens. Four whats? Four ones.

Grammar: ask a question and make the children construct an answer. What is an adjective? It qualifies the noun. Now take the four first lines of your lesson and write out on your slate all the adjectives. What is *un*? *Not*. Give some other examples of adjectives with *un*. Now sharpen up your wits and tell me an adjective with *un*. Or can you say “ceases to exist in one word”? “Dies,” “dyes cloth, spell *that dyes*, dyer now, a dire offence, how do you spell *that*: dire.

What is richest superlative? Write superlative. Your status; what is the comparative? *Always ask the status*.

Geography: How high is the reindeer? Are you as high? How high are you? 3 feet. How much is that? A yard. Are you a quadruped?

How far is the topmost point of Europe from the equator? How far are you from the equator? How far do you come to school? Two miles. Now if you were to walk two geographical miles a day, how long should you be walking to the equator? Girls’ arithmetic is the first thing neglected; their geography should be made arithmetical.

Where do bears live? In hot countries. In hot countries, do they? What does Africa fit itself onto? America on the other side; the Andes run the same way and the same convulsion probably caused both. If the Andes run N. and S., which way will the rivers run, without looking at the map? East and West. Why? Because the ground falls from the mountains to the sea.

Where are the lakes higher than the sea? In America. Where lower? Caspian and Dead Sea. Where is the snowline in the Alps?

Every Friday night prepare the work which each pupil teacher is to teach her class during the next week, and every Saturday give them

these subjects and get them up therein. Every month make out the subjects to instruct the pupil teachers in for the ensuing month.

Bible History: did the devil quote scripture correctly to Christ?²⁴ He left out “and keep thee in all thy ways.” Would a man have been “in the way” if he had thrown himself from a pinnacle.

Why do we keep Christmas? Because it’s Christ’s birthday. But why we don’t keep your birthday? Why, because Christ came for a purpose, a very important one. You are like other boys. Did Christ die a natural death? Yes. What?, such a death as you would die? No, he was crucified. Who crucified him? His apostles. What, do you think your brothers would put you to death?

Drawing maps of Palestine, first setting down points and then drawing the lines.

To prove a proposition: the boy gives the facts he is to prove. Would you walk to Romsey to ask after a person’s health if you knew he was well? The fact of your going presupposes your ignorance. The boy produces a line from an exterior point. Would you if you were walking to Romsey, set out from Romsey?

Explain the poetry. Swallow twitters; do all birds twitter? How does it mark the time? Reminds one that another morning is come. He marshalls the seasons. Does winter ever come when we expected summer? Will it ever?, can it? Nature smiling; when does it wear a cheerful aspect? Now? No, in spring.

The pupil teachers have all the workings of a sum, etc. drawn up beforehand so that they may not have to do those, each sum. Every child in the school has a lesson set it every night to do at home.

What year are *we* in? What *century*? In what year of your age are you? What blooms in the solitary place? Tell the story of [illeg] Park. Will places get less solitary, as time goes on—people first settle on the coast and then push inland.

About 9000 ft. Where is the snowline at the poles? On the ground? Why is the snowline higher at the tropics than it is at the equator? Because the nights are shorter and the earth has less time to radiate out its heat. Which is likely to be the warmest side of S. America? The Eastern, because of the Gulf Stream, which flows round the Cape of Good Hope, and because, on the other side, the snow melts from the mountains. How is the cold of Terra del Fuego not so great? Because the mud sea mitigates it. Which is the coldest, Sweden and Norway or

24 In Matt 4:6, where the devil quoted Ps 91:11.

the centre of Russia? What is likely to be the connecting link between Asia and America? That peninsula of volcanic islands which is continually increasing.

Do you live in Great Britain? In which part of Great Britain do you live? England. Are you a subject of the Queen and does the Queen make the laws? No, the Queen executes the laws which the Houses of Parliament make. The fifth of next month they will meet and the Queen will read a speech her ministers will make for her, speaking of the things which will interest her subjects most, not the things which happened to us years ago, but the things which are happening now and everybody will want to read it next morning.

Julius Caesar, which was his title? What is the Emperor of Russia called?

Read aloud or sing during the needlework. Buy their own slates and their own books, but pay for them by instalment.

As soon as the “garland” was introduced in school everybody would have a “garland.”

Find a string, and everybody can repeat like a parrot.

Arithmetic: first to learn to numerate. Write 100, one 10, one unit. Count the number of slates in the class, 8, in the other class 5, all together 13. Now is that 1 a 1 – 1 + 3 makes 4. No, it’s a 2. Well, let us see: make 10 marks on the slate. Now $10 + 3 = 13$. Don’t you think it’s a 10? For $10 + 3$ makes 13, then 1, when it’s put there, is not 1 but 10. So teach to numerate then to add. That makes 18, 18 what? 18 units; 9 units and 7 units and 2 units = 18 units. How many 10s are there in that? 1 10 and 8 units. That we call carrying the 1—now we have 25 tens; set down 5 tens, then we’ve 2 times 10 10s. What do we call that? $200: 2 \times 10 \times 10 = 200$ —and so on.

When did Newton die? 1726. Born? 1642. Then how old was he when he died? Set down these statements by the sum.

Have you a grandfather? Yes. How old is he? Then when was he born? The Queen has reigned fourteen years. When did she accede? To all these the facts were annexed, her predecessor was her uncle and a sailor, then came Columbus and Gain’s discoveries.

When was printing introduced into England? How many years ago? Do you suppose the little boys in Richard III’s time read out of such books as you do? What did the scribes write upon? Had the Jews printing?

Dictation: then the master corrects two big slates and sends them round to correct the rest. The number of errors are marked under each, then the ones, twos, threes, etc., are called out and take places

accordingly; the worst slate is taken and the words spelt out. Exercise given out every evening, a different one for each class, to be brought next morning, either poetry to be learnt or an exercise to be written or a paraphrase. Books wanted the next day to be brought by the children, given out. If a child does not bring its exercise [it is] degraded to [the] next class.

Poetry: which is the nominative case to that verb? (being inverted). Verbs signify action. To teach them their own language, not to teach them science is the great thing. Else where's the use of books to them? To take it to pieces and show them what it is. Paraphrase poetry: if they think anything at all about it, to put it into their own words. If they don't think anything, why they haven't understood it.

Is glass a good conductor? No. If I were to take hold of a bit of iron, instead of this piece of wood, which would feel coldest? If I were to thrust a bar of iron and a bar of wood into the fire, which could I hold longest? The wood. Why? Because it is the worst conductor.

Fetch the formulation tube. The weight of the air makes the mercury rise. If, instead of mercury, it were water, it would require a tube sixteen times as long to rise in.

How do you know that the centre of the earth is fire? Have you ever descended into the centre of the earth? No, but people have gone down into mines and been suffocated. Yes, but not by heat, by choke damp, carbonic acid gas when gas fire burns, it emits C.A.G., but then it mixes with the surrounding air and does not suffocate you. Where does mercury freeze? At Moscow? Did you ever see mercury freeze? No, it freezes at 29° below zero. They were more eager crowding around the thermometer than they were for anything. Miss S. They don't know anything about the construction of maps. Nowhere better to construct maps than on the floor, because then it's the ground they tread on. Get them off their accustomed tack and ask them the question in other words.

Make the pupil teachers write notes of all the lessons they will give through the next week. They must never give them unprepared, of what they will say to them. Tell them you prepare yourself. . . .

Hyphen when the first word is accented.

Books they don't want to study at home left in the school, when it is given out what books they must take home with them to get up.

People begin history at the wrong end; the imagination can't reach back to William the Conqueror. Tell all the discoveries made about the same time. Sir I. Newton and the apple—was he a foolish man to

look at it falling to the ground? And the prism: do we see the same rainbow? No, we all see different rainbows—because we don't look through the same drop of rain.

3rd class: Read and study 2nd and 3rd parts of sequels. Map of England (outline only, points of the compass). Rising and setting of the sun. Time: how divided. Who is the Queen and what she does. Numeration and addition. Use the blackboard, catechism and scripture. For one week.

Hold out hands—clean, and hold out pocket handkerchiefs. All the fingers held out in answer to, have the heads been brushed? Ditto in answer to the *teeth*. Twice a week to *feet washed*. Box to hold the pence for:

1. weekly wage
2. books and slates sold
3. combs and brushes
tooth ditto, needles, scissors, etc., bought wholesale in London
and sold cheap
4. clothing club 1 p a week for 48 weeks
vicar adds 1/.

Arithmetic: to reduce shillings to £, cut off the unit in dividend and divisor. Why? Because 20 is 2 10s and the other is \times tens. Therefore like can be divided by like.

86970 is to save you the trouble of writing

80000

6000

900

70

Why do you write 20 when nought means nothing? only to show them that 20 is 2 tens.

Reduce farthings into pence. Why do you divide by 4? Because the quotient is \times 4 farthings, = \times pence.

How do you represent this process? By writing $4/10$. These figures are merely to save you trouble.

How do you reduce $.50/$ into £?

$20/50$

or $2/5$

Bible History: Why do they call languages dead? Because there is nobody living who can speak them. When was Latin spoken? By the Romans. What Romans?, the people who live in Rome now? The ancient Romans, the Romans who lived 500 years ago. The Romans who lived 2000 years ago. Did they ever pay us a visit? Do they live here now?

Why did they go away? Because the barbarians poured in upon them and they thought they must go and take care of their own homes and not bother us, about 1500 years ago. That's a sport, that tale.

Where do our Saxon ancestors come from? Duchy of Holstein, all Germany was called Saxony then.

Who made the first translation into English of the Bible? Wycliffe. Where did he live? In Leicestershire. Where is that? A midland county. Do you live in a midland county? No, in a maritime. Spell maritime.

Can you tell by looking at the map how wide the Isthmus of Panama is? Yes, by taking a string and measuring it on the degrees? Where? On the degrees of latitude? Why not on the degrees of longitude? Because they vary.

Where [?] is the weight greatest? At the poles. . . . Why? Because the centrifugal force is greatest at the equator. Why? Because it twirls round quickest; it has most space to go through and therefore must go faster.

What makes this book fall? Gravity. If the centrifugal was exactly = the centripetal what weight would you have? None. If I pull and he pulls and our force is = you stand still, don't you? but if my force is greater, you come towards me. If attraction were = centrifugal, you would feel as if you had no weight at all. Why is centrifugal at equator greater? Because the faster a mass twirls or a wheel goes round, the more the water splashes off it.

If I were to let fall this book from the clock tower how quick would it fall? 16 ft. in 1st second; 4 x 16 ft. in 2nd; 9 x 16 in 3rd. And how many ft. in the 3rd second? 144 – 64.

What is Newton's law? That bodies always move with an uniform motion? If you walk to Romsey at 2 miles an hour, do you move with a uniform motion? If 2 miles the 1st hour, 3 miles the 2nd, 4 miles the 3rd, do you walk with an accelerated motion?, with an uniform accelerated motion? Yes, because the increment is uniform.

Now why does not the book stand still? Because the attraction draws it. Does the book attract the earth? Would a lump of iron and a lump of wood of the same size attract each other equally? No, because not of the same density. Attraction is as size and density.

(Whatley says that man could never have civilized himself without revelation.)

Heat: Show them the thermometer. Chambers' Matter and Motion is what interests them most, of all their lessons. Because it speaks of the things which they see every day.

Show them the barometer. What does the thermometer mean? heat = measurer—how do you make it? Heat the mercury, which rarifies the air and when it is all expelled, seal the top. Will my hand make it rise? How much? Have you as much animal heat as I? Have all animals the same heat? You and a bird, No, Mr Fox told us a bird had most.

Source: Lesson plan, “For the Deaf and Dumb at Berlin,” Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8993/59

[1850]

Lesson: Days, what, how many: weeks, months, seasons, what months. . . .

4 elements, points of compass, continents
motions, swimming, flying [illeg] walking

5 senses, what? Look here, what do you see in my hand?

How do you know it is?

Because we see it.

What do you see by?

Eyes.

Then what is that power?

Seeing.

Take this in your hand and tell me how it smells?

Sweet.

How do you know?

By the smelling.

Take a piece of this and taste.

What taste has it?

How do you know the difference of the things [illeg] eaten?

By the taste.

Ring the bell.

What did I do?

You rang the bell.

How is that sense called by which you know what everybody says?

Hearing.

Feel this and this and tell me the difference.

Soft, hard.

How do you know?

By feeling.

How are these powers called?

Senses.

How many have we and what?

Who gave you all those by which you receive so much pleasure?

How do you know that you owe them to God? Psalm 139:14.²⁵ Reading and asking questions, with book open, insisting however on a conversational answer, not repeating the whole verse. Let one say the prayer itself or the grace, instead of the mistress. The colours in the rainbow seen are orange, red, yellow and green, blue, indigo and violet. . . .

Take a verb, to iron, e.g., who irons?, irons what?, irons on what? with what? To send, who sends? sends for whom? to where? by whom?

Source: Notes on Dishonouring the Body and Self-Respect, ADD Mss 43402 f92

What is it to dishonour our bodies? Not to make the best of ourselves, as we make the best of our souls, so of our bodies. To sit upright is to make the best of ourselves, to keep our bodies clean, in order to make them healthy. Not to lace tight, that is one of the things which spoils our bodies, not to sit in ill-ventilated rooms—if the cottage is small and close, you can still open the door.

Civil. To have respect for others and for yourself; self-respect is not to do anything low or mean or base. Respect to others is not to do anything to disturb them. How can you dishonour your tongues? By swearing, lying, yes and talking of other people. Are there not things enough to talk of, without talking of people? In a small place like this, you can't fail to know a great deal of what your neighbour does, and if you talk about it, you can't fail to lie, for how can you tell their motives?, and you know that a great deal is said about them that is not true.

Clean and tidy: some people are clean that are not tidy and some tidy that are not clean. Orderly: what is it to be orderly? Does the bell ring for your teachers to come in and you to stay out and play? (They may have read those two lessons in a *week*. You may give a whole lesson to the religious part.)

School in Athens

Source: Notes from Mrs Hill, Mission School in Athens, ADD Mss 43402 ff39-40

May 1850

If it were not for giving the scriptural instruction, I never should have undertaken the drudgery of a school of all things, but that makes everything light. Ωαρικληα [Hariklia],²⁶ the day of her death she cov-

25 “ . . . marvellous are thy works. . . . ”

26 A girl's name, after a goddess.

ered her face and turned it to the wall saying she did not wish to be disturbed any more till after midnight. Uncovering her face she cried with a loud voice, *Αναχωρῶ, ἀναχωρῶ* I depart, I depart, and when the nurse looked at her, she was dead. The last words she said were, Kiss the master's eyes when I am gone and ask him to forgive me. I have not seen him today nor shall I see him again. Tell her, said the child, that the wolf will have to become a lamb, the little spoiled child. Penelope, Elizabeth to her, who loves little children? Christ, and should not you like to go to him? The child took it directly.

Smyrniot Christian when turned out of the mosque. Is this a place for men or for donkeys? If they had said for men, he would have said, Am I not a man?

When we set up again in 1842, I had to begin with the girls all over again, teaching them to wash their hands. And I used to cry and say, Well, it's all over with my power of keeping order. Keeping silence in class. Mrs Hill.

Source: Notes on Correcting a School Child, Louisa, Mrs Hill's School, Add Mss 43402 ff51-52

[1850]

Little Katings. It was a rule then when they came in after a visit to their friends or anywhere they were to give at the door any sweetmeats or anything they brought to the mistress at the door, in order to prevent them from eating it by themselves. It was given them in the afternoon in class, that they might, if they chose, share it. Katings had once concealed a thing already, but the first fault was always forgiven, this time again she brought home some sweetmeat and hid it under her bed. So after prayers, when all the teachers were asked if they had any complaint to make of any girl, this came out and Louisa was to be punished. Mrs Hill said to her that she was not to come down to breakfast with the other girls, and there were pancakes, or something nice that day, which she liked, for she was very gourmande. So a piece of bread and a glass of water was sent up to her, and she went into the little classroom and I heard her crying. She did not know I was there. I heard her sobbing, angry with herself and angry with Mrs Hill. What could possess me to do it?

It wasn't as if the things were to be lost. I should have had them in the afternoon. I wonder whether Kyria loves me. It is impossible that Kyria can love me or wish me to serve her. Then I heard her start up and rush to the bench where was her lesson book and begin to study her lesson, crying all the time and turning over the leaves. Presently

she began turning over the leaves of a Bible Oh! she said, whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth,²⁷ then Kyria does love me for she chastens me. I am sure Kyria loves me, for she scourges me and she will receive me, and I will go and beg her pardon. And she began eating her bit of bread very contentedly. I heard her say this, and I went down to Mrs Hill and told her, and said I would be cautious for her, that she should not do it again, if she would forgive her. Then I went to Louisa, and asked her if she was not sorry. She said, oh yes, and if she would not like to beg Mrs Hill's pardon. And she said she was ashamed while all the girls were at breakfast. But I said I would go with her and speak for her, so she went. I said I would be responsible for her, so Mrs Hill forgave her, and placed her by her at breakfast, and gave her to eat.

Appointment of a Mistress at Girton College

Editor: Nightingale was never directly involved in the struggles to establish higher education for women, but the correspondence that follows shows how important she considered such education to be. Alice Stopford Green, widow of an eminent historian, John Richard Green, with whom she co-authored major historical works, was a candidate for the position of mistress of Girton College. It is telling that Nightingale was concerned not only about the possible health implications her friend assumed if she took the post but was distressed by what seemed to be a poor job description and lack of clarity about lines of authority. Moreover she stressed the risk to her friend's work as a historian in taking on heavy administrative duties.²⁸ Nightingale drew on her decades of experience in nursing administration here.

It seems that at some point Nightingale was persuaded that the position was right for Green, whereupon she plied her with (unsolicited) advice as to how to press her candidacy effectively. She also wrote a "private" letter to Lady Stanley about Green's candidature.²⁹ Nightingale

²⁷ Heb 12:6.

²⁸ Alice Stopford Green (1847-1929) subsequently published numerous books on her own, notably on Irish history and town life, while revising her late husband's works on English history.

²⁹ Letter to Maude Verney 9 December 1884, ADD Mss 68883 f97. A testimonial Nightingale apparently wrote for Green was spotted by another researcher at the National Library of Ireland in Dublin, but is not catalogued and has since eluded recovery.

even worried about what would happen to Girton College if the wrong candidate (the interim mistress) got the job: women undergraduates should go to Newnham College instead! The position in fact went to the interim mistress, Elizabeth Welsh, a classicist, who held it 1885-1903.

Nightingale's cousin Barbara Shore Smith,³⁰ younger sister of Rosalind, was a Girton student in 1891-94, college secretary 1897-1903 and the biographer of founder Emily Davies. The founding mistress at Newnham College, Anne Jemima Clough, sister of Arthur Hugh Clough, was a friend of Nightingale's. The fourth mistress there was Blanche Athena Clough, daughter of A.H. and Blanche Clough, so that Nightingale had positive associations with that college as well. Indeed there is information that she assisted it by reviewing its building plans, but there is no substantive surviving correspondence and her six pages of notes on the sanitary defects have disappeared.

Family correspondence late in life shows Nightingale taking an interest in her goddaughter Ruth Verney's studies at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford (in *Life and Family* 1:705).

Source: Letter, Boston University 1/7/86

Claydon

23 August 1884

My dear Mrs [Alice Stopford] Green

I have no need to commend your decision to God, for *you* are *there* with Him already. But it is a matter of national importance, and I need not tell you how earnestly I meet you there in the Immediate Presence where I am not worthy to be, but you are.

I will not inflict more of my considerations upon you. But, after much thought, it resolves itself, as it appears to me, into a question of your HEALTH. For thus Girton will profit you: history is *your* subject; history is the subject most cruelly mangled at Girton; history is the subject most wanted at the present-day to guide us in these strange, new, pressing problems. Classics and mathematics will right themselves at Girton. History will be more and more distorted. It is hardly doubtful that, while you are helping Girton, Girton will help you in your *future* historical studies. It will give them reality and depth, to be worked out ultimately.

It is an *immense* sacrifice. But do not think that you are leaving all "sugarplums" behind in London and imprisoning yourself with raw

30 Later Barbara (Lady) Stephen, born Margaret Thyra Barbara Shore Smith (1872-1945), with the family name change later to Shore Nightingale.

minds and details of administration. You must *not* do this. There *are* men at Cambridge whose intercourse will be pleasant to you and profitable to your students, **THROUGH YOU**. But—health! there’s the rub.

God bless you ever and guide you, as He does so wonderfully.

F.N.

Source: Letter, Boston University 1/7/88

Claydon House

Winslow, Bucks

8 September 1884

Private

My dear Mrs [Alice Stopford] Green

I will not waste time in saying how your letter about Girton and Naworth absorbs my thoughts. Taking it as an accurate index of the temper of the committee, and your intercourse at Naworth, when a guest in the house, as a faint indication of what your intercourse with the committee as a subordinate (?) would be is—I ask this question very much against the grain—any but a very slight probability of a *workable* understanding being arrived at between you and the committee?

In any case it would appear now to be essential that you should not undertake this most important and most difficult post without making a very clear statement to the committee of the conditions (not, of course, using this word) under which you could alone accept it. This must be done if only in self-defence, because there is apparently no official definition of your position and duties to guide you in your acceptance or refusal of the post, and in your subsequent conduct of the administration, if appointed (I write as drily as possible).

Obedience to the fancies, the “ideas” of the majority of a quorum of a committee, may mean almost anything. Obedience to the verbal instructions of one or more of the committee may mean almost nothing of power and trust to do the work. Your friends could never advise you to accept a position which the world outside regards as one of responsibility and trust, when it is really one in which there is no trust, and in which therefore there can be no responsibility in its true sense. Alas! poor Girton!

If a hint in such a matter is possible, it would perhaps be well to avoid all statements totidem verbis [in as many words] that you apply on public grounds (as you *do*), and nothing should be said as to personal sacrifice (which is so great a one), but everything in the letter written or questions asked should point unmistakably to the first of these conclusions.

Would not the pith of it be: "I find no authentic definition of the duties or of the position. The committee would naturally desire to know my view in outline of what these should be before they appoint me, and, on the other hand, I should have no desire to take the appointment unless this view were in accordance with that held by the committee. (Such an appointment as this implies an agreement between the committee and the mistress. It is essential to know that the two parties to the agreement are *ad idem* [the same] at all events in the main principles on which they are to work together. Otherwise there can be no certainty that co-operation is possible. Before the partnership is formed the terms of the partnership must be clearly laid down.)"

It could mean nothing but disaster for you *and for Girton*, and vexation for everyone concerned, that you should accept the position and find it untenable by reason of conditions imposed upon you which thwarted every attempt to do the work, which to do was the leading, indeed the only motive, for your accepting the post. Plenty of people may be found who are admirably fitted for being dictated to, and bullied by, a parcel of ladies. But would not Mrs Green be a miserable failure here? She has too much of true spirit and of the spirit of truth.

There is besides the most essential consideration which you have, I most earnestly trust, not lost sight of: your health. How does that stand? You have probably not yet taken medical advice.

ever my dear friend (if you will allow me to call you so)

yours most anxiously and overflowinglly

F. Nightingale

Source: Letter, Boston University 1/7/93

Claydon

14 October 1884

My dear Mrs [Alice Stopford] Green

All my vows are with you. I know how terribly trying this time is for you, my St Michael (I don't at all plead guilty to thinking of you as the Archangel, *only* at Girton, but *now* too and *always*). I feel all the *tryingness with* you and the sadness. If you could kindly give me the choice of two or three afternoons NEXT week at South St., I would so gladly hear what you are thinking, if possible NOT Monday. Please direct 10 South St., Park Lane W.

ever yours in deepest sympathy

F. Nightingale

Source: Letter, Boston University 1/7/95

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane, W.
27 October 1884

Private

My dear Mrs [Alice Stopford] Green

I was told yesterday what you doubtless know, that Miss Peter has withdrawn from the candidateship for Girton, but I was also told that Miss Welsh was very likely to remain permanently in her temporary position *by default* and that it would be so very desirable for Girton, for every interest, if you could become more known to the council. What do Mr Creighton and Major Stopford say about this? I feel really so very diffident about pressing this matter in any way, when such much better advice than I can give perhaps determines you in another direction, that I scarcely like to tell you the impression that exists—viz., that you do not much care about the mistress-ship either way, since you do not do what other people do to win it, that one of the first qualifications for a mistress-ship *is much to care* (in which you will agree), that it is scarcely fair to the council and to Girton, let alone yourself, to do nothing, that people are genuinely shy and modest about writing to references unless known to them personally, that, in short, it is quite possible the thing may go by default—to the great distress of many and the destruction of Girton—and the present incompetent regent be left on the throne when the best I can hope for is that every future girl undergraduate will go to Newnham instead of Girton. (Could you give a guess at all at the number of girls that have graduated at or passed through Girton in these fifteen years?)

Not for your sake but Girton's I write. Is there not any way which you would take to make yourself known to the council? One of those who spoke to me yesterday said, "Mrs Green is known as the wife of a great man, who has done her part most devotedly, most nobly, with energy and wisdom unsurpassed. She has done a part magnificently, such as seldom falls to the lot of woman. But we do not know what to say to the council; she will not make herself known. How is one to make known the special gifts that fit her so well to be the mistress of Girton?"

I will say no more. God bless you and your work, whatever it may be.
ever yours

F. Nightingale

Source: Letter, Boston University 1/7/97

10 South St.
31 October 1884

Private

Goodspeed, my dear Mrs [Alice Stopford] Green. I like and agree with the “paper” almost entirely. At all events I have nothing to criticize in it, because it does not admit of criticism. It is undeniable that Girton has not fostered “learning” or “research” among women, but I should fancy that the council would rather foster angry, aggressive agnosticism than “original research.”

The scheme of administration is good. At all events it is hers who will have to administer it.

To admit the students into some share in the administration of their own food is undoubtedly wise. The council’s conduct is inconsistent. While they insist on absolute non-interference (at least Miss Davies³¹ does) with the girl undergraduates, the same girls have scarcely any more power over their meals, etc., than Mr Squeers’ schoolboys had.³² And they rather glory in it, as being unworldly and spiritual!! But now, as to the advisability of saying all this, of “showing your hand” to an unknown council, almost unknown to you, as you say yourself, an almost unknown person, as you say yourself, to the council.

Perhaps I did not make the drift of my former remarks quite plain. And this is my excuse now to your kindness for making these very plain: the last thing I meant by my (ventured) original advice was that you should enter, in the form of a “magazine article,” as you say this is, on a general statement of views, educational or other. My suggestion, which I was so bold as to offer, was that you should act strictly on the defensive, stipulating for or explaining *such things as you would feel were absolutely essential to your acceptance of the post*, but no others. If they could all go into one side on a sheet of note paper, so much the better.

(This kind of dissertation would come exceedingly well from you *verbally*, to a valued friend on the council, two years hence, if elected, would it not?). Is not any general exposition of your ideas as to female education (pp 1-5 of the paper), *unless asked for by the committee*, simply enlarging the area of attack, without, I should fancy, doing the cause any kind of good? If you think otherwise, would you not merely say to

31 Sarah Emily Davies (1830-1921), leader in the movement for education for women and former mistress of Girton.

32 Surely one of the most villainous headmasters ever, Squeers of Dotheboys’ Hall in Dickens’s *Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby*.

the committee that, if they wished for any such expression of views, you would be ready to furnish it?

Should not you make sure of two essentials, and two only: (1) that the contract between yourself and the committee should be mutually understood by both parties as meaning the same thing, or nearly the same thing, that they should be “*ad idem*,” i.e., that you should not discover, a week after you were appointed, that you meant one thing and they meant entirely another thing by the appointment?

(2) That the mistress’s own position in relation to the committee should be defined with sufficient exactness to enable her to form a tolerably accurate notion as to whether she could or could not do the work expected of her? N.B. Do not Mr Creighton’s arguments in favour of the mistress feeling her way before she makes any conditions apply tenfold against her making stipulations *other than the above two*, which seem *essentials*? Must she not feel her way (and a long way too) before making others? It *may* indeed be necessary that her “own position” (see 2) must include stipulations as to her *assistants* in order to enable her to do the work expected of her. But even this, I believe, Mr Creighton would defer.

I will not make this any longer because I feel that even in this I may be “darkening knowledge.” I am more than occupied (i.e., twenty-four hours a day would not be enough for me) today especially, and until after next Wednesday. But this (Girton) is so important, so nationally important, that, if I could be of the least help, even for you to talk to, I would gladly see you, at 1:00 (or even directly or at 3:30 or at 4:00 today, if convenient to you. And may the Almighty Father speed the cause which is His own!

ever yours with deepest sympathy

F. Nightingale

Source: Note presumably sent down to Mrs Green, Boston University 1/7/96

My dear Mrs [Alice Stopford] Green

31 October 1884

I can only silently and sorrowfully agree with you now. I almost wish that you had sent in something in the form of testimonials—odious word! But you say the council do not require that now. We must leave it with God. (If Miss Welsh is elected, we must turn all our thoughts to Newnham.) I wish I could see you now, as you are so good as to be here. But I hope you will let me see you next week. Thanks many for writing.

yours sadly, but yet hopefully in the ultimate success of a good cause
F.N.

Will you not have some luncheon? I did not *at all* mean that you “contemplated” a “magazine article” to send in to the council, but only that *that* “paper” was something in the nature of one. And you used the word as intending it “months hence.”

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9010/43

6 November 1884

My dear Sir Harry [Verney]

Would you kindly write a letter to the Committee for Electing a Mistress to Girton College for their Friday’s (tomorrow’s) meeting, stating what you think of *Mrs Green* for that post? And send your letter “to the care of Miss Shirreff, 3A St. George’s Terrace, Gloucester Road.”

Mrs Green asks you to be so kind as to do this and you see there is not an hour to be lost. The election takes place *tomorrow*, 7 November. . . .

ever your affectionate

F.N.

Lea School

Editor: The Nightingale family, as the major landowner in the district, supported the school at Lea. Nightingale herself gave money and took an active interest in its work, from the appointment of teachers to examinations and the fostering of culture and moral guidance. Nightingale contributed £500 to the Lea School in 1860.³³ She purchased books for its library and bought (and gave away) tickets to its concerts. Much of the correspondence is with the schoolmaster W.J.P. Burton, whom she and Arthur Clough hired in 1888, “when he was at Linton School, Burton-on-Trent, a school twice the size of Lea.”³⁴ She was disappointed when he gave notice in 1896 because of “some annoyance from the board.” She had had uninterrupted correspondence with him all those years, a “most admirable master.”³⁵

33 Note to authorize payment to account of Beatrice Shore Smith 7 March 1860, Columbia University, Presbyterian Hospital School of Nursing C54.

34 Note 22 July 1888, Add Mss 47761 ff47-63.

35 Letter to Henry Bonham Carter 14 March 1896, Add Mss 47727 f32.

Source: From a letter to Alice Hepworth, Clendening Library, University of Kansas Medical School

8 January 1886

I am very sorry not to see you before you go back to Lea [as school-mistress], but the snow and the frost make the streets really too bad for Mrs Lushington and me to wish you to come out so far. I wish you a good new year, and a Happy New Year, and many of them, to do God service. And I give you joy that you have brought the infants on so satisfactorily and enabled them to take such a good place in both examinations. We all of us thank you, you and Mr Butler.³⁶ I should like to have heard from you about all your infants and all your classes, and to have asked you what they did, if I could have seen you.

Will you be so good as to take these two parcels of books with you, one for Mr Butler for the Holloway Institute, and one which perhaps he will be so good as to send to Mr Peacock, Whatstandwell Coffee Rooms (for the Whatstandwell Library). Or perhaps if you get out at Whatstandwell Station, you might leave it there to be sent to him (Mr Peacock). But don't hurry yourself to do this, if perhaps the train hardly stops at Whatstandwell Station and you get out at Cromford. And will you be so good as to tell me what book you would like yourself, which I should have asked you had I seen you. God bless you. And with my kind regards to Mrs Hepworth, believe me,

yours most sincerely

F. Nightingale

I am obliged to write in pencil.

Source: From a letter to Alice Hepworth, Clendening Library, University of Kansas Medical School

9 March 1886

Please accept the (Revised) Bible which has been waiting for you so long, not but what I sent for it for you as soon as ever I heard from you, but I have been almost unfit to do anything, and am still, but what was absolutely necessary, from illness. I need not tell you again, my dear child, to whom I wish all the highest blessings of that book which tells us how Christ loves us so much that He will even come and dwell in us³⁷ and make *us* live and love like Himself. And *you* will be a little mother to your very large infant family.

³⁶ Ebenezer Butler, schoolmaster at Lea.

³⁷ An allusion to Eph 3:17.

I need not tell you how pleased we were at the school being worked up so nicely, to a good standard of usefulness, nor how we feel sure that this year will show a still higher standard. Perhaps that very gain of a certain assured progress in essentials will enable the nice lessons practised in Thomas St. to be introduced, if there is time for them, for example, the little moral tales which you used to tell your scholars once a week at Thomas St., though they do not “tell” directly on the examination.

You told me last summer that there was no time then for these and other things, which I could easily believe then. But now perhaps Mr Butler and you might think that there might be time, for example, for drawing maps on the floor, that nice plan that you told me of in Thomas St., and without which I do not think the children, even when they are grown up, ever really understand what a map means, do you?

I was reading the other day the account by a Russian prince³⁸ who, in his exile, had become a famous professor of geography, that he feels quite sure no collegians even ever understand maps and plans, or what they represent, or what geography represents, if they have not drawn their garden, their house, their village or their district to scale on the floor or wall, or the big slate. It is curious that this Russian, who writes in French, and who is one of the greatest teachers of geography, should find the same things as we do.

Would there be time now for giving the religious morning instruction in *talk*? Perhaps you always do this. I do not know exactly what the *infants’* religious instruction is. It may be necessary to give a good deal of learning scripture by heart. But then, if scripture is really to tell on the children’s *lives*, the only thing that Christ cares about, and that Christ came to live and die for, and still lives for, the little “mother” must explain a good deal by little tales and illustrations.

We have a little boy of six years old in one of the male surgical wards of our St Thomas’ Hospital—we often have such children—it was brought in cussing and swearing (it had never heard a good word in all its life), with an abscess in its back, about a year ago. It can only just stand now; it will never be well, though it is much better. The “sister” of the ward (head nurse) did not scold or preach to Bobby—he goes by the name of Bobby, for no one knows its name. She was very gentle with Bobby and very loving, but he *must* obey (he soon found

38 Prince Peter Kropotkin, who by travelling in Siberia discovered that the maps had the rivers going in the wrong direction.

that). By degrees she taught him his little prayers. And now if she is busy he calls: "Sister, sister, I have not said my prayers." And it is a real speaking to God with him. And the men patients stop and listen to hear him. Now he has his real little mission in the ward, though he never preaches—he is not *goody*, he is quite a little "elf," but it is as Christ meant when he said that the little child might be the best preacher of us all.³⁹ So he is a little missionary and quite an influence among the rough men patients. His little cot is run in at night between two of the men patients and they take care of him. And never a word is spoken now before him which a little child ought not to hear. One of the poor men, who had to be taken into a medical ward, where he died, sent a message to Bobby from his deathbed, and the dying man's brother made some playthings for him (he was a joiner). Bobby has the real thing in his heart, the true religion.

I hope some Bobbies will come out of Lea Infant School, with the talking classes, though they, your Bobbies, will not have to come out of the moral mire that our Bobbies have. Pray give my kindest regards to Mr Butler. I beg him not to think that we are not careful for the "three Rs" first and foremost, or that we want to judge ourselves, instead of him and you, whether there is time now to introduce the nice lessons of Thomas St. or not.

My kindest regards to Mr and Mrs Butler. I hope she is pretty well. The winter has been so very severe. Ask him whether any books are wanted for the boys' or girls' library. I shall be writing to him soon. Miss Dexter⁴⁰ will think I have forgotten her. Tell her why I have not written, and that I will write. Never was anyone less forgotten. God bless you all, and all your children.

ever yours sincerely

Florence Nightingale

Do the "infants" know that Christ loved little children and that He was always meek and gentle?⁴¹ And are they more (or less) gentle and loving with each other? Or do they tell tales of each other, instead of themselves?

F.N.

How are Mrs Butler's own children? Pray tell her I asked particularly after them.

39 An allusion to Matt 18:1-3.

40 Grace Dexter, schoolteacher.

41 An allusion to Matt 11:29.

Source: Letter/draft/copy, ADD Mss 45807 ff208-14

10 South St.
6 January 1886

My dear Beatrice [Lushington]

Thank you very much for your most kind letter. It is a thousand times more important for A. Hepworth to go about *with you* even to one school, even if needle drill exactly were not going on, than to come and see me. So if any one of the answers from the head-mistresses, to whom you have been so kind as to write, is propitious, will you not be so good as to *take her on* "*Thursday or Friday morning*"?

But I fear that holidays and snow are against it. I could make it 5:00 instead of 6:00 on Friday, I fear not earlier. (I did not know or did not remember that she returned to Lea on Saturday.) She will scarcely wish to come here the last evening. If you will kindly send me her address in London, which I have mislaid, I will send her the books (for Lea) on Friday, if I do not see her.

About G. Dexter, I feel rather repentant for having even glanced at a comparison between her and A. Hepworth, who has certainly done thoroughly good work among the infants. You know we preferred Butler to Norris, though we felt almost sure that Norris was the better nature. Then Butler gave us a fright. And now after all he seems to be the right man in the right place, though Arthur Clough says he is still "fractious and quarrelsome."

3. This reminds me: no doubt Butler has had to drive and cram to bring the school up to Inspector's pitch. But there cannot be the same necessity now. And he has, thanks to Aunt Mai, now abundance of help in teaching. Do you think it would be possible "even" *to him*, that he might *overlook now the teachers in giving* their lessons a little more?, and especially in *introducing the nice lessons* which do not "tell" directly for an examination and which they practice at Thomas St., for which there might *now* be "time," and "time" for him to look after it, e.g., little moral tales which A. Hepworth used to tell her scholars once a week at Thomas St., object lessons which of all others most want a headmaster's eye, religious morning instruction in *talk*, now and then the headmaster asking the teacher: now how do you mean to give such and such a lesson?, drawing maps on floor. (I was rather appalled to hear from G.D. the quantity of learning by heart—the children's lessons *at home* were chiefly learning scripture by heart.

A. Hepworth in the summer gave me very much the same account of *all* this as G.D. does now, each adding there was "no time.") One can quite believe that there *was* "no time" this last year but to bring

the children “up to time” for the two examinations. But now perhaps there might be, and especially for him to overlook G.D.’s *teaching* and A. Hepworth’s *geniality*, i.e., her talking classes to the infants., etc. Would this be possible?

To return to G.D: if dear Aunt Mai is to see my notes about her, Grace Dexter, I am anxious to explain. It *may* be that G.D. and A. Hepworth stand in the same relation as we thought Norris and Butler did, G.D. the finer nature, A. Hepworth the more finished schoolmistress. Do *you* think this? (We *know* hardly anything for or against G.D.’s teaching.) I think we can hardly be mistaken in thinking G.D. a most desirable and rather rare element in a school. I never saw a Barker I really *wished* to keep. I think with horror of poor L. Miers going as teacher into *any* school, etc., *ceteris paribus* with other P.T.’s.

If G.D. could be thoroughly trained—and she *wishes* to make schoolteaching her life, which A. Hepworth does not—the odds are that she would make a famous assistant mistress for Lea School. And her love of the place and the children is a great thing. Do you think this? She did not appear to have any special call to be an infant schoolmistress. I *think* she said the same thing that a “special” (lady) probationer of ours said to me about taking a children’s ward, viz., “that infants did not occupy the *mind* enough.” Both will probably live to change their opinion. I think you think it better for her to be in a girls’ school. Of course it is not my business to judge about keeping her after midsummer. And, after all, my conversation with a girl is not a thing to judge by.

Another thing I want to explain: I think I used the foolish expression that G.D. was like an educated “lady’s” child in my notes. You who saw her would understand that this was not because of anything we call “ladylike,” and if she has nice manners, it is by dint of having no manners at all. But it was a sort of natural, unconscious, unrestrained interest in interesting things. “Oh I do so want just to go inside the House of Commons some day, just to hear Mr Gladstone speak once—I know it is difficult and I know the House of Commons is not sitting *now!*” And “may I just look round the books to see if there is a Tennyson?”⁴² (We did find the Tennyson afterwards) “to look at.” And “oh! I’m not a bit tired now.”

I think I should like to explain to dear Aunt Mai that it is not a mere charm but the evidence of something larger that impresses one

42 Alfred Lord Tennyson (1809-92), poet laureate.

in her, if you feel it too. May she develop and grow! And may it not go off, the young promise, as too often happens! Pardon this explanation, and believe me, ever dear Beatrice,

your affectionate

F. Nightingale

Source: Letter, Boston University 1/9/117

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane, W.

2 August 1888

Dear Mr Burton⁴³

Thank you for your letter, which told me to my sincere pleasure that you were appointed master by the Lea School Board, and Mrs Burton, we understand, from Mrs Wildgoose,⁴⁴ in course of time to be infant schoolmistress, which I am very glad of. I give ourselves joy, and I give you joy, for I hope you will be happy.

Indeed I do pray, for you as for myself, that, in the service of our great Master, who *is* love, and who makes it the test and the proof of our love to Him, that we should “feed His sheep,” “feed His lambs,”⁴⁵ and recognize them to be His, you may find in your new field of labour new opportunities of fulfilling His parting command, “teaching all things whatsoever He hath commanded” us, and new joy in His fulfilling His parting promise, without which we could do nothing, that “He will be with us always.”⁴⁶ I cannot wish you a greater lot or a greater joy.

Pray give my kind regards to Mrs Burton. Pray, if you see Mr John Marsh, give him my cordial thanks for his letter.

Excuse pencil. God bless you. Believe me,

ever faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale

Mr Clough asks me to send you back your testimonials.

F.N.

43 W.J.P. Burton, schoolmaster at Lea School; Nightingale left him £50 in her will (if he was still master there).

44 Wife of the mill owner.

45 An allusion to John 21:15-17.

46 A paraphrase of Matt 28:20.

Source: From a dictated letter to W.J.P. Burton, with additions by Nightingale, Boston University 1/9/124

5 July 1889

I am very much obliged to you for your letter and for its very satisfactory enclosures. I was very much pleased to see (what you did not tell me) that you had kindly offered prizes at the Village Horticultural Show for the best collection of leaves from trees, with the names appended, by the schoolchildren. That is the way to make them observe. And I should very much like to know whether you have found any opportunity of teaching the children the ways the leaves grow and the ways the flowers are made, instead of the common way of teaching them classification and Latin names, usually called botany.

Have you been able to make use of the collection of fossils and spars and specimens to teach them the simplest geology, which all Derbyshire children should know? I forget whether I mentioned to you that the man who supplied the small collection I sent you, and who is, I believe, a fellow of the Geological Society, offered me, for a few shillings more, to make that collection complete, and such as would be used in the Kensington Museum and Society of Arts. Would you like this to be done? I should be so very glad.

I was so pleased with what you told me of your taking down the boys into the mines (at Burton-on-Trent, I think you said) and showing them the fossils and the strata. It is worth anything to make the children observe. To teach and to train *themselves* when they leave school, that is the real meaning of schooling. I have sometimes thought that the real test of a schoolmaster or mistress would be whether the children go on after they have left school, liking to inform themselves, liking to observe, liking to read up a thing, or whether they forget all they have been taught, never open a book, and even forget how to read or write correctly, and, worse still, forget religion and morality.

I had a good deal of talk on Saturday with a general⁴⁷ who is my sister's nephew, and who cares for his men so much that I learn from him a great deal. He was amazed to tell me, and I was amazed to hear, that out of 350 recruits for the Guards, whom he was going to inspect and to talk to, sixty could not read or write. (You know, perhaps, that in the Guards they are obliged to be particularly careful that every man should read and write well, because the men of the Guards have to do so much mounting guard at important buildings in London and

47 Edwin Philip Abel Smith, husband of Catherine Morforwyn Verney.

at the palaces. They have their written orders, often very important ones, given them every night, which they must be able to read correctly.) My general was going to see every one of these sixty men, each, by himself, to ask them where they had been at school, to get them to wish to go to school now, to the regimental schoolmaster (because there is no *compulsory* schooling allowed now in the Army) and to get into their confidence. I told him that it would be most important for civilians as well as for the Army that we should have this information, because it tells us really what are the results of elementary education.

Soldiers are almost all recruited from the country; they are almost all in their teens, eighteen or nineteen, and therefore hardly any of them can have left school more than five years. There are, I imagine, either lending libraries or night schools, or institutes of some kind or other (only I fear they don't all admit boys as early as fourteen) almost everywhere, and therefore the boys can scarcely lack all opportunity of continuing their own education. I am sure that the boys and girls who have completed their education with you would not have forgotten how to read and write in five years.

I was very glad to see the successful report on the religious instruction of the children, and especially on the "*tone*" of the school. I have no doubt that the religious teaching is really impressed into the children's hearts and practical lives by you and Mrs Burton, and does not remain as a mere book of history and geography to them.

It very often happens to me to have to do with girls from fifteen to twenty, chiefly when they have gone into domestic service. I will tell you one recent experience. It is that of a very nice girl of fifteen from the country, a particularly good and intelligent girl. She had been ten consecutive years, from four to fourteen, at a national school. I had occasion to take her through and make her recapitulate each of her confirmation classes, as they went on, for she was just going to be confirmed. She could not bring back one single idea from any of her classes, and she was unable to write a single sentence. I had to write down for her answers to every one of the printed questions, and even then she could not fit them on to the questions. As for discovering the moral, she was quite incapable, though to my great joy I found that, after I had given her some of them in a sort of familiar way, she had repeated it all to one of her fellow servants.

But the most curious part remains to be told. Though she had had scriptural instruction every day for ten years, I found she was appar-

ently quite ignorant of the gospels. I therefore told her, without allowing her to look at the Testament or looking at it myself, the principal events and parables of our Saviour's life, and especially of the last week of His life, and she was evidently very much interested, but she did not recognize one of them. I attribute this to her having been in a school where the children only read verses in rotation, when of course they can only be thinking of their own verse and not of the story, and where the master gives no *oral* religious instruction. But I am sure this would never be the case with your children.

Among all the country girls still in their teens whom I have known or taught, and who had been probably for eight years at elementary schools, I have never known one who knew, or wishes to know, the names of trees or of flowers or plants, not even of the commonest wild flowers (they might know a rose), nor of the common birds when they saw them, nor of what made it possible for birds to fly, nor of any of those common things which they had been seeing every day of their lives. I am almost afraid of asking you whether your boys and girls know (as well as the English names and ways and habits of common plants) the English names and ways and habits of common birds, because the boys are only too ready to throw stones at birds, and to rob their nests. But do they know that birds' bones are hollow and like lungs, and the way which enables them to fly? Do you know any good book which teaches this? The Rev T.G. Woods's readers were the best, but even these are not satisfactory, I think. I don't think they give a clear account of how the bird flies. Bishop Stanley did, but his book is not for children.

A niece-in-law of mine, the one who wrote that leaflet on the elements of botany [Margaret Verney] I gave you, visited this year and many of the best board schools in London for her own instruction. She thought them greatly improved from those of ten years ago, but she found no teaching of history. She suggested to one excellent schoolmaster the teaching of the history of *London*. Why not, she said, label the places which they pass every day with their genuine history, the place where the Great Fire of London began or stopped, that of the Great Plague ditto, the most picturesque incidents of the Tower of London, the execution of Lady Jane Grey and so on, the familiar history of London.

She was very much pleased with the teaching by the schoolmistresses of health, of the value of foods, e.g., of milk to children, of domestic economy. How does your teaching of domestic economy

fare? I hope well, and that you are satisfied with the children. I hear on all hands of their great improvement in discipline and progress. And how goes the girls' needlework?

My kind regards to Mrs Burton, who has also brought about such great improvement. I thought it might be interesting to you to hear the above experiences.

I should be very glad to know how Selina Gregory does at the mill—there are many temptations to girls there—whether she forgets her education. I hope not. I should like to send her some little present, such as a book, if you would kindly tell me what. And I should like some day to hear how my other children are doing at school.

I am very, very sorry that Mr Wildgoose is moving to Matlock, even that small distance. Your holiday to Cornwall was a success, I am so glad. God bless you.

sincerely yours and Mrs Burton's

Florence Nightingale

Source: From a letter to W.J.P. Burton, Clendening Library, University of Kansas Medical School

7 October 1889

We most earnestly sympathize with you and the schoolchildren this week, and know how busy and anxious you are. But by the Spirit with which we come out of trials, we know in whose Spirit and Strength we went into them. I will not write anything more now, but after it is over, and we shall be most interested to know the result, I may perhaps ask some information about the institute concerning which we are also much interested, as you know. But I do not, of course, expect an answer now.

With the very best good wishes for the school's highest success in the real sense of success, i.e., to make good citizens of this *and the next world*, and good fathers and mothers and neighbours and God's servants. With kind regards to Mrs Burton, believe me,

always faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale

I am writing to Mr Butler,⁴⁸ the mineralogist, to settle with him about his last instalment, completing the series of specimens. He is not a mere seller of stones. I think I may tell him that you are satisfied with his collection, that you have already done good work and gone at it in

48 F.H. Butler, Natural History Agency, Brompton Rd.

the true educational spirit, and taught the boys to collect specimens themselves, and in your science classes are going to give one on geology and two lectures on coal, etc., at an institute, thus training the men and boys to teach themselves, which is the true education.

Do you know a very pretty little book of parables, called *Earth's Many Voices*? There is one on the formation of coal. If you have not the book, I will send it you. These boys, I suppose, will most of them be miners or quarrymen, or in the factory.

F.N.

Source: From a letter to F.H. Butler, Clendening Library, University of Kansas Medical School

7 October 1889

I am extremely obliged to you for the excellent collection of specimens which you have been so good as to send Mr Burton of Lea Board School. He is exceedingly pleased with the completion of the series, and I am sure you will be pleased to hear that he has already done good work with what you sent him last year, and gone at it in the true educational spirit, teaching the boys to collect specimens themselves in the holidays in that fertile geological county and part of Derbyshire.

Mr Burton is not a mere schoolmaster looking after the "grant," but is zealous to teach the schoolchildren to teach themselves in after-life, and he has a spark of genius. Just now he is in for the inspector's general school examination. But he is going to give, besides the school-work, four science classes (in connection with the science and art department in London) of which one will be on geology. He is secretary to the Lea and Holloway Institute, and will give two lectures there in the winter session, one of which will be on coal and the other on the prehistoric world, I believe. I hope he will not go beyond his audience, but he succeeds most admirably in making the boys give lively attention. The main thing is (and one in which we terribly fail, especially with girls) to teach them to observe what is around them every day, or under their feet in the earth.

I hope in time he will catch the "black sheep," which we do not succeed in at present. With renewed thanks and wishing you every, the highest, success, believe me,

most faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale

Source: Letter, Boston University 1/10/126

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane, W.
8 April 1890

Dear Mr [W.J.P.] Burton

I received with great joy your kind letter, joy at the progressing [in] all respects of your scholars, notwithstanding the severe illness, joy at the good spirit prevailing in the school, thanks to you, a sort of family feeling, which should exist in all institutions, without which they are mere machines (a family feeling which we rejoice to see extending in St Thomas' Hospital and Training School), joy at the regular attendance and the interest shown by the parents.

With regard to "my" children, I hope they are doing you justice. I had rather not (you kindly ask) that another member of the same family should succeed when one leaves. I think that the people are well to do enough, as a rule, to pay their own school fees. But if you at any time see a child whom its friends cannot well pay for, I will most gladly do so.

I was very sorry for the loss of good little Mary Doxey. We lost a little child in the Children's Ward at St Thomas'. As the "sister" (head nurse) was carrying out the little body in her arms to the "shell" in the corridor, the other sick children were heard explaining to some little newcomers, "Bobby is dead; he is going to God. Sister is carrying him outside to God. God is waiting outside for Bobby." These children, who are all under five years, had a very good idea of God as the tenderest and most loving of fathers, who was waiting Himself to carry home and bless "Bobby." So it was with dead little Mary Doxey. He was waiting to carry her home.

Your science classes have indeed been most successful and I am sure have done much good. You kindly sent me the report of the institute. I hope that will flourish more and more.

Pray give my kindest regards to Mrs Burton. I trust that she and your children have quite recovered their strength after the influenza. You do not mention Fanny Burton, the pupil teacher (I think her name is) who has gone or is going to a training school. I should like to send her a Bible with concordance, etc., through you, if you will allow me. I should like to write more, but we are very busy now, besides having changes at St Thomas'. And I am entirely a prisoner through illness.

I send £2.2, of which one [£] is from Mr Shore Smith, for the cricket of which you are captain. And believe me, with great hopes,

ever sincerely yours

Florence Nightingale

I do trust you are continuing well.

Source: From a letter to W.J.P. Burton, Boston University 1/10/129

2 August 1890

Thank you very much for your letter. Your science examination results are delightful and I look forward to hearing about the hygiene. I should like also to know about the proportion between the sexes as well as the classes. I am glad you have men as well as boys. It shows that education is kept up.

Do you want any prizes?

About the scripture examination: I entirely believe that in your hands the results are not mere "surface results," and that the "number of passes" is not to your mind a test of your school but the influence for life of the training you give them. And this influence I believe they receive.

You say the institute wants new books. If you would give me a list of what you think desirable and popular, I would try to supply at least part.

I am afraid I have made a mistake about Fanny Burton's books. I sent a Bible with maps and concordance, and Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* to her at the Rev Favathorpe's Training College, *Whitelands*, Chelsea. It was the holidays and they said they would forward the books. Ought I to have sent them to *Southlands*? and where is that? Could you kindly inquire whether she has received them?

I give you and Mrs Burton joy of your new little son. May he prosper; God bless mother and child. I am glad you have had such a good holiday, but sorry for the parting. There are so many partings of that kind now in our country. I will write again—with kind regards to Mrs Burton, believe me,

ever sincerely yours

Florence Nightingale

Source: Notes for W.J.P. Burton for Lea School, ADD Mss 45811 ff17-18 and draft in ADD Mss 45810 ff105-07

[1891]

To teach the girls and to make them write down what to do with their beds, not to make the bed except after airing. What to do with their brush and comb, the cleanliness of their rooms, the dust and fluff under their beds, not to shut up a wet towel or duster, the state into which wet towels and dusters would come if shut up, the care of crockery—how dirty your jugs get inside.

You must have something definite for the boys to write down, not merely an idea, and then they will be able to write letters. (How few

boys and girls can write a letter now. A girl who has been eight or ten years at school, if she goes to service, cannot write a decent letter for her mistress, not even at her mistress's dictation. If she could, it would doubtless raise her wages.)

Write down, boys, what you would like to be in afterlife:

1. Sailors and the rig of the vessels they are to describe;
2. Coachmen—bring out their love and knowledge of animals, if any, especially of donkeys;
3. Gardeners—bring out their knowledge of vegetables and flowers, etc., and your reasons for preferring this or that;

Gardeners: You have a flower show at Holloway.

Write down, girls, what you would like to do in afterlife. Query: to have the care of children and what you would do. Give them hints on hygiene, on superstitions: *train their minds to think*. Teach the mischief of salt provisions, fat and lean bacon, to soak bacon, the value of milk (how little milk is given even to children), of brown bread, wholemeal bread, ripe and unripe fruit, stone fruit, diarrhea and constipation, care about foods to be avoided as producing these.

To teach the girls to give up their superstitions and ignorances, to teach them how to take care of babies, e.g., fat bacon instead of milk is often given out of ignorance to puny infants in some counties. It is quite common in many counties for people who could well afford a moderate quantity of milk for their children to send all their milk up to London, or to sell it at the next town. Thus also there is no milk to be bought by the villagers in their own village, unless the landowner sells it out of kindness.

Open the children's chests with drill and exercises.

Source: Notes to Mr Burton for Lea School, ADD Mss 45811 ff20

[1891]

Bird-killing clubs: prizes, catch all the birds in traps and nets, not shoot them and of course the traps do not recognize the difference, distinguish between a robin and a jackdaw. Small birds and singing birds actually disappearing notwithstanding "Wild Birds Preservation Act." Crops and fruit destroyed by insects which the birds WOULD have destroyed, and then the people say, "It's the birds done it." "Half Hours for the Field and Forest" chaps IV, III, pp 129-52, also pp 190-93, killing their best friends when they kill the birds. Agriculturists and gardeners.

Above all, avoid in a class of the comparatively uneducated the doctrine of "germs," "bacilli," "bacteria," all that fashionable farrago and way of explaining disease other than by dirty air, dirty water, dirt anywhere.

Source: From a letter to W.J.P. Burton, Boston University 1/10/131

21 March 1891

I am glad you like the books for the institute. The “Wallace” was for you, because I did not think, from the books they had asked for, they would either read or enjoy him. Lady Verney’s *Stone Edge*⁴⁹ was for the institute, because the scene is placed at Bonsal, Yougreave, Ribes, and the neighbourhood [near Lea Hurst, Derbyshire], and many of the things said were really said to her and me by our village neighbours. It is a book very difficult now to get.

If there are any books you think unsuitable for the institute and suitable for the children’s school library, pray, as you say, take them, sending me a list, but if there are none unsuitable for the institute, send me the list you want for the school library, and I will send them you. In haste.

yours very sincerely
with best Easter wishes
F. Nightingale

Source: From a letter to W.J.P. Burton, Boston University 1/10/130

10 August 1891

You were so good as to send me the printed questions on Principles of Agriculture, Animal Physiology, Hygiene. I should like much to know not only how many and who “passed,” but also what you thought of the questions yourself, whether the elementary questions are clear and fair enough, whether the “advanced” and “honours” ones are hard, and none of them such as an ordinary board schoolchild could be expected to answer.

One or two people versed in physiology thought that they seemed intended for the schoolmaster, and that they are none of them subjects which can be properly learnt and understood without actual experiment and handling of the things themselves, and that even if so learnt they would be quickly forgotten, as they are not matters which he has to do with in his own particular employment every day, and that they are of little use unless in learning them men have learned also not to believe anything without putting it to the proof. How few have time and material to do that.

Do you think the *Hygiene* questions impractical for schoolchildren—yet how important for the life of the nation! I have sent a few

49 *Stone Edge*, initially published serially by *Cornhill’s Magazine* in 1867, Nightingale’s favourite novel by her sister.

totally unfinished, for I have no time or strength. I was glad of your “Religious” examination, because I am sure you made it practical, as I shall be of all that you do.

Excuse my long-delayed letter. I hope that the new school board is sound and quiet and not alarming in any way. All letters will be forwarded to me from 10 South St. God bless you.

ever sincerely yours

F. Nightingale

Source: From a letter to Arthur Clough, Clendening Library, University of Kansas Medical Centre

29 January 1894

Burton. Lea School. I venture to send you another flag of Burton’s, which I have answered with enthusiasm. At the same time I cannot think his program very wise. There are lovely operettas for children’s performances with a better moral than small feet and marriage with a prince. And could we not have had one or two pieces of good music in all that trash? I have told him how, even in my day, the street and park bands have miserably deteriorated in music. We used to have Mozart’s Twelfth Mass, Beethoven’s *Adelaida* and Rossini’s *Stabat Mater*, etc., played in the streets. And I have been guilty of giving them gold. On Christmas Eve a man with a trumpet came straight from heaven at midnight to perform the angel’s song.

Now the park bands’ execution is excellent but the music detestably frivolous and the “waits”⁵⁰ a horrid squeak. Still, Burton is a hero to go, and I hope you encourage him. Was he absent when you and your lady were so good as to go to Lea Hurst? I hope to see her some day.

ever yours

F.N.

Source: From a letter to W.J.P. Burton, Clendening Library, University of Kansas Medical School

25 February 1895

Thank you very much for your letter. We rejoice that the children’s concerts have, under you, answered so well. It is the due reward of your efforts. I do not know how many, or which, of the books on the first list went to the institute, and which to the school library. Perhaps

50 A small band of wind instruments employed by local government.

you will ask the institute librarian someday to tell me the former. It is always instructive to me.

Parish Council. Pray do not be “pessimistic” about it. Should we not always back it up? I hope that sanitation will soon form their “great work,” as you say. In all the countries I have stayed in or lived in or know much about, one of the great differences between them and England is this: England’s first and best men (and now I may say best women) are always ready to serve their country and fellow creatures in what appear drudgery employments, without reward of any kind but duty well fulfilled.

Fancy Sir John Lawrence, after having saved India by his single action in the Punjab, after his vice royalty, serving, as soon as he returned as Lord Lawrence, on the first London School Board, a service the most distasteful to him who had always had to act “off his own bat,” as it were, and now had to be interrupted by a parcel of people who liked to hear their own voices. It hastened his end. But it was he who gave importance and good work to the first London School Board.

A board of guardians in London some years ago, which shall be nameless, was redeemed from corruption by one thing as much as any other, a lady serving on it, the first [lady is struck out] woman, I believe, who ever served on a board of guardians.

Now all over the country we see people willing to serve who can do good service, who can represent the various interests of our population, not that these are really *various*—they are really the *same*. The wife of one of our lord lieutenants, a beautiful and charming woman, with many duties, is serving on a district council (which is in effect serving as a guardian). I could multiply these instances, but I only quote them to say, ought not we to back with all our mights an experiment at local self-government which could only succeed in England?

May I send you a little printed preface of mine which I was asked for? Also, Chalmers’s *Local Government*,⁵¹ which is reprinting with a chapter on parish councils, as soon as it is ready?

It is delightful to know of the children attending so regularly, thanks to you.

Thrift is, I think, one of the great questions of the present day, though not a popular one. Think of many women who have been earning not only good, but large, wages in different industries for many years, becoming destitute from a few weeks’ frost. In the south of England,

51 Mackenzie Dalzell Chalmers, *Local Government*, 1883.

where wages are comparatively small, I believe there is not the same destitution from temporary causes. In great cities there is.

I hope your proposed “relief committee” will not make jealousy among the children. Hoping that you are both getting over colds, and with a hearty God bless you,

ever sincerely yours

F. Nightingale

Source: From a letter to W.J.P. Burton, Clendening Library, University of Kansas Medical School

28 November 1895

I had great pleasure in looking at your proposed entertainments and bid you good speed. And please accept this £2.2. in aid of apparatus, etc. And thank you for your bit of print on regularity of attendance. It is very satisfactory. And I think I have never thanked you enough for your interesting “Crich Hill.” About the lectures, I do not wish to rob the villagers of one moment’s entertainment, but would you not follow these up someday with some lectures on social economics?⁵² It would be curious to make a collection of the deputations which Lord Salisbury has received since he took office from the hop growers, crying out for *protection*, to which Lord Salisbury had the easy answer: “Then the wheat growers will ask for protection and bread will go up all over England.” Then others asked him to fix the minimum of wages, etc., showing how workmen and others do not understand the very elements of economics.

I wish you good speed to all your efforts, and with kindest remembrances to yourself and Mrs Burton am always,

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

I trust *betting* is not increasing among our boys and young men.

F.N.

I trust that you are all well.

Source: From a letter to W.J.P. Burton, Clendening Library, University of Kansas Medical School

30 July 1896

I am rejoiced to hear from you and give you joy of your gardening boys. It is the most wholesome of lessons.

⁵² “Social economics” was an early term used for what is now called sociology.

Was it the medical officer of health who closed the school? And what is his name? I am very sorry that your children have had scarlet fever, though so slightly, thank God. Now your house is an infected house and you must take advantage of it to have it painted and papered and disinfected, I suppose. What has the medical officer of health said about it? Please look to this. They can't disinfect it without having it painted and papered anew. There is no fault in the drainage, is there?, to produce this scarlatina or scarlet fever.

I have been writing this note with so many interruptions that I cannot tell you how delighted I am with the scholarships four. I am going to send you 10/6 by registered letter for the gardening boys. God bless you. With kindest regards to Mrs Burton,

yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

Source: From a letter to W.J.P. Burton, Boston University 1/11/143

Christmas Eve 1896

You will receive about sixty volumes, which you will please to divide between the three reading rooms of Whatstandwell, Holloway, Lea, according to your best judgment at Lea Hurst. Mr Louis Shore Nightingale⁵³ will take them down today to Lea Hurst and will see or write to you to know what day and hour it will be convenient to you to come to Lea Hurst and divide them. If there are any books which are duplicates of what they have, or which you do not like for them, pray return them to me, or give them away. And I will replace them with any books you will name for them.

If you would like some books for your school library, pray send me a list of what you want and I will send them. Pray say to each reading room that I wish them a happy Christmas and hope they will enjoy their books.

And to yourself, I wish a very happy Christmas, and ever increasing success in all your good work—especially in the result on the scholars' morals when they leave school. I think I told you how pleased I was at the inspector's remark that the school was conducted "so pleasantly."

With every good wish,

yours faithfully

Florence Nightingale

53 William Shore Smith and family took the name Shore Nightingale in 1896.

In an address of the bishop of Rochester⁵⁴ to Lady Margaret Hall (a woman's college) at Oxford, where we have a relation [Lettice Verney], a student, I like these words: "We used to talk very much of what would happen to students after leaving the Hall. I don't know that this problem agitates anyone very much at the present time. They go their own ways, and, let us hope, make the world better wherever they go. But among other things which we learn here one is the habit of looking out upon life with eyes that reach far, and hearts that are open to the needs and difficulties of others." I think you do look forward to the lives of your scholars when they leave school.

I enclose a list of the books.

F.N.

Source: From a letter to W.J.P. Burton, Clendening Library, University of Kansas Medical School

11 May 1897

First, thank you very much for the horticultural book. I was delighted to see the competitions for the girls. It is a great civilizer. Next for the Institute.

13 May 1897

I have taken a note of the periodicals and books you want and hope to supply them in due time. But, as the report is dated in January, should anybody supply you with the *Nineteenth Century* (say) in the meantime, perhaps you will kindly tell me (you know the *Nineteenth Century* is very flimsy). I hope there is sufficient provision for boys. A boy's character is pretty nearly decided at seventeen or earlier, is it not? There used to be a gymnastic room for them, I think.

Men are sometimes too careful to make themselves comfortable in the reading room, excluding the lads who make a noise, which is not wonderful. The game room, I suppose, is chiefly for the lads. Gambling, I am told, is increasing all over England from the boy to the man. I am afraid to look at the word "whist." I am glad the cricket is restored.

Please to receive the cheque for £5.5 for Mrs Shore and me. We are extremely indebted to you for the start you are giving our boys in gardening, including vegetables, in geology, etc., and the girls in needlework. We have always felt your practical religious instruction an untold benefit.

54 Edward Stuart Talbot (1844-1934), a leading member of the Tractarian movement and the first warden of Keble College, Oxford.

I don't know whether you have seen Mr Horace Plunkett's⁵⁵ report on agriculture and industries for Ireland (I have not time to read it myself). Also, his address to the Surveyors' Institute. But I beg to send you a very good abstract of the report, very readable and interesting, and another copy for the Whatstandwell Coffee Room, if you like to give to them from me.

You cannot think how I have been interrupted all the time I have been writing this poor little letter, for we are hard pressed. Now God bless you for all the good you are doing us. Kindest regards to Mrs Burton and your children.

ever sincerely yours

F. Nightingale

Source: From a letter to W.J.P. Burton, Clendening Library, University of Kansas Medical School

30 August 1897

I am delighted to hear the result of the school scripture examination, not that a scripture examination ensures an earnest life necessarily among the children, any more than a grammar examination. But it is a master's (or a mother's) *daily* scripture lesson, from which the children learn whether he (or she) means it for their *life* or no, whether it is to bring in "the kingdom" into our lives, or whether it is merely a lesson in *words*. I am sure yours are not merely lessons in words but that you look to their future lives as, for example, Dr Arnold of Rugby did, and Mr Jowett, the master of Balliol College, Oxford (who is dead), did to the future lives of his undergraduates.

I have not written from the press of work, which has not left me a moment. But Lea Board School is always in my thoughts.

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Excuse pencil. Mrs [Louisa] Shore Nightingale is just coming back from Germany and Belgium.

⁵⁵ Horace Plunkett (1854-1932), later Sir, as president of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction in Ireland, was effectively the secretary for Ireland.

Source: Letter, Boston University 1/11/147

[printed address] 10 South Street
Park Lane, W.

11 February 1898

Dear Mr [W.J.P.] Burton

Thank you very much for your letter and for the program, which is delightful. It is so good to think of the children associating, acting, songs and operettas, with grammar and discipline. The tears come into my eyes when I see the “national airs,” especially “Scots wha hae” and hum it over and your “grand chorus” of “300 voices.” School for them means something more than ABC (valuable as ABC is), thanks to you.

15 February [1898]

I have been so much interrupted—I have never been able to finish my note to you, nor am I now. But I beg you to employ the little sum I send, if you can, in adding any interest to your great days. We never can be thankful enough to you for enlarging and giving such interests (which will last through their future lives) to these embryo human creatures. Thank you again and again.

Mrs Shore Nightingale takes such pleasure in your school, as you know, and I am sure the parents do. In great haste,

yours ever sincerely

F. Nightingale

Schools at Wellow and Pleasley

Editor: The Nightingale family, as a major landowner in Wellow, Hampshire, took major responsibility for the building and management of the local school. Numerous members of the family were involved, so that the items below reflect Nightingale’s relatively small part. There were obviously conflicting opinions in the Nightingale family as to the management of the Wellow school, on the number of pupils, fees, teacher selection and site. A letter to a friend, for whom she was trying to raise money for a home for “incurables,” said that she had £400 to pay for the new school at Embley.⁵⁶

Pleasley, a village near Lea Hurst in which the Nightingales and Verneys also owned property, also received considerable assistance from them. The Nightingales were in the middle of plans for a new school for Wellow when Mr Nightingale died. Some of the cor-

⁵⁶ Letter to Mary Jones 9 July 1873, London Metropolitan Archives H1/ST/NC1/73/3.

respondence takes place during Nightingale's visit to her mother after his death.

Source: From a letter to Frances Nightingale, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8993/86

13 May [1852]

You do not say whether you took off anything, in my letter to the dean, relating to our willingness that he should provide for Knellar. I cannot help hoping that we shall get together the fifty, in which case we should hardly wish to part with him. Of course you told the dean the answer we had had from government. Probably the Committee of Council is taking in its operations: formerly the number was twenty-five to each pupil teacher, then it was forty and now it is fifty. England will of course always take her place lowest in re education. As somebody says, England, Russia and Turkey and, *I think*, Spain and Portugal.

Source: Unsigned note probably to W.E. Nightingale or Parthenope Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9006/1

10 January 1873

Kindly inform me what was the result of your visit to Mr Forster about *Wellow School*, as the plans have reached me a second time from Beatrice aided by the C. of C.'s architect. And I must consult you and Mr Empson.⁵⁷

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9006/56

Lea Hurst
Matlock

4 October 1873

Private

My dear Sir Harry [Verney]

My father has given it to me, to me who am quite worn out with *Wellow School* planning, to decide whether he shall give "an acre" to *Pleasley* "for a school," at the same time expressing his deep disgust for a "denominational school." I do not quite know what he means by this. Is it a school to be exclusively under clerical management, and where the church catechism is to be taught? I confess that in these counties where dissent is so numerous and so truly respectable, I don't like the prospect, especially of what would be a half-hearted

57 William Henry Empson, vicar in East Wellow.

fight on my side to make him give the acre. But, as I have not the least means of forming a judgment, and I know that you have, will you kindly incense me? (I wish “an acre” could be given to *every* school. But I am very sure that *two* schools in a country parish are never so good as *one*.)

Source: Letter/draft/copy, ADD Mss 45803 ff156-59

Embley

2 February 1874

Wellow School

Dear Mr Empson

I have received the enclosed from Beatrice [Lushington] this morning. And I can only re-echo what she says, that we must ask *you first to decide whether we are to accept the change of site and make the needful alterations in the plans to have the best building possible upon the new site, or whether you see any desirableness or possibility in persuading the board to go back to the former site*, the considerations being *which site together with the building it will allow of will give on the whole the best school building*.

I will therefore postpone troubling you and ourselves as to what can be done with the new site, till I know whether it is altogether incumbent upon us to take it, and will only say that I feel Beatrice's objections almost more strongly than she has put them.

The new site seems to me so very cramped, but that I think there *are* alternatives, which if we *must* accept it, can be entertained in the disposition of the buildings and playgrounds. (I take for granted that the “acre” is drawn by Mr Eygar same scale as building), e.g. (*green acre first*):

1. Could not *infants' playground* be in the additional 1/4 acre *dotted line beyond building*?

2. A *bow window* to infants east windows (though expensive) would give additional sun. *West windows would get no sun at all*.

3. *Master's kitchen would have to be turned round. West window to kitchen so objectionable*.

E.g. (pink acre): If we are obliged to accept this, would it not be possible to have the building as in Mr Eygar's loose slip? The building would not be *more* “askew to the road” than in the original Brook Lodge plan. Would it be possible to have the school offices at the *west* corner of the acre, or where I have marked them?, *off* the road?, to have the *infants' playground* beyond or to the *southwest* of the building?, and to have the *entrance from the road* at the *northeast corner* of the acre (instead of where marked in the green part), which would have much

the same relation to the building as was proposed in the Brook Lodge site?

But I will not trouble you more now; please return me all the enclosures (including these, my own two sheets) when you are so good as to write, and believe me, dear Mr Empson,

yours ever sincerely
Florence Nightingale

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9006/86

Embley

Romsey

17 March 1874

My dear William Coltman

Many thanks for your letter, which I hope to make use of. *Wellow School*: anent this, there are advantages in detaching the "Master's House" or at least in letting it touch the school only at an angle. If the ground will allow, this is the disposition I should think of all others the best (a plan of the school follows). It leaves the schoolrooms entirely free in their whole line to light and air. As I have no objection to master having a sun, it gives him a *S.E.*, and a *S.W.* most unobjectionable sun. People little calculate that it makes a difference of about 30 percent of warmth, no trifle at the price of coal, to give a *S.W.* angle (inner) between school and Master's House instead of a *N.E.* angle, as shown in "pinned plan" I saw. I would not give classroom a *N.E.* window in *this* plan. In greatest haste,

ever your affectionate
F. Nightingale

Source: Letter/draft/copy, Add Mss 45803 f215

35 South St.

12 May 1874

Pleasley School

Dear Beatrice [Lushington]

If you could, without much trouble, just cast your eye over this, and give me as soon as possible such ideas as may occur to your experience at once. The plan is not only "sanctioned" by the "Education Office," but actually emanates from it!!

It was brought to me giving me as few minutes to "approve" it as I have asked for hours. Dr Sutherland's emendation (?) appears to me still worse. Neither do I understand it.

If *southwest* becomes *south*, then the *infants* room has only *an east*

and a *west* window, and its *long south side* is of course blocked up entirely by the *large schoolroom* between it and the sun. Also, I do not know what he means by moving the *porch* to the *west*, unless he means *east*. Excuse me for troubling you.

ever yours affectionately

F.N.

Source: Letter/draft/copy, ADD Mss 45804 ff16-17

35 South St.

Park Lane W.

17 November 1874

Wellow School

My dear William Coltman

I am more than glad that you have started the building at last. And you know I hold you to your bargain, that a part of the school, say the infant school, shall be as a sort of memorial to my father and mother, paid for by my father's contribution, me (ablative absoluto) making up the amount. . . .

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9006/151

35 South St.

Park Lane W.

26 February 1875

Pleasley School Buildings

My dear Sir Harry and Parthe [Verney]

I make haste to pay my promised £50 through you to Mr Stewart for the new Pleasley School, and the more gladly because the Infant School part, a block out of light and air, which I am sure would have been a ceaseless regret, is not to be built so. I hope it will eventually be built in another fashion. May God bless the Pleasley people and what is being done for them, and this school in particular is the earnest prayer of

your ever affectionate

Florence Nightingale

I always feel gratitude for the kindness and old affection of the Pleasley people towards me. I wish I could do more to show them that I do. Will you kindly tell Mr Stewart this, though I dare say the Pleasley people scarcely remember me now. I do not quite know what is meant (as to the new school) by the "railway men coming in between."

Public Schools

Editor: Nightingale had very mixed views about public schools, then even more than today the elite schools of Britain. On the one hand she had enormous respect for the quality of education at some of them (at least some of the time). She greatly respected Thomas Arnold, the renowned headmaster of Rugby. But public schools were also notorious for their poor standards of sanitation and consequent outbreaks of epidemics. That they were expensive and catered to the sons of the nobility and the wealthy did not make them invulnerable. She was consulted on the public school education of the sons of various relatives and friends. The correspondence below relates various stages of Ralph Verney's experience at Harrow.

Source: From a letter to Fred Verney, Add Mss 68887 ff73-74

29 July 1892

Do you remember a story which some eminent master, I think it was the great Dr Arnold of Rugby himself, used to tell (and which is now in print). He was teaching his class, and he saw a boy absolutely inattentive. He immediately changed his teaching to drawing on a slate Caesar's bridge, or something of the kind. Afterwards he spoke to the boy about his inattention, who said, without meaning to be in the least impertinent, "O I thought you were *only talking*, Sir." With ignorant cooks and under servants and nurses, and with the *uneducated* generally, they think we are "*only talking*."

Source: From a letter to Fred Verney, Add Mss 68888 ff148-52

28 December 1895

I feel most deeply for the difficulty about dear Ralph's health. And Dr K. Barker's is a most sensible letter, one which cannot be neglected. But it is so hard to advise when one does not know the people.

1. I do not see how you can avoid writing to Mr Davidson, though I doubt as you do, whether it will do any good. *Can* he (I speak as a fool⁵⁸) alter the hours of football and dinner for one boy, unless indeed a fortunate conciliabule [small secret assembly] of parents had written all at once? And if the other boys with ostriches' stomachs did not for some reason like the change, could the one boy stay? The season of short days makes the difficulty greater. If I wrote, I would make the letter less that of an instructor. Godspeed.

58 2 Cor 11:21-23.

2. Dr K. Barker's letter. You would not send this *telle quelle*, would you? even with Dr K.B.'s leave. Probably he is one of those men who say: *Fiat justitia, ruat caelum* [let justice be done, though the heavens fall]. But this would not carry his point (I speak as a fool) while, as he goes slapdash, and very wisely, at the whole of Harrow School, it might ruin his practice (valour succeeds, but prudence, poltroonery [cowardice] succeeds too). I would copy the verdict about Ralph—it is *you* not his name who answer for Dr K.B., but not the signature.

I return Dr K.B.'s excellent letter and the "draft" (of which I cannot find the second part). You cannot think how London servants suffer from something of the same causes as Harrow schoolboys. But doctors know, though they do not say for fear of being sent away. I fear dear Ralph will have to leave Harrow.

1. *Army Class*: will he have *gymnastics* there?

2. *Home* and McGuire. You know that crammers give *no discipline*. Indeed they are the very reverse of discipline. But it would be extremely difficult, I am quite aware, to get Ralph at seventeen into a school. They would not take him at Clifton,⁵⁹ because that would be cramming.

3. And 4. *Sandhurst and Militia*. Ralph says, and he does not generally speak without knowledge, that *military surveying* is now taught everywhere. Is it taught in the *militia classes*? Except at Sandhurst, where it is taught and practised to perfection, it is not supposed that it *is* really taught. The Militia is generally credited with words and theory, but not with real practical doing. It is true that it is now Sandhurst or Militia to get into the Army and that half the men in the Army have got in through the Militia, but Sandhurst, thorough Sandhurst, looks down upon them. And is there discipline in the Militia?

At Sandhurst they go out on military surveying three times a week, they have plenty of space and ground for real surveying. But in scarcely any other place have they this last? The discipline at Sandhurst is splendid—it makes a man of you.

Private

5. Rifle Brigade. You know these are almost all London men. Did you ever think of a line regiment? The 19th Line Infantry Yorkshire—Colonel Bruce—is an excellent regiment. So is the West Kent 2nd Battalion Line Infantry. In both these regiments all are country men. A Yorkshireman is always good—remember that *I'm* a Yorkshireman. For the Rifle Brigade you must send in your name early "on the

59 A public school at Bristol noted for training for the Army.

Duke's List," as you know, but regiments and schools change so much according as their *present* officers or masters *are*. One *can* only speak for the present year.

Editor: When Ralph Verney went back to Harrow Nightingale sent him a gift.⁶⁰ She was delighted with Ralph's "remove" in 1893.⁶¹ In 1895 she told Fred Verney that London servants suffered from the same causes as Harrow schoolboys: "Doctors know, though they do not say for fear of being sent away."⁶²

Miscellaneous Letters and Notes on Education

Editor: Jowett's notes of a conversation with Nightingale record her views on sex education. She "spoke in a very interesting manner about the relations of the sexes, saw that the tenderness was natural—it was useless to blame young people for it. [She] thought that mothers ought to take the subject into their own hands and talk to their sons and daughters."⁶³

Source: Letter, Wellcome Ms 5483/5

35 South St.
Park Lane, W.
9 December 1876

Address on Popular Culture

Dear Sir [John Morley⁶⁴]

It is very good of you to respond to my appeal. I do think your address would be most useful to elementary schoolteachers.

Lately, on a schoolmistress of this kind asking me to give her Carlyle's *Hero-Worship*,⁶⁵ I, though always overworked by business and illness, wrote out for her (as an antidote) on the flyleaves the last two pages of your address. I should have been very thankful, both for her sake and my own, to have given her the whole.

If you are so good as to "direct" your "printer" to send me fifty copies, I shall be truly obliged. Cheapness and "cheap paper" not so

60 Note 16 September 1892, Add Mss 68887 f76, and acknowledgment by Maude Verney f77.

61 Letter to Fred and Maude Verney 28 October 1893, Add Mss 68887 f137.

62 Letter 28 December 1895, Add Mss 68888 f149.

63 Jowett Commonplace Book 1890, Balliol College Archives 1 H76 f10.

64 John Morley (1838-1923), later Viscount, editor of the progressive *Fortnightly Review*.

65 Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*.

much an object as to save the readers' eyes. I would willingly invest in the magnificent sum of 16 pence a copy.

I shall look forward with eagerness to your further address promised us, to the "elementary teachers" in particular. I think I can engage that your proposed volume will find one large purchaser at least, and many readers. With many thanks, pray believe me,

ever your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

Source: From a typed letter with handwritten corrections, ADD MSS 45809 ff195-201

24-25 August 1889

Dear General [Edwin Philip Abel] Smith

It is so very important, the information which you were good enough to give me about the number of recruits unable to read and write whom you were going to talk to, when I had the privilege of seeing you. I don't for one instant expect that you will have time to write to me what you found, but it will be most important for civilians as well as for the Army that we should have this information, because it tells us really what are the results of elementary education.

Would it be possible for it to be put down in print in such a statistical form as would show at what schools those sixty men had been, so that it might be available for a few interested in civil elementary education. You know I think, that at elementary schools, even in eight years, all that can be done is to teach the boys and girls to teach themselves afterwards, and I think, pardon me, that a schoolmaster or schoolmistress who could not do this is only fit to keep the pigs. Even against this the influence of the "blackboard illustrations" at home, of the code, of the irregularity of attendance, are all adverse.

You remember the old story of the Yorkshire schoolmaster whom some intrusive friend was surprised to find as an instructor of youth and he was told that the man was too old to keep the pigs, and therefore they were obliged to make him schoolmaster. All that we can learn on this subject is important. I cannot but think that except in the case of some idiots to be found in all classes, the schoolmaster must be somewhat in fault, or at least the system of education, for boys to lose all their reading and writing powers in five years. There are, I imagine, now almost everywhere, either lending libraries, or night schools, or institutes of some kind or other (only I fear they don't all admit boys as early as fourteen) had your illiterate young recruits *lacked* all opportunity of continuing their own education. If the schoolmasters have not been enabled to excite the smallest interest in

the boys which would lead them to go on informing themselves or to care for any sort of book, there must be a screw loose either in the schoolmaster, the system or the boy.

The code is, most people believe, rather in fault, and a really zealous educational minister would be very glad for supplementary information like yours. I don't leave out of the question that yet more the greater matter of homes. A schoolmaster has uphill work indeed if the home is nothing but an opposition school to his. Will this be better in the next generation? when the present boys and girls have become fathers and mothers. Are the present elementary schools the schools of the future fathers and mothers and of practical life? as well as of the three Rs.

The master is sometimes not sufficiently sympathetic in his relations with the boys. He is too dictatorial. Authority must be obtained and kept, but as [the] schoolmaster's authority is always greater where he himself shows that he takes a personal interest in the individual welfare of his boys, apart from that excited by their power of increasing his percentage of passes. The little progress that is made in much elementary teaching is due in a large measure to the necessity the schoolmaster is under of earning large grants and securing a heavy percentage of passes among his scholars. He is too much fettered by codes, he cannot afford to waste ? time in taking up anything that is not absolutely a grant-earning subject, he needs more liberty.

The teaching given in school too is often done away with by the home associations, which are frequently vicious, and where not absolutely so, the parents are too busy or too ignorant themselves to follow up and enter intelligently into that which the children have been taught during the day. So that, too often, the theory obtained at school is quite opposed by the—if I may so call them—blackboard illustrations which they see at home.

We want to take more account of the human side of our boys and girls. The human and spiritual natures are so closely connected that we cannot neglect one without injury to the other. We want more men of the Charles Kingsley type, who can find sermons in everything in nature, in a blade of grass even, and can lead their boys up from nature to nature's God.

Defective knowledge given to young people about themselves. There is a widespread dislike to inform boys and girls about their own physical powers from a sort of notion that there is something indelicate in it and that it is better to keep them children as long as possi-

ble. If ignorance of these things were possible for any intelligent child in the face of all that it sees and hears daily, something might be urged for this course, but it is not so. There are very few, if any, children, of even the most ordinary intelligence, who do not soon obtain a knowledge more or less full. What is needed is, surely, for parents to recognize more clearly the awful responsibility that rests upon them—that their children shall not be simply equipped for the battle of life (which in a greater or less degree each must fight) with a certain number of mental attainments, but that they shall above all be able by a right knowledge to choose the good and reject the evil which surrounds us all. We need parents to enter into these subjects with their children (as only parents can do), tenderly, lovingly and truthfully.

We want the glamour which so often envelops the knowledge of evil, when illicitly obtained, to be stripped off by a frank, honest facing of the facts and by that wise and sympathetic counsel, which would save so many the bitterness of the knowledge of experience. Great towns are often under the reproach of immorality but in many country districts it would be difficult to find a lower depth in any town. This is I think partly due to the absence of any interests for the peasantry which would provide them with some other outlet for those faculties which God has Himself given them, and which are in full vigour at just that age between childhood and manhood. Where there is much leisure, and large opportunities, mischief is sure to ensue if some other interest is not excited. We are too fond of *sermonizing* and dogmatizing and talking spiritual to our young people. What they all want is not so much driving as guiding.

Children in the upper classes are often worse off than those in the lower ranks of society as they are left so much to the care of servants who, alas, too often treat these things with a degree of levity and coarseness which is only too demoralizing. . . . If boys could be kept innocent it would be different, *but they can't*. Gentle boys hear all about it from the under servants or at school. *Poor* boys hear it all at home. Rural boys are, partly because they have so few interests, as immoral as city boys. Little is done to shield them except a little spiritual lecturing. And how many of the rising generation are lost before they are of age? The evil in India is ferocious, No “Acts” will stop it. Your physical exercises will do much to make the men more manly. Militaryism means loafing. Real interests will do something. So will anything that stops drink. But there must be home teaching and home feeling to train them in purity (*not ignorance*) and to prevent

nasty tricks while they are almost children. And then there is the enormous question of decent dwellings for the poor in town and in country. Will your young recruits willingly attend school from your regimental schoolmaster now that it is not compulsory?

Suggestions for conducting a Class of Adults for Reading: I should prefer to use some one of the very cheap and well-printed standard works published in the "National Library" as a textbook, as half a dozen of those can be purchased for the price of one or two good reading books, and I should select some book of travel or biography or else a good work of fiction. Then for the purpose of fixing the main points on the minds of the class, I should procure a few good photographs, and some large, well-executed drawings or engravings, of a size large enough to be seen by all in the class. A very brief summary introduction of the book to be studied might be given by the teacher, before starting, and the illustrations only shown just at the right moment. All depends on the schoolmaster.

Any words which caused special difficulty, either from pronunciation or unusual meaning, might be written on the blackboard, and pronounced several times aloud by the men, and then copied down by them before the end of the lesson.

The books published in Cassell's National Library are small, and handy to hold, have capital type, and are cheap enough to be given to the men when they have mastered the contents. I think grown-up boys would more readily appreciate a consecutive story or work than the scrappy bits which are found in the usual educational readers, and it would not seem quite so lowering to their dignity to learn to read from them.

Source: From a letter to Fred Verney, Add Mss 68889 ff62-63

6 February [1900]

Thank you for showing me Kathleen's⁶⁶ dear, delightful letter. It would be a thousand pities that she should leave off her music or her German, though I am sorry to see the tide leaving Italian for German. There are as many divine things in one page of Dante as in the whole of Goethe—*Faust* I can't abide, and Margaret "tumbles down bump," as Bab would say, much too soon to be respectable. Still it is no use, as Canute says, to kick against the tide. So I enclose something which I know with the riding won't go far, but there is more where that comes

66 His daughter, Kathleen Verney, Nightingale's godchild.

from. If you have any difficulty in changing it, please return it to me and I will change it.

As for “riding” no “hockey,” no games will equal it for improving the circulation all over and exercising the muscles and animal courage. A live horse and the sympathy of the “horse and its rider” is worth all the bats and (deaf and dumb) balls put together. So “*drat*” hockey and long live the horse. Them’s “my sentiments.” And I back them by silver, which I know will go a very little way, but there’s more where that comes from. . . .

ever your affectionate

F. Nightingale

LITERATURE

Nightingale owned a sizable library of books, on history, literature, religion and science as well as on work-related medical books and sanitary reports. She frequently borrowed and exchanged books with colleagues. She bought and gave books to nurses' homes, reading rooms for soldiers and workers (notably at Lea Hurst). Correspondence in the section on education, above, recounts gifts of books to the reading rooms and school at Lea Hurst, sixty volumes at Christmas 1896 (see p 709 above), the particular offer of Lyell's *Principles of Geology for Students*,¹ "but very likely you have it," and [Alfred Thayer] Mahan's *Influence of Sea Power on History*.² See the electronic text for Nightingale's purchases of books for nurses and reading rooms.

Nightingale had accounts with booksellers in London and Paris. In 1865 she was trying to get a book of Chinese poetry, in French translation.³ She was troubled when she could not find a Persian poem with a French translation M Mohl had given her.⁴ She regretted the loss of her Persian poems.⁵ The following items show the range of her reading. A listing of her own books and those she gave away is provided in the electronic text.

Correspondence is full of references to books, for example, a letter to Julia Ward Howe noted that the most discussed were "Miss Mar-

1 Charles Lyell (1797-1875); the book referred to is an adaptation of his *Principles of Geology, or, the Modern Changes of the Earth and Its Inhabitants*, 1842.

2 Letter to Mr Burton 2 December 1897, Boston University 1/11/146.

3 Letter to Mr Jeffs 20 March 1865, Columbia University, Presbyterian Hospital School of Nursing C82.

4 Letter to Eleanor Martin 14 November 1868, Leicestershire Record Office DG6/D1217.

5 Letter to Parthenope Verney [March 1870], Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9004/28.

tineau's *Eastern Life*, which Murray would not publish because, he said, he never published anything against Christianity—dunce! *Jane Eyre*, which I hope you have read, and Newman's *Loss and Gain*,⁶ detailing the steps by which he reached Roman Catholicism. It is a clever cutting away of all other religions till by a sort of *reductio ad absurdum* he leaves nothing but the Roman. People say it's dangerous; I can't see it."⁷

Nightingale's literary notes were never intended for publication nor a scholarly contribution to literary criticism (or "novelism" as she called one component of it). From her earliest childhood until her eyesight failed Nightingale read good literature and scholarly analyses of it. She could be inconsistent, too, often recommending book reviews, yet also insisting that she never read them.⁸ Apparently lengthy review articles were an exception.

Nightingale wrote about books to her friends, recommended favourites, borrowed and loaned copies. She owned a substantial number of novels and collections of poetry and essays. It is remarkable that a number of secondary sources she noted are still in use (for example, Brandes and Dowden on Shakespeare). Yet she was enormously selective in what she noted, often honing in on the cause of death of the author. Her excerpts on the novel *Robert Falconer* (in *Theology* 3:625-32), were of passages where she identified personally with the character. This is the case here, too, for the most part. The comments that follow then are not so much literary analysis as an expression of how Nightingale felt about her life.

Taking a cure at Malvern Bath in 1857 Nightingale wrote her sister for a bottle of eau de cologne and a novel.⁹ Elsewhere she said she certainly would not pay £25 to the London Library, for she "never read any books but what are not to be found there"; her literature was Comte, Cousin, Catholic rules and German metaphysics.¹⁰ Yet at other

6 J.H. Newman, *Loss and Gain: The Story of a Convert*. John Henry Newman (1801-90), Oxford theologian, leader of the Tractarian revival and hymn writer, converted to Roman Catholicism in 1845, established the Birmingham Oratory and was made cardinal shortly before his death.

7 Letter to Julia Ward Howe, 28 July 1848, in Laura E. Richards, "Letters of Florence Nightingale" 342.

8 Letter to Mary Clark Mohl 7 February [1851], Add Mss 43397 f304.

9 Letter to Parthenope Nightingale 1857, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9030/4.

10 Letter to family 20 August [1853], Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8994/37.

times she read novels, including those of the prolific Bulwer Lytton, of whom she liked perhaps only one, *Zanoni*: "No one who does not know *Zanoni* knows the best of Bulwer. It is as superior to any novel or to all his novels as Cervantes to Ch. Lever."¹¹ Several other of his novels are on the list of books she ordered for nurses at the Marylebone Workhouse Infirmary.¹² She obviously knew Oliver Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*, for she used a joke in it with her Orientalist friend, Julius Mohl, who had hurt his knee: she hoped he would not be unable to take up his pen, as the grandmother in that novel could not, because she had sprained her ankle.¹³ She read two Trollope political novels in 1877, *The Prime Minister*, published 1876, and *Phineas Redux*, 1874.

She joked in a letter to Mary Carpenter on a proposal they both wanted adopted: "Dryden, I think, said of one of his works, it was so bad he was sure it would take."¹⁴

Nightingale referred to Margaret Verney as Mrs "Greatheart," as Bunyan would have called her, and dearest Ellin was not Miss Much-afraid but Ellin the Valiant, the two paladins, Roland brave and Oliver.¹⁵ Another reference to Bunyan says that she felt as "collapsed as when Cassy found out that *Pilgrim's Progress* was 'a dream.'" ¹⁶ Nightingale thought that *Pilgrim's Progress* would be a good book for Hindus, asking a colleague "would it be possible to make a very brief, simple, transmogrification of the *Pilgrim's Progress* fitted for Hindus?"¹⁷ She quoted Shelley's "Ode to the West Wind" (lines 54-55) in a family letter:

O lift me as a wave, a leaf, a cloud!
I fall upon the thorns of life! I bleed!¹⁸

From his "Lament" she quoted, in a note about her family, again expressing much frustration:

11 Letter to Parthenope Verney 29 January 1873, Wellcome (Claydon copy)

Ms 9006/3. Charles Lever was a prolific author, including of travel books.

12 List September 1894, Add Mss 45812 f192.

13 Letter to Mary Clarke Mohl 27 November 1871, Woodward Biomedical Library A.35.

14 Letter 24 December 1860, Wellcome Ms 5482/38.

15 Letter to Margaret Verney 29 November 1890, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9013/111.

16 Letter to Margaret Verney 5 November [1892], Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9014/71.

17 Letter to Dr Murdoch [1889], Add Mss 45809 f239.

18 Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822), in an incomplete letter [February 1845], Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8992/146.

O world! O life! O time
On whose last steps I climb
Trembling at that where I have stood before.¹⁹

On the death of her friend, Selina Bracebridge, Nightingale paraphrased from a favourite poem, “Another dawn than ours” and quoted Wordsworth: “But she is in the grave. And oh the difference to me.”²⁰ She cited Coleridge’s: “Gently take that which ungently came/And without scorn forgive.”²¹

To a friend she recounted: Some authors, like your Lamartine,²² give you a picture of a character, a daub without an inside. Some, like W. Scott, give you its clothes. Some, like Talfourd,²³ give you its bust, cold and white and beautiful, and some, like Macaulay, give you its daguerreotype, strong and black and ugly, with every detail.²⁴

There are also some interesting citations from French literature. In declaiming against the false accusations made against her friend and colleague, Mary Jones, she quoted from Beaumarchais’s *Le Barbier de Séville*: “Calomniez, calomniez, toujours il en reste toujours quelque chose” [Throw enough dirt and some will stick] (III.13).²⁵ She used the expression also during an inquiry into, and suspected cover-up of, the deplorable conditions of military hospitals in the Cape.²⁶ When a political candidate used a letter of endorsement she had written for him side by side with material expressing “hatred to Chamberlain” and “detestation of Lord Salisbury,” she quoted Molière: “Que diable allais-je faire dans cette galère?” [What the devil could I do in this mess?].²⁷ In discussing the vexing issue of the registration of nurses Nightingale recalled a statement made, she thought, by Chancellor Le Tellier, of James II when he was an exile in France: “Voilà un bon homme qui a donné trois royaumes pour une messe” [There’s a man

19 Note c1857, Add Mss 43402 f183.

20 William Wordsworth, “She Dwelt among Untrodden Ways,” in copy of a letter to Mrs Berdmore Compton 2 February 1874, Add Mss 45803 f154.

21 A paraphrase from S.T. Coleridge, “Forbearance,” lines 1-2, in a note, Add Mss 45844 f5.

22 Alphonse-Marie-Louis de Lamartine (1790-1869), French historian.

23 Sir Thomas Talfourd (1795-1854), poet.

24 Letter to Mary Clarke Mohl, 7 February [1851], Add Mss 43397 ff303-04.

25 Undated letter to Henry Bonham Carter, Add Mss 47715 f144.

26 Letter to Douglas Galton 21 February 1882, Add Mss 45765 f56.

27 From *Les Fourberies de Scapin* II.7. Letter to Maude Verney 28 June 1886, Add Mss 68884 f81.

who gave up three kingdoms for a mass].”²⁸ She sometimes wished “there were that sort of conviction now.” Quotations of Victor Hugo’s poetry appear in correspondence.

Nightingale started to read Swedish literature in German translation when she was friendly with Selma Benedicks, whom she had met in Florence in 1838. Thus she read Fredrika Bremer’s *Tagebuch* and *The Home and the Neighbours* and wished she “had the talents of Fredrika Bremer to give you the idea of our country life.” She remarked on the current popularity of Bremer’s stories in England.²⁹ She considered that there was “a great similarity between her minute knowledge of character and that of a Miss Austen.” She agreed with her friend that she could not appreciate the bishop poet Esias Tegnér in translation, and would wait “to understand him a little better till I have learnt Swedish.” Still, she thought the “rough outline and profile . . . is grand in any language.”³⁰ Longfellow’s translations of Tegnér’s poems, moreover, she found to be “worthily done.”³¹

For Nightingale good literature should not be merely a privilege for the rich for it was important for all sectors of society. In a letter to Fred Verney, when he was a young clergyman, she said: “Good drama, music and literature for the mind, really interesting discourse and prayer and hymns for the soul, would go far to moralize and spiritualize our working people. And of the two, I believe a man less likely to get drunk after Shakespeare than after a Methodist meeting.”³² Consistent with this she was an avid supporter of local reading rooms and public libraries. Thus she was glad to learn that Frederick Verney, much later, was laying the foundation stone for the Claydon Public Library: “I do with all my heart wish them success, as I think a public library is good for body and soul.”³³

28 No doubt this is a play on the Protestant Henri of Navarre’s considering Paris “worth a mass” and returning to Catholicism. Letter to Henry Bonham Carter 22 July 1893, Add Mss 47725 f69.

29 Letter to Selma Björkenstam 2 April 1843, in Henning Wieslander, “Florence Nightingale och Hennes Svenska Ungdomsväninna” 46.

30 Letter to Selma Björkenstam 22 October 1843, in Henning Wieslander, “Florence Nightingale och Hennes Svenska Ungdomsväninna” 49.

31 Letter to Selma Björkenstam 18 October 1847, in Henning Wieslander, “Florence Nightingale och Hennes Svenska Ungdomsväninna” 70.

32 Letter to Frederick Verney 16 April 1878, Add Mss 68882 ff95-96.

33 Letter 8 April 1901, Add Mss 68889 f125.

Source: Note to Benjamin Jowett, "Life Is Short and Art Is Long," ADD Mss 45783 f155

[1869]

To make an art of *life*—that is the finest of all the "fine arts," and few there be that find it.³⁴ "What does it pruv," said the old Scotch woman of *Paradise Lost* and was abused for saying it. I say the same thing. *Paradise Lost* "pruvs" nothing; *Samson Agonistes*³⁵ "pruvs" a great deal. Tennyson never "pruvs" anything. Browning's *Paracelsus* "pruvs" something. Shakespeare, in whatever he writes, whether in the deepest, highest tragedies, as for example *King Lear* or *Hamlet*, "pruvs" everything, and does most explain the ordinary life of every one of us. If I were a Greek, I should feel the same of Aeschylus.

I have sat by and heard in so many families the opening scene of *Lear*, extracting expressions of affection from his daughters, mothers who have been entirely managed by the flattery of their daughters and vice versa, to the fatal exclusion of far worthier members of the family, brothers who have been utterly misled by a sister who has caressed them, to the destruction of all truth of mind (so far more important than truth of mouth/word), families where the only tie, the only mode of government was flattery, reciprocal flattery. Many coteries, artistic and scientific, live only, are kept together solely, by flattery, by one member flattering the other.

In the coterie or in the family, poor Cordelia comes and says "nothing," and *she* is turned out and outlawed. Or, what is much worse, kept at home under that cold shadow of disapprobation, which not one mind in a million can bear. (This does not refer to people flattering for fortunes—of such I know none, nor to people who kill themselves, like poor Hilary,³⁶ to do no good to any living soul, but only harm.) I feel sure that a great deal of what is called lovers' love is nothing but love of mutual flattery. (Hence its sudden disappearance so often.) I am not blaspheming against real lovers' love, which, no doubt, when it *is* real, is the highest of all.

Socrates, in the *Phaedrus*, speaking of the untrue love "the lover is always employed in reducing the beloved to inferiority." (This is not specially meant, of course, of the love between man and woman.) That phrase has stuck by me because it is so exactly true. What scores

³⁴ An allusion to Matt 7:14.

³⁵ Also by John Milton, *Samson Agonistes*, 1671.

³⁶ Her cousin Hilary Bonham Carter, who, Nightingale felt, threw away her opportunity to become a serious artist to attend to family duties.

come to my mind who were constantly “employed” in “reducing” someone “to inferiority”! (This has nothing to do with jealousy and is often the reverse of it.) Nay, I think I could mention one at least, who was “always employed in reducing” me “to inferiority,” though she professed and I believe felt the greatest love for me. . . .

Source: Note on book prefaces, ADD Mss 43402 f98

[14 February 1853]

The preface of a book ought to set forth, first, the importance of what it is going to treat of (that the reader may understand what it is he is reading for), secondly, it must distinctly show what he wants to prove.

Source: Note to Benjamin Jowett, ADD Mss 45785 f64

Surely the whole of *novelism*, really the chief of our “arts” is nothing but a “flattery,” an “art of gratifying.” What pretence does it make to bringing “order out of disorder,” an ideal out of social life, to making provision for the soul’s highest interests? Novelists = prophets of present-day. What do they “prophesy”?

Source: Note to Benjamin Jowett, ADD Mss 45784 f235

Wie Gott giebt mir [As God gives to me]

So geb’ ich dir. [So I give to you.]

Ajoutez quelquefois et souvent effacez [Occasionally add and frequently erase] (Boileau’s advice to authors in revising their compositions).

Classical Greek, Roman and Renaissance Authors

Homer, Sophocles, Aeschylus and Euripides

Editor: In commenting on selections for the *School and Children’s Bible*, Nightingale held that there was in Homer what we might better call “*holy*” writ, and much more in Sophocles and Aeschylus. “The stories about Andromache³⁷ and Antigone³⁸ are worth all the women in the Old Testament put together, nay, almost all the women in the Bible.”³⁹

37 Andromache was the wife of the Trojan warrior, Hector. See Euripides’ *Trojan Women* and *Andromache*.

38 In Sophocles’ *Antigone*.

39 See *Theology* 3:550.

Nightingale's profound admiration for Aeschylus will also appear in her Greek letters (in *European Travels*). She notably compared him favourably with Shakespeare (see p 741 below). Exchanges with Jowett similarly show her finding more inspiration in him than in much biblical writing. Of course, the Greeks "considered dramatic poetry, as every other faculty of man, a sacred thing," indeed dedicated to the gods. While Westerners made such faculties for "utilitarian" use, or "amusement," the Greeks "knew no such classification."⁴⁰ Aeschylus' Prometheus was "clearly a foreshadowing, an anticipation of Christ" (f20). Plato's antagonism to poetry was not directed at the Greek tragedies, especially not the "Godlike Aeschylus" (above).

For scholarship on Homer she recommended Colonel Mure's *Literature of Ancient Greece*, noting, "I like Mure, because I heard him maintaining successfully one day against Macaulay that the accentuation of the modern Greeks is like the ancient."⁴¹

To her family during the Crimean War she described herself as "like one in a Greek tragedy, where all is *fated* to ruin and struggle is useless. I think this tragedy greater far than any of Aeschylus and I feel like Prometheus bound to the rock, against which everything is going to wreck, the rock of ignorance, incompetency and ill will." She then noted instances of people who were "incompetent," "ignorant" or "drunk."⁴² After the war she told her cousin that she was a "lucky woman and mistress of my art" for having placed someone at the Monastery Hospital of St George, "the spot of Iphigenia in Tauris."⁴³

Nightingale gave her friend Benjamin Jowett some Greek statues for his office, including one of Sophocles, which he particularly appreciated.⁴⁴ For Nightingale, Sophocles' ethical dramas were the "sermons on the day."⁴⁵ Moreover, regarding "Sophocles' Antigone: what ideal of woman is there equal to her?"⁴⁶ Nightingale identified with Jason in Euripides' *Medea*. She quoted from the *Medea* just after the Crimean War: "I am tempted to say to my Jason, the hospital cause, if

40 Letter to Parthenope Nightingale from Athens 29 April 1850, Add Mss 45790 f21.

41 Letter to Mary Clarke Mohl 7 February [1851], Add Mss 43397 f304.

42 Letter to family 7 August 1855, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8995/26.

43 Letter to Henry Bonham Carter 29 November 1869, Add Mss 47716 f97.

44 Letter to Nightingale 29 October 1871, Balliol College 336.

45 Letter to Hilary Bonham Carter 18 May 1850, Add Mss 45794 f140.

46 Letter to Parthenope Nightingale 29 April 1850, Add Mss 45790 f20.

it says che mi resta? But it is a poor support.”⁴⁷ A late journal note gives just a short line in Italian, indicated in quotation marks below, with the surrounding lines.⁴⁸

Tacitus, Vespasian and Plutarch

Editor: Nightingale quoted the Roman historian Tacitus (56/57-c118 CE) as having said: “It is more tiresome to teach truisms than to relate murders,” on the futility of giving her advice to government offices: “I tell them what to do and they don’t do it.”⁴⁹ In discussing problems with financing medical relief in 1866 Nightingale raised a comparison with the colonial practice of taking money for licences to sell poison: “Which again is like Vespasian, who said the money did not ‘smell’ which had *blood* upon it, provided it brought coin into his treasury, or something to that effect. God forbid that we should have reached the days of the Roman Empire.”⁵⁰

Nightingale’s friend A.H. Clough had translated Plutarch (c46-c120 CE) and she owned various editions. On Clough’s death she sent copies of his translation of *Plutarch’s Lives* to Sir John McNeill’s grandchild, her godson, and to Dr Farr, for his children.⁵¹ She held that “There are much worse ‘saints’ in the calendar than there are in Plutarch. And, did French boys read Plutarch, as we used to do when I was young, I don’t believe the present Emperor could be on the throne.”⁵²

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus

Source: Undated note to Jowett, ADD Mss 45783 f72

I send you a few more sentences from Marcus Aurelius:

ποῦτους φιλεῖ ἀλλ’ ἀληθινῶς Love men, but truly⁵³

47 Draft/copy to unknown recipient [August 1856], ADD Mss 45796 f71.

48 From Euripides’ *Medea*. The expression appears at lines 501-02, where it is translated “Where now can I turn?” and at line 798, where it is translated “What use is life to me?”

49 Letter to Frances Nightingale [1869], Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/94.

50 Titus Flavius Vespasianus (9-79 CE), Letter to Harry Verney 22 May 1866, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9002/14.

51 Letter to William Farr 28 November 1861, Wellcome Ms 5474/50, copy ADD Mss 43398 f63.

52 Letter to Sir John McNeill 29 August 1860, London Metropolitan Archives H1/ST/NC3/SU133.

53 A paraphrase of: “Love the men among whom your lot has fallen, but love them truly” in *Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus* 1:113 (Book 6.39). The other passage remains unidentified.

Οὐπω ἀπὸ καρδίας φιλεῖα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους

Not yet lovest thou men from thy heart

Be like the vine which gives its fruit and asks no more. Pass on to another good action as the vine preparing its grapes for next time. Must we be like these which know not what they do? Yes. Chase away the thirst of books. It is no time to discuss. (He desires always *to know what he is thinking of*, and never to be unable to answer this question.)

“What is the use I make today of my soul?” Chasing away uncertain reverie, he says: “What dost thou here, imagination? Away, in the name of God. I am not angry with thee. But away!”

(*Manfred*⁵⁴ has imitated these words exactly. F.N.) He quotes from Antisthenes: “It is a royal thing, when one has done well, to hear evil said of one.” St Teresa, who never could have read Marcus Aurelius, reminds me continually of him by her turn of thought. She says we ought to have “a truly royal magnanimity” when we are unjustly blamed (by thinking that we are “the children of God”).

Marcus Aurelius says, in the tenderness of his conscience: “Come quickly, death, lest I forget myself at the end.” And “Cover thyself with shame, oh my soul, cover thyself with shame! Thou wilt then have no more time to glorify thyself” (9.3). This, in connection with the following saying is truly remarkable: “Understand there is something excellent and divine in thyself; and live in familiar converse *with Him who has within us his temple*” (3.4). (What is this but the kernel of the good of all subsequent mystical or, as you call them, “ecstatic” writers?) He entreats himself *to give himself* as soon as possible, “simplicity, indifference to all that is neither vice nor virtue” (4.2).

St Teresa says: “Méprisons tout ce qui ne subsiste point par soi-même [Despise everything that cannot survive on its own].” In answer to a passage in your letter, she says: “En vérité, c’est une belle imagination à ceux qui se laissent abuser ainsi, de croire que, *pour s’exempter du mal, il faut éviter de faire le bien* [In truth, it is a good imagination that lets one believe that *to avoid evil one must avoid doing good*].”

54 If this is a reference to the heroic poem of Byron it remains unidentified.

Source: Unsigned, incomplete letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9001/190 (identified citations indicated by book and number)

[1865?]

There is said to be a very good version in French of Marcus Aurelius' *Les pensées de Marc Aurèle*, traduction de M Pierron. (I don't know whether you would care for this.) Montesquieu⁵⁵ says: "There is not a greater object in history than the Antonines." I agree—Marcus Aurelius seems to me a Garibaldi in purity, with the administrative faculty (which he wants⁵⁶) and above all with the willingness to let the waves pass over his head, which is always the fate of the man of thought struggling to incarnate his ideal in politics. He thanks Rusticus, his tutor, for having withdrawn him "from what is *purely* speculative" (1.7). He exhorts himself to "*heroic* truth in all his words." He says (to himself): "Thou, when thou dost not like to rise in the morning, tell thyself, 'I wake to do the work of a man. Thou dost not love thyself if thou dost not love the calling of thy (better) nature. Even the artisan forgets to eat and sleep for his art's sake. Is the public interest less worthy of thy care?'" (5.1).

(How much finer this is than the constant drumming of the Christian chord, that "self-love" is to be destroyed, that you must "hate" yourself.) Everywhere he reminds himself that *he is "put into the world for the salvation of men."* How sublime this is: "Offer to *the God within (thee)* a man, a citizen, an emperor, a soldier at his post, ready if the trumpet call." Can anything be truer of the vocation of man, in general? And elsewhere: "Think every hour how to act as a Roman, *as a man*. What is not useful for the beehive is not useful for the bee." "Take care not to *Caesarize*" (sic); a life divided from the rest of the community would be a factious life" (6.54).

Everywhere he turns himself away from simple contemplation. He calls philosophers "real children" who do not turn it into action. "Do not hope for a Plato's *Republic*; content thyself with making things advance somewhat, and look upon the least advance as important" (9.29).

Note: I have always felt (F.N.) that health was not worth preserving, except for an object for which it was worth *losing*. How absurd it is to

55 Charles Secondat de Montesquieu (1689-1755), early French sociologist, author of *Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness of the Romans and Their Decline*, 1734. Chap 16 is on Antonines; quotation unidentified.

56 For Nightingale's disparaging comments about Garibaldi's lack of practical, administrative talent see *European Travels*.

be always declining to do good things in order “to save your health,” which you only want to do good things.

F.N.

He, telling himself “never again to criticize the life around him and not to declaim against nor to be indulgent to others, exclaims, to himself—what a noble word! “Be neither a tragedian nor a courtesan.” (It is most singular to me, F.N., how all human thought, all men’s words are taking the turn of simple historic contemplation or judgment.) . . .

Virgil

Editor: Nightingale was taught the Roman poet, Virgil,⁵⁷ by her father at home, and continued throughout his life to quote him back to him in letters: “Sir *Fabius Frere* is unus qui nobis cunctando restituit rem [one man who while we were delaying restored the matter]. (You see I don’t forget my Virgil, when, thanks to you, I learnt by heart the sixth? book. And sure I am I have never opened it since.⁵⁸) The reference was to the cautious tactics of Sir Bartle Frere in India, likened to Virgil’s commendation of Fabius Maximus, the Roman commander whose delaying tactics in the Second Punic War allowed Rome to recover and later take the offensive against Hannibal’s army.

And thou, great hero, greatest of thy name,
Ordain’d in war to save the sinking state,
And, by delays, to put a stop to fate!

She quoted Virgil’s *Aeneid* to a colleague on Indian matters, in discussing a rent arrears bill: “Timeo Danaos, etc., et dona ferentes [I fear the Greeks, especially when they bring gifts].⁵⁹ She cited Virgil in a vexed discussion of plans for Wellow School: Tantaene animus coelistibus? [Can a divine being be so perseveringly in anger?]⁶⁰

Nightingale was critical of bad, effusive, Latin inscriptions, for example, Colonel Yule’s inscription for General Gordon, “unsuccessful imitations of the Latin . . . striving after antithesis” when he ought to be “straightforward, heaping up adjectives or epithets when none would be better.” Compare this inscription with “what he strives to imitate,”

57 Publius Vergilius Maro Virgil (70-19 BCE).

58 Letter to W.E. Nightingale 8 September 1867, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9002/176.

59 Letter/draft/copy to Sir G. Campbell 31 March 1879, Add Mss 45805 f168.

60 Note to Dr Sutherland 27 February 1874, Add Mss 45757 f228.

from Virgil: *Si quis Fata aspera rumpas, Tu Marcellus eris* [if only you could escape your harsh fate, you would be Marcellus]. She then complained about Dean Church's "bad" paraphrase, while her own father's rendering of those lines told in three words what thirty of what Yule's did not.⁶¹

Dante Alighieri

Editor: Nightingale knew the work of her fellow Florentine, Dante, from her girlhood. When returning to his most famous work, the *Divine Comedy*, in the early 1860s, she wrote out an excerpt (immediately below) with which she could identify: "He was indeed passing through an inferno, knowing by a terrible experience . . . the evil passions which make the soul a hell." She paraphrased the first canto of *The Inferno* (the first book of the *Divine Comedy*), and also made notes on Dante's style. Dante had been at what would have been considered the middle part of life when he wrote the *Inferno*; Nightingale was in her early forties when she made the observations. In an undated note she joked that she wanted in eternity to work in hell, with great fellowship in work, not to be with a certain dean, bishop or archbishop in a country house for 1000 years: "Or for 'eternal damnation': the spirit shrinks appalled at the thought. I wonder Dante never thought of that for eternal damnation."⁶²

The excerpts below treat of the constructive solution Dante/Nightingale found, "The work of liberation and discipline began . . . the methods of divine retribution became for him representative of human wisdom as leading to the knowledge of divine Truth."

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45845 f138

Dante: like Jeremiah.⁶³ Compare Jeremiah's use of the acrostic⁶⁴ in Lamentations, passing in chapter 3 into a triplet of verses under each letter of the Hebrew alphabet. Dante (three times) his sorrow utters itself in the opening words of the Lamentations: Beatrice's death, the letter to Florence and the letter to the cardinals [of] Avignon. *Che Iddio non vuole religioso di noi se non il cuore* [God does not want us to be religious, except in the heart]. He was indeed passing through an

61 Letter to Fred Verney 27 February 1889, ADD Mss 68886 ff48-49.

62 Undated note, ADD Mss 45844 f214.

63 Dante used Jeremiah's three beasts (Jer 5:6) in the *Inferno*.

64 A form of poem in which the first (and/or last or middle) letter of a series of words spells out another word or words.

inferno, knowing by a terrible experience, as a transition stage in his life, the evil passions *which make the soul a hell*. 1861-64.

Beatrice dead—to Dante. “I have attained *to look on the beginning of peace*.”

Opening lines of the *Inferno* [a paraphrase]:

It was then, at the age of thirty-five (1300) before his exile from Florence, that his whole life seemed to him a chaos and a mistake—the *wood dark and the way lost*, then that he strove in vain to rise above the confusions of his time, then that the faults of his own life, reproduced in the vices of those around him, seemed to bar all progress. Then it was also that the work of liberation and discipline began. The poet, in whose great epic he read his own thoughts as to the greatness of Italy and the true form of its polity, and the methods of divine retribution, became for him the representative of human wisdom as leading to the knowledge of divine Truth.

Source: Undated note to Jowett, ADD Mss 45783 f45

[August 1865]

I think Dante ought to have been whipped for complaining: “Come sa di sale lo scendere ‘l salir per l’altrui scale”⁶⁵ [literally, as it is salty, the descent and ascent on somebody else’s staircase, meaning that it is difficult to rely on somebody else].

Francesco Petrarch

Editor: Nightingale referred to the poet Petrarch (1304-74) when complimenting an unidentified woman, who was handling the proofs for her hospital paper, on her poetical success: “Like Petrarch, whose sonnets were the only embroidery of his life, while his serious occupation was something widely different I think you succeed so well in poetry for the same reason.”⁶⁶ See also her favourable comparison of Petrarch with George Herbert (see p 747 below).

65 Dante, “Il Purgatorio,” in *Divine Comedy* canto 17, verses 58-60.

66 Letter 1 February 1859, Florence Nightingale Museum LDFNM 0867.

Poets and Playwrights

Edmund Spenser

Editor: Nightingale quoted the *Faerie Queene* (Edmund Spenser, c1552-99), in a letter to Harry Verney about the general election of 1885, for all the good men of Bucks county who worked “so hard and so well” and, as Spenser said, “and all for love and nothing for reward” (Book 2, canto 8, stanza 75). The passage refers to angels:

They for us fight, they watch and duly ward
And their bright squadrons round about us plant,
And all for love, and nothing for reward:
O why should heavenly God to man have such regard?

Philip Sidney

Editor: Sir Philip Sidney (1554-86) was a soldier, poet and statesman. Nightingale’s friend, Sidney Herbert, was a descendant of the family and named after him.

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45845 f166

4 November 1869

Languet⁶⁷ to Sir Philip Sidney. Consentionalities: “Wasting the spring-time of life amid the formalities and indolence of a family court.” There was a spirit in him which required that he should live a life and pursue an end which could not be possible within the narrow limits of an idle pleasure-loving court [FN:] family.

[trans. from Latin] My dear Wierus, come, come, I am taking leave of life and I wish you [were with me]. Once I am gone I will be neither alive nor dead. I am not capable of [saying] more. But I pray urgently that you hurry. Farewell. Yours, Philip Sidney. [English resumes:] (Written on the eve of his death, 16 October 1586. Aet. 31 to Wierus, physician, pupil of Cornelius Agrippa.⁶⁸)

David and other holy men of God did call to God for help and solemnly vowed to set forth the praises of God when He should deliver them, that is, to vow with an unfeigned heart and full purpose if God should give him life, to consecrate the same to His service and to make His glory the mark of all his actions x x. His firm resolution not to live as he had done, for he (Sir P. Sidney) said, he had walked in a *vague* course.

67 Languet is mentioned in Sidney’s *Arcadia*.

68 Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486-1535).

“Yet could no man judge whether the *wrack of heavenly agony*, whereupon they all stood, were forced by sorrow for him or by admiration for him.” Fulke Greville of Sir Philip Sidney’s death.⁶⁹

Yet in this her last action and ending of her life, as it were one specially at that instant called of God. x x Although for a time she seemed to the world to live obscurely, yet she ended this life and left the world most confidently, and to God no doubt most gloriously, to the exceeding comfort of all them which are not few that loved or honoured her.” Sir Henry Sidney’s secretary, Molyneux, of Lady Mary Sidney, Sir Philip’s mother, who died two months before her son, 1586.

William Shakespeare

Editor: Nightingale was familiar with Shakespeare’s plays and poetry. As a child she was stage manager for a family production of *Merchant of Venice*. She drew on Portia’s famous “quality of mercy” line in the Franco-Prussian War in a letter to the Crown Princess of Prussia, pointing to “that quality of mercy” that “then ‘shows likest God’s’ when used in a victorious course of which the world’s history has never seen the like, towards a fallen nation in its humiliation.” The draft then refers to the Crown Prince and Princess themselves (the Crown Princess was the eldest daughter of Queen Victoria) being “clement in victory.” In fact victorious Prussia was brutal to its victim, France.⁷⁰

Nightingale often referred to characters from Shakespearean plays in correspondence, for example, in describing the loss of her friend Mr Bracebridge: “‘O insupportable and touching loss!’ as Cassius says of Portia” in *Julius Caesar*.⁷¹ She cited the “immortal” Shakespeare: “I could not do withal” in recounting a problem that needed an ethical answer.⁷² For Miss Pringle’s “gallant achievements” in establishing nursing at the Limerick Workhouse Infirmary she might claim, as had Coriolanus in beating his enemy: “alone I did it.”⁷³

In describing her grief at Sidney Herbert’s death she paraphrased a speech by Constance in *King John* (Act 3, scene 4) on the death of her child:

69 Sir Fulke Greville, *Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, 1652, on the last seven days of Sir Philip Sidney’s life.

70 Draft letter to Crown Princess [ca. July 1870], Add Mss 45750 f33. It is not clear whether it was sent.

71 Letter to Mary Clarke Mohl, 30 July 1872, Woodward Biomedical Library A.36.

72 Letter to Fred Verney 28 February 1896, Add Mss 68888 f166.

73 Letter to Lady Monteaige 8 October 1896, Add Mss 47727 f207.

Grief fills the room up of my absent child,
Lies in his bed, walks up and down with me
Puts on his pretty looks, repeats his words,
Remembers me of all his gracious parts,
Stuffs out his vacant garments with his form.

Nightingale said: “‘Grief fills the room up of my absent’ master. I cannot say it ‘walks up and down’ with me, for I don’t walk up and down. But it ‘eats’ and sleeps and wakes with me.”⁷⁴

When travelling in Greece Nightingale explained in a letter to her family that Shakespeare made a mistake in placing *Midsummer Night’s Dream* in Attica. “Corfu in June was like 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*.” Attica was “an artist studio’s night’s dream—Corfu is truly the *Midsummer Night’s Dream*.”⁷⁵ Yet (as noted above) those letters from Greece also reveal her clear preference for Greek drama even over Shakespeare, who was “*only* an artist (though the first),” while Aeschylus was “inspired.” She complained, too, about Shakespeare’s poor portrayal of women (many inferior artists were better than he in this respect): “With the exception of Brutus’s wife (and perhaps Isabella), I don’t know one of his women who lives for anything but her personal hopes and fears.”⁷⁶ Similarly, in commenting on Jowett’s *Dialogues of Plato*, Nightingale complained that Shakespeare “has no heroic women” (see p 596 above), which was a serious matter, for people, “especially women, not only become what they act but they become what they read.” Shakespeare had no “noble conception” of women (see p 609 above).

Nightingale referred to the soldiers of the Crimean War as heroes, “our lean and hungry English” (see *Henry V*), who never in all that long Crimean fight, ‘the darkness of that noon-day night,’ gave up one inch of ground or courage.”⁷⁷ In Balaclava during the war Nightingale was astonished to find Dr Sutherland reading *Troilus and Cressida*, for a “very curious passage in which Thersites mentions boils as being common at the siege of Troy.” British soldiers were suffering from the same affliction. Nightingale credited Shakespeare with being an “acute observer.”⁷⁸

74 Letter to W.E. Nightingale 21 August 1861, Add Mss 45790 f217.

75 Letter to her family 25 June 1850, Add Mss 45790 f83.

76 Letter to family 29 April 1850, Add Mss 45790 f15.

77 Letter to Frances Nightingale 6 October 1864, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9001/64.

78 Letter 22 April 1856, Wellcome Ms 5479/5.

There are references to *Henry IV* and *Henry V* in correspondence with the Verneys.⁷⁹ In a letter in the Franco-Prussian War she considered: “The Army of the Loire, fighting seven days out of nine, hungry, half naked and barefoot, yet unsubdued,” to be “worthy of Henry V and Agincourt.”⁸⁰

Nightingale quoted a passage from *King Lear* in her sermon, “Strait Is the Gate” on the philosophical indifference or worse of the usual portrayal of God, like Nero fiddling while Rome is burning: “They kill us for their sport,” as Gloucester may well say of the gods,⁸¹ or rather a Roman emperor looking on at the show fights in the Coliseum. She quoted *Romeo and Juliet* regarding Harry Verney’s cares at Claydon: “my bosom’s lord sits lightly on his throne.”⁸²

There is a note on the early production of *Macbeth* regarding an “edict prohibiting the use of God’s name on the stage.”⁸³ In advising her friend Benjamin Jowett to avoid seeing people late, which hinders sleep, she cited the “sleep that knits up the ravelled sleeve of care.”⁸⁴ She jokingly threatened, if a lecture and syllabus on health missioners were lost, to “make a noise to be heard at Dunsinane.”⁸⁵

To Margaret Verney Nightingale quipped, “You *are*, dearest, a model of virtue and no mistake. And when the Cap’n cum for to know of it, He very much applauded her for what she had done (in the words of the immortal Shakespeare).”⁸⁶ When Fred Verney, as a Parliamentary candidate in Norwich, had to contend with an opponent who bought beer for their voters, Nightingale joked that she would like to drown him in beer and was constructing an apparatus similar to that used to drown the Duke of Clarence in Malmsey, a sweet wine, in *Richard III*.⁸⁷

79 Note probably to Lettice Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9014/85.

80 Letter probably to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9004/169.

81 Shakespeare, *King Lear* Act 4, scene 1, in *Spiritual Journey* 2:332.

82 Letter to Margaret Verney 24 January 1893, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9014/95.

83 Note, ADD Mss 45845 f189.

84 In Act 2, scene 2, letter 29 October 1891, ADD Mss 45785 f181.

85 Letter to Margaret Verney 4 October 1892, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9014/48.

86 Letter to Margaret Verney 4 March 1895, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9015/30.

87 Letter to Maude Verney 22 July 1895, ADD Mss 68888 f92.

There are many references to *Hamlet* in correspondence. After the Crimean War Nightingale described the commander of the forces (Lord Raglan) as "Like the drowning Ophelia: devoted, unselfish and single-minded himself to the very highest degree, he let himself and his troops float down to death, unconsciously to himself, with scarcely a struggle against the weeds and the waters which were pulling him down to destruction."⁸⁸ Ophelia's mad speech is cited in various, troubled places, notably when Nightingale had gone to be with her mother after her father's death, when for her Embley was "all withered when my father died."⁸⁹ She described a possible successor to Agnes Jones, the formidable superintendent of the Liverpool Workhouse Infirmary, as "no more like to Agnes Jones 'than I to Hercules,' " alluding to Hamlet's description of his father's brother (who had murdered his father) as being "no more like my father than I to Hercules" (Act I, scene 2). See also Nightingale's references to *Hamlet* in discussing Byron (below).

Late in life she remembered passages from Shakespeare, as the following example from *Measure for Measure* shows:

But all the world is forfeit
And He who could most have advantaged Himself
Hath found the forfeit.⁹⁰

In 1898 Nightingale was given a substantial edition of Shakespeare's works by her cousin, Rosalind Nash, and immediately set to reading it during a sleepless night. The notes she took show that her mind was functioning well and that she had not lost her interest in the bard, her country of origin (Italy), its artists or her old profession. There are brief notes on her particular interests in Shakespeare, notably Portia and Lady Macbeth. Achilles was "a snob and raw dunce," Othello "without vanity," and Caesar's "greatness" got a mention. There is material on the *process* of composition, citation on the use of Plutarch's *Lives* (for Caesar, Brutus and Mark Antony), comparisons with Homer (the *Iliad* was "one of the few finished works of art"). She took note of "Shakespeare's bitterness . . . so deep he feels hero-worship an illu-

88 Note [1856-57], Add Mss 43402 f168.

89 Ophelia, *Hamlet*, Act 5, scene 2, "There's fennel for you, and columbines. There's rue for you, and here is some for me. . . . There's a daisy. I would give you some violets, but they all withered when my father died." Letter to M and Mme Mohl 3 February 1874, Woodward Biomedical Library A.42.

90 Note 29 November 1894, Add Mss 45845 f268.

sion.” She recognized his young age at death, fifty-two, the same age as Napoleon and Molière. The public health expert noted the *cause* of Shakespeare’s death, typhus, flagging a page which described his residence on “one of the unhealthiest streets” in London.⁹¹

Her appreciative letter to Rosalind Nash describes Shakespeare as being “forever to be studied,” for his “ever fresh mines to be explored and worked.”

And oh the depth of his tragedy in a few words. You remember Falstaff’s death, Falstaff the prince of good fellows, as told by the “hostess” who alone stayed by him: “A’ said ‘O God! O God’ three times. A’ told him he should not think of God.”

She remembered that passage “always seemed to me when I was a child too terrible to be written.”⁹²

Source: From a letter to Aunt Jane Smith, Edinburgh University LHB1/111/3 5

21 September [1847]

[The Bracebridges] were overwhelmed with delight at having just been able to buy Shakespeare’s house at Stratford, of which he had been the prime mover.⁹³ I cannot quite understand this enthusiasm. Is not one line of *Julius Caesar* more a remembrance of Shakespeare than the house where his old clothes lay? We have himself, we have his whole mind, and what do we want with the room where he passed the night? It seems to me like going to visit a friend’s dirty linen when we have his own living self by our side.

John Milton

Editor: Milton was a much-loved poet in the Nightingale family, so that Nightingale and her mother could share his sonnets even in her extreme old age. Nightingale paid a compliment to a Swedish poet, Tegnér, in a letter to her Swedish friend, by saying that “our Milton might have been proud” of his *Fire*: “I do not think anything in Milton is grander, which you must understand is the highest compliment an Englishwoman can pay for, right or wrong, Milton is the god of our idolatry.”⁹⁴

91 Notes, ADD Mss 45845 ff188-89.

92 Incomplete letter July 1898, ADD Mss 45795 f229.

93 Charles Bracebridge was a major funder and member of the trust which purchased the house where Shakespeare was born, now a museum.

94 Letter to Selma Björkenstam 2 April 1843, in Henning Wieslander, “Florence Nightingale och Hennes Svenska Ungdomsväninna” 45.

Nightingale more than once in her lifetime identified herself as a *saviour* or *deliverer*. The excerpt she took from Milton's *Samson Agonistes* in a letter to her father seems to be an accusation against herself of failure. The passage follows Samson's promise that he would deliver Israel from the Philistines.⁹⁵ Milton went on to describe Samson as being "in bonds and under Philistine yoke," yet he would not doubt divine prediction, for the promise might have been fulfilled, "but through my own fault." She paraphrased, in several places, from his *Paradise Lost*, "Some natural tears we dropt, but wiped them soon."⁹⁶ Nightingale asked rhetorically, regarding nursing training: "Do you want to give nurses, as Milton would say, a training 'or life both public and private, both in peace and in war.'"⁹⁷

Nightingale called Milton and Kant "so superficial." They both did "much mischief" by writing libraries upon God's "nature," a matter she considered "certainly insoluble," yet would not deal with His character.⁹⁸ She clearly disapproved of Milton's relegation of women to knowing God through their husbands rather than directly, a point made in discussing the *Dialogues of Plato*: Milton's "He thy God: thou mine." Eve to Adam her God, not her companion" (see p 609 above). She could, however, identify with another passage in *Paradise Lost*: "Which way I fly is hell; myself am hell."⁹⁹ Milton's concept of God generally is disparaged in her remarks on George Herbert, below.

Source: From an undated, partial draft/letter/copy to W.E. Nightingale, Add Mss 45790 ff382-83

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."¹⁰⁰ Since I have lived looking on the park and seen those people making their "trivial round" or rather their treadmill 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

95 *Works of John Milton* vol. 1 (pt 2):338.

96 Book 12, line 645, for example, in a letter to Margaret Verney 2 April 1880, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/43.

97 Note, Add Mss 45819 f11.

98 Undated letter/draft/copy to W.E. Nightingale, Add Mss 45790 f384.

99 Book 4, line 75, quoted in a letter to her father 15 September 1865, Add Mss 45790 f337.

100 This passage is also noted, without comment, in Add Mss 45845 f121. Samson, who lived at the time of the Trojan Wars, died at Gaza.

to spend September in London that the “mill” is gone. Also, though my whole life is laid out to secure it against interruptions, no one could believe how much it is interrupted. 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,” and 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.

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45785 f74

Adam and Eve were married, I suppose, but no one has sung married love since Milton sang. . . . A virtuous woman is [the] crown of [her] husband. (But even she was bought by a good many rubies.) On the contrary the novel always stops at marriage.

Source: From a letter to W.E. Nightingale, ADD Mss 45790 f193

6 July 1859

But Bossuet and Milton tell us that the compatibility of God’s foreknowledge and man’s free will is an “inscrutable mystery,” which is the plainest thing in all the world. See Mill.

Robert Burns

Editor: Shortly after the Crimean War Nightingale paraphrased from the famous poem, “For a’ that and a’ that,” by Robert Burns (1759-96), when agitating for day rooms for the soldiers (to provide them with other leisure pursuits than liquor. “Hitherto government has thought it had done enough when it had fed, clothed and housed the men,

But a man's a man for all that."¹⁰¹ She quoted from his "Prayer in the Prospect of Death" in a journal note in her own old age: "For God is good and goodness still, delighteth to forgive" (*Spiritual Journey* 2:547).

George Herbert

Editor: The metaphysical poet, George Herbert (1593-1633), recognized in the Book of Common Prayer as "priest and poet," was a favourite in Nightingale's youth. She copied out his poem, "The Pulley," in her Bible (see *Spiritual Journey* 2:102). Her views, however, had changed for the worse by the time she wrote the following letter to her father.

Source: From a dictated letter to W.E. Nightingale, Add Mss 45790 ff184-85

16 February 1859

Hilary [Bonham Carter] 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 and the conception of God, like Milton's, quite below one's conception of a high-minded man. I have marked on the flyleaf at the beginning the pages which still appear to me to be good. As so often happens, the man seems so much better than his teaching.

There is one exception, "Man," at page 90.¹⁰² I have always thought *that* a really great conception of man. Compare the degraded conception in the Psalms: "What is man that thou art mindful of him?"¹⁰³ which is to me unutterably disgusting, and old George Herbert's:

Oh mighty love! man is one world and hath
Another to attend him. [lines 47-48]

I think there are some nice things in the "Church Porch" pages 11 to 13.¹⁰⁴ But if you like this kind of poetry, I know nothing like Petrarch's sonnet on Good Friday beginning: "Padre del Ciel, dopo'i perduti giorni [Father in heaven, after the lost days]."¹⁰⁵

101 Letter to Colonel Lefroy 29 November 1858, Wellcome Ms 5479/14.

102 *The Works of George Herbert*, ed. F.E. Hutchinson 90-92.

103 Psalm 8:4, the psalm that gives "dominion" to humankind over all other creatures, now much blamed for human abuse of animals.

104 Pages 6-24 in the above-cited edition.

105 Francesco Petrarch, *Rime, Trionfi e Poesie Latine* 118.

J.W. von Goethe

Editor: Negative references have already appeared on the German Enlightenment playwright and poet, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in *Theology* (3:190, 559-60). Nightingale largely agreed with his views of immortality, “in the main . . . if it were not that he is angry at not being God himself” and missing “the only important point of the argument” (3:190). Further negative references to Goethe appear in the item on Samuel Johnson below, positive ones in the comparison with Socrates above and in the comparison with Macaulay, below. Nightingale compared Goethe most unfavourably with Dante: concerned that her god-daughter Kathleen Verney might leave off her music or her German lessons, Nightingale was yet sorry to see “the tide leaving Italian for German. There are as many divine things in one page of Dante as in the whole of Goethe. *Faust* I can’t abide” (see p 723 above).

In the Franco-Prussian War Nightingale described Bismarck¹⁰⁶ as “the real Mephistopheles in this frightful tragedy . . . who has besotted not one stupid Faust, not one drinking, half-savage population, ‘plunging them into hell,’ but a whole central continent of the most ‘philosophical and civilized peoples of the earth.’ Is any ruin like this?”¹⁰⁷

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45845 ff169-70

Criticism. Goethe’s *Mephistopheles*: der Geist der stets verneint [the spirit that always denies], not to be feared but to be loathed: intellect without feeling, most intellectual, least social, no sympathy and no faith, not even in itself—a negation that knows itself as a negation. Dry intellectual satisfaction or discomfiture, results in themselves nothing to him. To weigh results belongs to the spirit of man, with its imagination and its sympathy. In that he has no part, sets himself against all that is heroic/high, not from any opposite activity but because he does not believe in it. [He] entertains no hope of subverting idea, seconding order of world; [the] ways of supreme Power [are] to him odd and unaccountable but inevitable; [he] makes no attempt to exceed his puny rule. Contempt for his victims, devoid of humanity, follows men’s movements with *searching and commanding* look, which yet has *no life* in it.

106 Prince Otto von Bismarck (1815-98), chancellor of Prussia during the Franco-Prussian War.

107 Letter to Harry Verney 9 November 1870, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9004/139.

Confident and contemptuous, power almost unlimited for the time being, but is really negative and consists in men's weakness, not in calling forth men's strength. Interrupts the company who are beginning a song to discover and volunteers one discovery of his own, with startling effect. [He] draws a circle round him. Turn upon him your cross—hills. Half prowling, half cowering, he creeps away, though he will not let his mocking smile go. [He] resumes his old air of superior wisdom and self-possession—contempt for them just the same. His laugh [is] a coldness infinitely more diabolical than malice—no hate or human scorn—knows neither hate nor love. Deadly touch debases whatever it touches, soul of the lying spirit, makes the student *look with dull commonplace eyes on the mysteries he is admitted to partake in*, kills the inspiration that has enabled him to rise to their height, leads him into sacrilege, atoned for only by a grievous expiation (Hoffman's "Golden Pot"¹⁰⁸).

Alexander Pope

Editor: There are occasional references to the poet, Alexander Pope (1688-1744), in correspondence as well as the excerpt here from the concluding verses of his famous "Dunciad."

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45845 f182

"She comes! The sable throne behold of
 night primeval
 (It is the fog)
 Nor human spark is left nor glimpse divine
 And soon
 Thy dread empire, Chaos, is restored:
Light dies before thy UNCREATING word.
 Thy hand, great Anarch! lets the curtain fall,
 And universal darkness buries all."¹⁰⁹

Robert Browning, Elizabeth Barrett Browning

Editor: Nightingale took extracts from Robert Browning's well-known poem on aging, "Rabbi Ben Ezra," when facing her own old age (reported in *Spiritual Journey* 2:557). Here we have an extract from his long poem on Paracelsus (1494-1541), a Renaissance scholar consid-

108 E.T.A. Hoffmann (1776-1822); the hero, Anselmus, has to endure many trials before winning the golden pot in Hoffmann's tale.

109 *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. James Sutherland 5:407.

ered a founder of modern chemistry, and a poem which would have appealed to her on many grounds. Written in 1835, it espouses her view of gradual human progress: "Progress is the law of life, man is not man as yet."¹¹⁰ The hero, like Nightingale, had trouble pursuing his vocation and shared also her fear of unintended harmful results: "You find me doing most good or least harm" (III.589).

The stanza Nightingale quoted below is reproduced as it was published, with her emphasis added in italics. It follows a section on God giving great gifts to a poet but "who, proud refused/To do his work, or lightly used/These gifts, or failed through weak endeavour" (II.291-93). The edition, with her extensive emendations, unfortunately has disappeared. On Browning see also the comparison with Tennyson below.

There are no comments on the poetry of Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806-61), but she ordered *Aurora Leigh* and *Selections from Her Poems* for nurses at the Marylebone Workhouse Infirmary.¹¹¹

Source: Extract, ADD Mss 45845 f137

Paracelsus—the voice of those who had failed in former times, to him:

Lost, lost! Yet come,
With our wan troop make thy home.
Come, come! For we
Will not breathe, *so much as breathe*
Reproach to thee!
Knowing what thou sink'st beneath.
So sink we in those old years.
We who bid thee, come! (II.297-304)

Paracelsus—this problem of failure after high hopes and what becomes of those who have failed. Tennyson feels the simple sorrow which pervades mortals at the contemplation either of their own or of another's pain. Browning discerns erroneous purpose, *selfishness*, *that is, the exclusive desire of our own happiness*, as the cause of pain.

Alfred Lord Tennyson

Editor: See Nightingale's comparison of Tennyson with Browning immediately above. She compared Tennyson decidedly unfavourably with Browning in a note from her old age. After citing Voltaire to the

¹¹⁰ Robert Browning: *The Poems* V.742-43.

¹¹¹ List September 1894, ADD Mss 45812 f191.

effect that Milton seemed to sing for the “mad, the angels and devils,” she noted that Tennyson did not, but he possibly tried “to make us somewhat more like the angels.” Browning did, “more than Tennyson, at least in his Paracelsus.” In her youth, she said, people had “*only* Shakespeare and Milton and surely they were better reading than Tennyson.”¹¹²

In a letter to Harry Verney written after the death of his daughter, Emily, Nightingale thanked him for sending her Emily’s copy of Tennyson’s “In Memoriam”: “Though I think there is more sentimentality and fancy than reality in Tennyson.” That anguished poem was written on the death of the young Arthur Hallam, Tennyson’s great friend and an acquaintance at least of the Nightingales. Yet Nightingale was “still more thankful to have her hymn book which she sent me awhile ago, pointing out her favourites. I repeat some of these which are also mine almost daily to my mother.”¹¹³

In an open letter to probationers at the Nightingale Home Easter Eve 1879, Nightingale quoted Tennyson’s poem on blind soldierly obedience to draw a lesson on obedience for nurses:

Was there a man dismay’d?
Not tho’ the soldier knew:
Someone had blunder’d:
Theirs not to reason why
Theirs not to make reply
Theirs but to do and die
So in the Valley of Death
Stood the Eight Hundred.

At Isandula.¹¹⁴ “We nurses *are* taught the ‘reason why,’ as soldiers cannot be, of much of what we have to do. But it would be making a poor use of this ‘reason why’ if we were to turn round in any part of our training and say, or *not* say but *feel*, ‘we know better than you.’”¹¹⁵ Nightingale gave copies of Tennyson’s poems to nurses.¹¹⁶

112 Note 1900, Add Mss 45844 f204.

113 Letter to Harry Verney 25 September 1872, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9005/161.

114 Britain lost 1700 men 22-23 January 1879 at the Battle of Isandlwana, where they were greatly outnumbered by the Zulus.

115 Letter to Probationers of the Nightingale Home Easter 1879, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9007/209.

116 List September 1894, Add Mss 45812 f192.

Henry Fitzmaurice Hallam and Arthur Henry Hallam

Editor: When Arthur Henry Hallam died in 1833 his friend Alfred Lord Tennyson wrote his monumental poem, “In Memoriam,” as a eulogy. Nightingale of course knew the famous poem, but perhaps did not much like it. When another young Hallam died in 1850, Henry Fitzmaurice, his friend the American writer, Charles A. Bristed, wrote a prose eulogy which Nightingale evidently did like and copied out. It is not known if she knew either of the Hallam young men, but their father, the eminent historian Henry Hallam (1777-1859), major founder of the English historical school and exemplary for his careful use of primary sources, was a family friend and a particular friend of hers. A member of the “gentlemen’s committee” at Harley St., he called on her there and she later contributed to a fund for a memorial to him. The qualities of Christian manhood depicted in the eulogy of Henry Fitzmaurice below are ones Nightingale would certainly have esteemed and she undoubtedly would have agreed with the eulogist’s view that the younger Hallam might have made an even greater contribution than his more famous older brother.

One suspects that the eulogy reveals more than simply an appreciation of the Hallam sons and their untimely deaths. Nightingale’s father had also been a student at Trinity College, Cambridge, and kept in touch with various Trinity men (the Nightingales were married by a Trinity academic). If universities had been open to women Nightingale might well have been a Trinity woman herself and even a member of the literary elite, the “Apostles.” Certainly we know from her remarks on Oxford above that she would have liked to have been a “college man.”

Source: Claydon House Bundle 326, from Charles A. Bristed, *Literary Work of American and Foreign Literature, Science and Art*, New York 7 December 1850

30 November 1850

To the Memory of Henry Fitzmaurice Hallam, born 31 August 1824, died at Siena 25 October 1850, in whose clear and vivid understanding, sweetness of disposition and purity of life, an image of his elder brother was before the eyes of those who had most loved him. Distinguished like him by early reputation and by the attachment of many friends, he was, like him also, cut off by a short illness in a foreign land. His father, deeply sensible of the blessing he enjoyed in having possessed such children as are commemorated in these tablets, submits to the righteous will of Heaven, which has ordained him to be their survivor.

To the memory of Arthur Henry Hallam of Trinity College, Cambridge, B.A., eldest son of Henry Hallam Esq and of Julia Maria, his wife, daughter of Sir Abraham Elton, Bart, of Clevedon Court, who was snatched away by sudden death at Vienna 15 September 1833 in the twenty-third year of his age. And now in this obscure and solitary church repose the remains of one too early lost of public fame but already conspicuous among his contemporaries for the brightness of his understanding, the nobleness of his disposition, the tenor of his piety and the purity of his life.

Vale dulcissime

Vale dilectissime—desieratissime!

Requiescas in pace

Pater ai Mater hic posthumi requiescamus tecum

Usque ad tubam

Clevedon Church, Somerset . . .

The late Henry Hallam, seventeen years ago the eldest son of Henry Hallam, the historian, died in Germany, just at the outset of a life of great promise. Now, the only surviving brother has died in Italy. With the former a society of literary men lost their most amiable and cherished member, with the latter the coming age lost a great man. To speak thus of the two brothers is not in accordance with the comparative opinion which their peculiar circle entertained of them; the reason of this singularity of judgment on my part will be explained by and by.

When I first saw Henry Hallam he was about eighteen years old and had just come up to the University (of Cambridge) from Eton. I have his face before me as if it were yesterday: an exquisite combination of beauty and intelligence, with the finest eyes I ever beheld in man, except perhaps Daniel Webster's. Afterward his features changed somewhat as he grew older and gained in humour and depth of expression what they lost in physical beauty. He was a sufficiently accurate and very elegant scholar and followed the thorough but rigidly limited course of Cambridge studies, just so far as he thought they did not interfere with the general improvement of his faculties. Moderation in seeking university honours is about as common as moderation in seeking political honours, or in gambling—when a man takes a secondary place it is usually because he cannot get a better. Hallam, with a chance of being the first classic of his year, was contented to stand among the first eight or nine on the Tripos, rather than give himself up exclusively to Greek and Latin; as it was he took the second Chan-

cellor's Medal to the surprise of the majority who, without fully appreciating his natural ability, knew how far he was, comparatively speaking, from a hard student.

General literature and the modern languages occupied no inconsiderable share of his attention, but the greater part of his spare time was devoted to historical and political subjects and he founded a debating society for the exclusive discussion of such questions. He was the neatest extempore speaker I ever heard; his unprepared remarks were more precisely and elegantly worded than most men's elaborately written compositions. He had too a foresight and power of anticipation, uncommon in such a youth, which enabled him to leave no salient points of attack and made his arguments very difficult to answer. He was always most liberal in his concessions to the other side, and never committed the fault of claiming too much or proving too much.

His was not a passionate oratory that carried its hearers away in a whirlwind, but a winning voice that stole away their hearts, the *ars celare artem*, the perfection of persuasiveness. It was all Palmerston's dexterity of justification without any of his arrogance or temper, all Calhoun's logic without any of his sophistry. He was singularly modest about showing anything which he had written, and as the public reading of compositions not only forms no part of English university or college exercises, but is not practised in the ordinary debating societies, I never had the opportunity of seeing anything that came from his pen, nor, I believe, had anyone except the numbers of the "Apostles," a society of thirteen, which formed a sort of nursery to the Sterling Club.

I was as shy of Hallam's seeing my letters as he was of my seeing his essays and with much better reason. On leaving England I made no attempt to establish a correspondence with him but a common friend kept me informed of his movements. He had given up the idea of sitting for a Trinity fellowship, was reading for the Bar and his health, which had not been good at the University, was improving. All this was capital news. Last June I met him in London and he looked so well that all anxiety on the last account was dismissed from my mind. Last week I heard that he had died at Siena. Were I to describe the effect that this news had upon me I should be suspected of simulating emotion that I never really felt, and making a more than Gallic exhibition of sham sentiment—no one would believe that the death of a man with whom I never had been *very* intimate, and whom I had seen but

twice during the last four years, could so move me. Besides there are so many who have a better right to lament him than any expression of my own grief seems almost an impertinence. Think of a father outliving two such sons, a sister losing her only brother, and such a brother!

During a friend's lifetime we regard with admiration his intellectual superiority; after his death we turn for consolation to his moral excellencies. Henry Hallam was a man of stainless and unblemished life. Everything vicious and degraded was repelled by his pure mind like the dirt that fell from the white garment of Bunyan's Pilgrim. Nor was he so short-sighted as to rest there, and consider his morality a substitute for religion. On that most important of all subjects he felt deeply and was not ashamed to let his convictions be known. I remember that one of the first things he did at the University was to become a teacher in a parish Sunday School. With all this (I have some hesitation in going on lest in a country where people run off into extremes, and one seldom meets with a man equally balanced and tempered throughout, I may seem to be describing an imaginary character) there was nothing ascetic or Puritan about him. He relished the good things of life. He did not undervalue the fine arts—he displayed an exquisite taste in everything from the criticism of a book or statue to the ordering a supper for half a dozen friends. Nor did he, like many rigidly moral men and women, think that his propriety of life gave him a licence to indulge in censoriousness and detraction. He was above any such propensity. In his mind there was no room for anything little, low or mean. What Tennyson said of his brother, that “he bore without abuse the grand old name of gentleman,” was in its fullest sense applicable to him. His charity in judging of others was excessive, at times overstepping the conventions of society, especially of English society.

Some very good and able and refined men disfigure themselves by an inane stiffness and want of geniality, as if to amuse other people were a derogation of their principles. Hallam had nothing of this fault, nor did he at all sympathize with those who “mistake gravity for greatness, solemnity for science and pomposity for erudition.” He did not disdain to make puns and macaronic verses and his conversation was always lively and entertaining.

In theology his opinions somewhat resembled those of Maurice and were of that sort which each extreme is sure to confound with the other. His views were very expansive, charitable to all denominations, and more liberal to the old lady of Babylon than many of his Protestant friends thought altogether safe. I fancy that, like many of his set,

he had visions of a universal church, but his practical wisdom would never have let him aim at the realization of so hopeless an ideal in preference to idealizing the reality of his own church.

Putting the “vate sacro” [immortal bard] out of the question, it seems clear that Henry Hallam did not leave behind him so great a reputation as Arthur: the men of the Sterling Club who knew them both used to say that “he seemed like a piece of his brother.” Nevertheless, I am fully persuaded that, had they both lived, Henry would have been the greater man of the two, for the greatest of his gifts was precisely the one which the men of the Sterling Club were not able to appreciate.

This society, which has exercised almost imperceptibly a powerful influence on English literary taste and theological opinion, comprises many distinguished men, excelling in very different walks of literature, but they all seem to have one negative quality of resemblance: a distaste for and underestimate of oratory and rhetoric. They seem to have an idea that there is an inseparable connection between insincerity and public speaking—that the orator must necessarily be a sort of charlatan. Besides Henry Hallam, I know only one man of that club who was made for an orator, and he seemed to have got into the society by mistake and was never an ardent member of it. Carlyle’s anathemas against stump oratory are not an unfair specimen of the value they generally attached to the art of “thinking on one’s legs.” They had essayists like Carlyle, poets like Tennyson, novelists like Thackeray, but no orator; and it was as an orator that Henry Hallam was most likely to distinguish himself.

Arthur Hallam and John Sterling were the two great men of the club which took its name from the latter. Sterling’s works are before the public. Whatever be their positive merit, it would be useless to deny that, as coming from the eponymous hero of a society which numbered among its members Maurice, Carlyle, Thackeray and Tennyson, they were a great disappointment to many. Hallam’s writings were printed for private circulation but never published. If they had been laid before the world I am inclined to think that the feeling would have been somewhat similar. From all I could learn of these two men, traditionally it appeared that the great secret of their regard which their fellows had for them lay in their conversation, and this was exactly what one would have expected from knowing the mental habits of “the Apostles,” to most of whom the conversation of intellectual and like-minded men, conversation which involved literary,

aesthetic and ethical discussions, was their great amusement, and as much a daily necessary of life as the Continental gentleman's theatre or opera is to him.

Now superiority as a conversationalist makes a man the idol of his immediate friends and acquaintances, but superiority as a public speaker makes a man the admiration of his country, if not of the world. And therefore I think, had both the brothers lived, Henry would have been a greater man than Arthur. At any rate he was a glorious fellow, whom it was impossible to know without admiring. I write these few lines more to relieve my own feelings than in any hope of their being an adequate portraiture of which he really was. Charles A. Bristed.

Quotation from Wordsworth, as cited by Bristed re Henry Hallam:

Oh, Sir! The good died first
And they whose hearts are dry as summer's dust
Burn to the socket.

[William Wordsworth] "The Excursion," Book 1 line 500

Gentle Soul

Whatever moved amongst us in a veil
Of heavenly lustre, in whose presence thought
Of common import shone with light divine,
Whene'r we draw sweetness as from out a well
Of honey, pure and deep; thine earthly form
Was not the investiture of daily men
But thou didst wear a glory in thy look
From inward converse with the spirit of love
And thou hadst won in thy first strife of youth
Trophies that gladdened hope and pointed on
To days when we should stand and minister
At the full triumphs of thy gathered strength (Alfords Poems p 99).

Lord Byron

Editor: It is perhaps to be expected that, although they shared a love of Italy and Greece, Nightingale's views of the poet, George Gordon, Lord Byron (1798-1824), should be so negative. Apart from his promiscuity and abuse both of his wife and the mistress who bore him a daughter, Byron egregiously neglected this child, insisting on her coming to live with him, keeping the child's mother away and then sending the child to live in a convent (its youngest inmate), where she

died of a communicable disease at the age of five.¹¹⁷ Byron died of fever at Missolonghi during the Greek Wars of Independence. A note by Nightingale gives the opinion that “Byron must reap as he sowed, courting the misconceptions of romance.”¹¹⁸

The Nightingale family visited Byron’s villa while travelling in Italy in 1838. It was Parthenope Nightingale who noted the event, in a joint letter to friends also travelling in Italy.¹¹⁹ In a letter regarding photographs of a marble bust of Sir John McNeill, Nightingale described liking the original “better than any portrait in marble I have ever seen, except Thorwaldsen’s Byron (which was a very inferior subject).”¹²⁰

Yet Nightingale evidently knew much of Byron’s poetry. She was moved by the sky on the Nile (purest, sapphire blue) to quote from Byron’s “The Dream” in a letter home: “So cloudless, clear and purely beautiful/That God alone was to be seen in heaven” (4:178). She used his expression, “the spouseless Adriatic mourns her lord,” in describing her own travels in a letter to her family from Greece.¹²¹ In an undated note she again quoted from “A Giaour,” although incorrectly attributing it:

First greets the homeward veering skiff
High o’er the land he saved in vain
When shall such heroes live again?

“Please send me the whole of this passage. I think it is on the tomb of Themistocles in Childe Harold.¹²² I mean to inscribe it to the men in Scutari graveyard, to whom it is far more applicable.”¹²³

The letter following to her cousin reveals high praise but also suggests that Blanche might want to remove some of the volume before letting her young son see them.

117 Phyllis Grosskurth, *Byron: The Flawed Angel*.

118 Undated note, Add Mss 45845 f76.

119 “We went to Lord Byron’s villa yesterday, with painted arcades and marble columns, but the wind was so keen that it literally blew us back to the carriage immediately.” Letter to the Wyvill family 22 January [1838], Columbia University, Presbyterian Hospital School of Nursing C1.

120 Letter to Lady McNeill, 22 April 1858, London Metropolitan Archives H1/ST/NC3/SU103.

121 From “A Giaour,” in letter April 1850, Add Mss 45790 f4 (in *European Travels*).

122 In fact the lines are not from Byron’s “Childe Harold” but from the opening stanza of “The Giaour,” in *The Works of Lord Byron* 245.

123 Note [1862?], Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9000/78.

Source: From a letter to Blanche Clough, Balliol College 309

2 January 1873

I lit upon the edition of Byron (without Don Juan) which we wished for, both of us, for Arthur [her son]. It was old, of course—not dirty—and I hope looks pretty smart now it is bound. There are two volumes more than in our edition, which may be trash. Please withdraw any volumes you like. I am not a good judge.

“Childe Harold,” the descriptions of Greece in the tale, poems, “Chillon” and “Manfred”—but above all “Manfred”—there is nothing like it in the world, especially the last scene. The spirit there is really a spirit, the only spirit out of Job and Saul. The “ghost” in *Hamlet* is surely merely a very gross, unpleasant, dead-alive unburied man, with the most vulgar full-bodied sentiments, clamouring for vengeance on his murderer (not even so spiritlike as a dying man), quite unlike what his son describes him—a thief and *impostor*—I am sure going to take the spoons. Manfred, to my mind, stands alone—and is the most spiritual view of immortality, of what hell and heaven really are, of any poetry in the world. One only wonders how Byron ever wrote it.

Ada, Lady Lovelace

Editor: Augusta Ada Lovelace (1815–52) was the daughter of the notorious poet Lord Byron and his wife Annabella Millbanke (1792–1860), and married the eighth Baron and Earl of Lovelace (the Lovelaces and Nightingales were family friends). Lady Lovelace was co-inventor, with Charles Babbage, of the prototype computer. She composed the following poem in Nightingale’s honour. It is followed by a Nightingale letter to her sister on the (early) death of Ada Lovelace. The reference to leeches as treatment is intriguing. The “vitality of the brain” comment is apt, for Lovelace was a brilliant mathematician.

A letter of Selina Bracebridge to Frances Nightingale conveyed news from a letter she had received that Lady Lovelace had lost £20,000 gambling at Epsom: “Even if *the twentieth part* of the story be true it is a grievous matter for her poor husband, whom she plagues enough in other ways without gambling—how sadly she has inherited her father’s disposition and [illeg] mind. One often turns in such cases to the reflection of how much is *insanity*.”¹²⁴

124 Letter 7 August [1850], Claydon House Bundle 40.

Source: Poem by Ada Lovelace, in E.T. Cook, ed., *Life of Florence Nightingale* 1:38-39

I saw her pass, and paused to think!
She moves as one on whom to gaze
With calm and holy thoughts, that link
The soul to God in prayer and praise.
She walks as if on heaven's brink,
Unscathed thro' life's entangled maze.

I heard her soft and silver voice
Take part in songs of harmony,
Well framed to gladden and rejoice;
Whilst her ethereal melody
Still kept my soul in wav'ring choice,
'Twixt smiles and tears of ecstasy. . . .

I deem her fair, yes, very fair!
Yet some there are who pass her by,
Unmoved by all the graces there.
Her face doth raise no burning sigh,
Nor hath her slender form the glare
Which strikes and rivets every eye.

Her grave, but large and lucid eye
Unites a boundless depth of feeling
With Truth's own bright transparency,
Her singleness of heart revealing;
But still her spirit's history
From light and curious gaze concealing. . . .

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8993/118

Umberslade

Monday [after 29 November 1852]

My dearest [Parthenope Nightingale]

Lady Byron was at Brown's Hotel, Dover St. I did not go there because I was so afraid she would think I wanted to see her, so I went boldly to the very poor house itself. I went in and asked to see Mrs Clark. The *body* had left that very morning accompanied by Lord Lovelace for a place near Newstead. Of all the queer things it does seem to me the queerest that they should wish to bring her into connection with Lord Byron in her death. Lady Byron had left the house on Monday (*she* died at ½ past nine on Saturday evening) and had

gone to Brown's Hotel to be quiet and had had leeches and a bad night and since that had not even seen Annabella [her daughter]. But Thursday she did see her and Miss Montgomery, who had been attending her constantly, went home.

I sat down in poor Lord Lovelace's bedroom, the only room in the house where I could sit down, and Mrs Clark gave me a long account of the last days, too painful to dwell much upon; the last moments were peaceful. It was said she could not possibly have lived so long but for the great vitality of the brain, which would not die. Once she was not moved for thirty hours.

I went into the room where the poor corpse had lain and into the room where those last dreadful fourteen months had been passed, and saw the waterbed where for six weeks she had lain without moving and I thought of the words, "conceived in sin" and what an account that man, her father, has to render, from whose excesses her dreadful sufferings must date, and wondered they should like to bring her near him in her death.

She never lost her self-command. I am sure they may be most thankful they have Mrs Clark there to depend upon. She has burnt everything, all the dreadful letters which would have broken their hearts to know of. Mrs Clark is not going to stay, she says she cannot bear it—but has consented to remain as long as they want her so much. Poor Annabella was still in the house. Ockham was to go down to the funeral.¹²⁵ What a mercy the poor soul is gone.

Next I went to Lady Byron's old house to try and see somebody. They had left it three weeks! So I went to her house in Seymour St. and saw her maid. She was very friendly and told me that Lady Byron was really better and going down to Southampton, as I told you, today (Monday) she believed, for Lady Byron could not bear Brighton. She asked after you and I sent a message for you to Lady B. saying that I had ventured to call, because she (you) was so anxious to hear Miss Montgomery was shut up with Lady B. She said it was a very good thing that poor Lady L. was dead, and she hoped her lady would now recover. Annabella and Ralph were with her. Annabella had felt her mother's death but little. I think Lord Lovelace's letter most affecting. On the whole I went away with a feeling of relief that the worst was

125 Viscount Ockham, the Lovelace elder son, who had disappeared for a time—the family advertised for him. The younger son was Ralph Gordon Noel; both later King-Noel.

over and Lady Byron would now recover and she and Lord L. be very happy together. . . .

ever thine my dear

Of course what I have said about the Lovelace affairs is only for thee.

A.H. Clough

Editor: Arthur Hugh Clough married Nightingale's cousin, Blanche Smith, and worked as secretary of the Nightingale Fund (see the biographical sketch in the appendix of *Life and Family*). He was a kindred spirit in many respects and she greatly admired his poetry, copying out excerpts in her Bible, an honour accorded only such writers as Dante and George Herbert. A note, although whether for Benjamin Jowett or quoting him is not clear, states: "A poet does not understand that he ought to be a prophet. No English poets seem to have felt this. They have wit and sentiment and imagination but no moral force. Clough might have been great."¹²⁶ Nightingale discussed Clough's poetry with his son, also Arthur Hugh Clough (see *Life and Family* 1:558-59). Nightingale confided to Benjamin Jowett that she thought that the elder Clough had been ruined by the attempts of the headmaster of Rugby, Dr Thomas Arnold, "to inspire conscientiousness in his pupils." As a result "Clough was always making a standard so high that it became impossible."¹²⁷

Source: Note, ADD Mss 45845 f137

Clough = philosophic poet, in a sense in which no man since *Lucretius*.¹²⁸ These two men were philosophers, not from the desire of fame, not from the pleasure of intellectual discovery, not because they hoped philosophy would suggest thoughts that would soothe some private grief of their own, but because it was to them an *overpowering interest* to have some key to the universe, because all even of their desires were suspected by them until they could find some central desire to which to link on the rest. And love and beauty and the animation of life were no pleasure to them, except as testifying to that something beyond of which they were in search.

126 Note by Jowett to Nightingale October 1864, ADD Mss 45785 f254.

127 Commonplace book 1880, Balliol College Archives 1 H 43 ff44-45.

128 Lucretius (c99 BCE-c55 BCE), author of *De Rerum Natura*, a book-length poem that preserved the ideas of the ancient materialists, notably Democritus and Epicurus, when their own books had disappeared.

Algernon Charles Swinburne

Editor: The poet Swinburne (1837-1909) had been a student of Jowett's at Balliol College. Nightingale did not have a high opinion of his work generally, but liked his "Atalanta in Calydon," copies of which she gave to nurses and young people. In commenting on Jowett's introductions to the *Dialogues of Plato*, she asked rhetorically, making the comparison between the *Symposium* and the *Phaedrus* and *Phaedo*, if Swinburne could "be put in the same category as Aeschylus?" (see p 572 above).

Source: Draft/copy to Benjamin Jowett, ADD Mss 45783 ff55-57

[September 1865]

With regard to "young women," though you despise *your pupil's* "Atalanta in Calydon," allow me to observe that Atalanta herself, though she is only a sort of a jinn¹²⁹ and not a woman at all, yet there is more of reality, of character, of individuality (which is a stupid word) in her than in all the "young women," of all the men novelists I ever read, with scarcely an exception. But then she, Atalanta, is not a sound incarnation of any "social or economic principle," is she? No more am I, am I?

British Novelists and Essayists

Samuel Johnson (1709-84)

Editor: The Nightingale family owned a copy of Johnson's famous *Dictionary* and Nightingale asked for it after her father's death, although she was not a great fan of his *Dictionary*, as the first item below will show. The item below is not on Johnson so much as a public lecture by her friend Benjamin Jowett on Boswell's famous biography, *Life of Johnson*.

Source: Nightingale's Notes on Jowett's Edinburgh Lectures on Samuel Johnson, ADD Mss 45784 ff43-44

[December 1871]

These lectures on Boswell seem to me like the *tour de force* of a great man, as if St Paul had delivered a lecture on tents, or St John written

129 In Muslim demonology a jinn is a spirit with the power to assume human and animal forms and exercise supernatural influence over people.

a general epistle on fishing. While so many vital philosophical questions remain unsolved, while almost all vital religious questions remain untouched, I can hardly understand this interest in Boswell, except as the historical relaxation of overstrained thought. (Also, England is running to seed not only in reviews but in reviews of reviews and, between ourselves, Macaulay's review of Boswell is not worth reviewing.)

Surely, if Goethe in one direction put chains on Germany's legs, Johnson's *Dictionary* did more than anything else for half a century prevent England's development in religious and philosophical thought. Take his definition of religion: virtue founded on a fear of future punishment and hope of future reward. (I have not a copy of his *Dictionary* by me). He quotes Milton, South and somebody else (I forget whom) in support of his opinion. Is not this absolutely misleading people? Might I not just as well say, under "philosophy," philosophy is study of Aristotle and Herbert Spencer founded on emulation to be in the first class at final examinations.¹³⁰ Nay, I think my definition of philosophy is (or would have been without a certain master of Balliol) much more correct than Johnson's of religion, which might do just as well for irreligion.

You, I suppose, reply that Johnson's *Dictionary* is not a work of inquiry but of definition. He gives simply the meaning of words in the English language up to his time. But, supposing that you and I were engaged on an English "Scott and Liddell" [Greek-English Dictionary] (which God forbid. There are two things which would be indeed the "fear of future punishment," to be a dean, the other to write a dictionary).

Do you not think that we should have hit upon a very different definition of "religion," and do not you think we should have found plenty of authors (and previous to Johnson's time) to quote from in our support? (If I am not mistaken there is a well-known collection of letters and biographies, not of essays and reviews, called the New Testament, which bears me out. But the whole body of mystical theology and even of other theology of the sixteenth century is far ahead of Johnson.)

Must we not admit that there is scarcely any, if any, work which has so arrested the progress of all higher philosophical thought, of all

130 Jowett evidently shared her poor view of sociologist Herbert Spencer for he told her that he "should like to live to answer him, for he seems to me a very trivial philosopher." Letter 7 January 1874, Balliol College 407.

“comprehensive inquiry after truth” (I quote the master of Balliol) including the highest of all philosophies, religion, the inquiry after who God is, as Johnson’s *Dictionary*? You speak of his common sense, but in the higher things, the higher kinds of truth, philosophy and religion, had he any “sense” at all? Plato, I think, gives quite a different definition of common sense. What I can understand is this: in the follies and unphilosophical—*unthoughtful* you may say—absurdities of ritualism, in the almost as great absurdities of liberalism among the nameless confusions of church theories and creed controversies and the idiocies of pinning one’s faith upon a historical point, upon what an Athanasius¹³¹ or a Paulinus¹³² said, or a parcel of rascals like the church councils thought, there is something healthy in Johnson’s manly, robust independence and hatred of cant and humbug, which is like a good breeze from the sea blowing away Oxford fogs.

But I should be very sorry to have no other food than that breeze: *philosophy* = comprehensive inquiry after truth; *logical* = inquiring into premises as well as correctly drawing inferences from them (always within the conditions of his own mind).

N.B., or rather don’t N.B. You quote two lines from “Vanity of Human Wishes” as if the poem were not generally known. In my youth we all learnt it by heart and I daresay I could say it now, a great part of *Rasselas*, also the *Rambler*,¹³³ but we none of us read Boswell (I used to read the *Dictionary* for my amusement). I suppose it is just the contrary now—people read only Boswell.

Jane Austen

Editor: Nightingale evidently read many (if not all) of the published novels of Jane Austen (1775-1817), for there are numerous references to characters and situations in her correspondence. For example, she compared a “wonderful woman” she met in Venice with the “grand lady” of novels, more like Elizabeth of Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice* than “anything one sees in real life.”¹³⁴ Mr Darbyshire and the Boat

131 Athanasius (c296-373), bishop of Alexandria, whose Athanasian Creed Nightingale thoroughly rejected, brought knowledge of monasticism from Egypt to the West.

132 It is not clear which of the several saints by this name is meant.

133 Samuel Johnson, *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia* and *The Rambler*, adventure stories.

134 Letter to family 25 June 1850, ADD Mss 45790 f82.

Race are mentioned in discussing art in the *Dialogues of Plato* (see p 597 above). In a dispute over mortality statistics in the Crimean War, Nightingale joked: “It reminds one of Miss Austen’s young lady who had bought an ugly bonnet and said there were much uglier in the shop.”¹³⁵ To her Swedish friend she described *Mansfield Park*, *Pride and Prejudice* and many other Austen novels as “not striking, like Walter Scott’s, but of which one feels the truth to be like that of a Dutch picture so characteristically is it painted.”¹³⁶

Walter Scott

Editor: The novels of Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) were part of the family life of the Nightingales, but Nightingale as an adult came to be quite critical of them. Going through Edinburgh in 1852, when she had recently reread *Waverley*, she had only rude remarks to make about the Scott Monument, which perhaps represented “the material advancement of Scotland” (see *European Travels*). Late in life, however, she remarked with approval that Sir Harry Verney “reads aloud two cantos of Sir Walter Scott every evening after dinner.”¹³⁷

Source: From a letter to Margaret Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9014/193

26 November 1894

Ellin thinks that *Ruth* [Verney] would like two of Walter Scott’s novels and some other book for her birthday. Has she read *Waverley*? Whether it was that my mother read it to us in our teens, I like it so much the best, the vivid picture of a time and an adventure in history which people can hardly believe in now, and the characters of Flora McIvor and her brother are so vivid too. Then what is the novel with Mary Queen of Scots? and *Old Mortality*—is that the one with Lady Margaret Bellenden?¹³⁸ Macaulay said, Walter Scott was the making of Scotland. O if there had been a Walter Scott for Ireland!

135 Letter to Sidney Herbert 19 December 1857, Pembroke Collection, Wiltshire County Archives, Trowbridge, 2057/F4/66.

136 Letter to Selma Björkenstam 22 October 1843, in Henning Wieslander, “Florence Nightingale och Hennes Svenska Ungdomsväninna” 49.

137 Letter to Margaret Verney 14 November 1890, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9013/106.

138 Mary Queen of Scots is in *The Abbott*; Lady Margaret Bellenden in *Old Mortality*, a book read out loud at home in her childhood.

Charles Dickens

Editor: Nightingale, like so many of her fellow citizens, made Charles Dickens (1812-70) a bestseller. She read many of his books and stories in the periodical press. It was Dickens's portrayal of the slovenly, drunken nurse, Sairey Gamp, in *Martin Chuzzlewit* that Nightingale had to counter. Gamp in fact was based on a real character, a nurse hired by Angela Burdett-Coutts, to whom the novel was dedicated, and an acquaintance of Nightingale's.¹³⁹

Nightingale also referred to the literary celebrity Mrs Hominy in *Martin Chuzzlewit* in *Letters from Egypt* (in *Mysticism and Eastern Religions*). To her brother-in-law she alluded to the "immense (but 'isolated') schemes something like the land scheme in *Martin Chuzzlewit* where, in America, Martin and Mark invest in nothing but fever."¹⁴⁰

When reluctantly agreeing to do something, Nightingale would allude to "Barkis is willin' from *David Copperfield*."¹⁴¹ When Nightingale thought an opponent had published something that quite misrepresented her position, she alluded to Dickens's *Old Curiosity Shop*, stating that she must now hate him "with a mortal and undying hatred and pursue him to the confines of eternity, if I have but the time."¹⁴² She made a similar allusion on the Nile trip, that she "with a mortal and undying hatred and would pursue them to the confines of eternity." Also on the Nile trip she repeated a joke from the same novel that, "in case of fire, even an umbrella would be something" (in *Mysticism and Eastern Religions*).

In asking that money be sent to someone for her cause Nightingale suggested that the hint be given "that to write to me at all is much like 'Borrioboola-Gha,' vide Dickens's *Bleak House*, because £2 can do nothing for her."¹⁴³ Borrioboola-Gha was the African village for which

139 Edna Healey, *Lady Unknown: The Life of Angela Burdett-Coutts* 68-69. Dickens and Burdett-Coutts helped Nightingale practically in the Crimean War by getting a "hot closet," a drying machine, to her at the Barrack Hospital, Scutari. See letter of Charles Dickens to Burdett-Coutts 21 January 1855, in *Letters from Charles Dickens to Angela Burdett-Coutts* 284.

140 Letter to Harry Verney 7 August 1876, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9007/51.

141 Notes to Parthenope Verney 7 July 1866 and 15 September 1866, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Mss 9002/38 and 9002/57, and letter to Harry Verney Good Friday [1870], Ms 9004/33.

142 Letter to Henry Bonham Carter 18 October 1890, Add Mss 47723 f77.

143 Note to Samuel Smith [11 June 1861], Add Mss 45792 f169.

Mrs Jellyby did charitable work (a character supposedly based on Caroline Chisholm, whose real work Nightingale supported). Elsewhere, mentioning that Comte in France and Mill in England were writing about “equalizing the education of men and women,” she thought that the caricature of Mrs Jellyby in *Bleak House* would “do more harm than all the philosophers will do good.” Chisholm, “the emigrants’ friend,” was “a great friend of mine.”¹⁴⁴

Allusions to the dreadful headmaster, Squeers, in *The Life and Adventures of Nicholas Nickleby* appear in several places. During the Crimean War Nightingale described an official at the War Office as “a kind of Squeers, only lower and with a more sneaking flattery and without the energetic barbarity of that celebrated master of Dotheboys Hall.” Indeed her old antagonist, Sir John Hall, was “as completely his slave as that other Hall was of Squeers,” and a “more formidable enemy, as he could entirely paralyze my usefulness and frustrate the object of our being here.”¹⁴⁵ Women undergraduates at Girton College, Nightingale joked, had “scarcely any more power over their meals, etc., than Mr Squeers’ schoolboys had” at Dotheboys Hall (see p 688 above).

Nightingale recognized the influence of Dickens in social reform, wishing that “an Indian Dickens could arise,” for the only hope for reform lay in “powerful” writing that would interest the people.¹⁴⁶ Novels by Dickens Nightingale gave to nurses in 1877-78 are: *Barnaby Rudge*, *Little Dorrit*, *Dombey and Son*, *Bleak House*, *Nicholas Nickleby*, *Martin Chuzzlewit*, *David Copperfield*, *Pickwick Papers* and *Oliver Twist*.¹⁴⁷

Nightingale, it seems, fed Dickens material for an article in the journal he edited, *Household Words*, “The True Story of the Nuns of Minsk.” It is an account of the terrible suffering undergone by these women at the hands of the Orthodox hierarchy and Russian state. The persecution began when pressure was put on members of the Uniate Church, which had left the Orthodox for the Roman Catholic Church at the end of the sixteenth century, to rejoin it. In 1839 the Uniate bishops signed an act of recantation, petitioning the czar to readmit them to the Orthodox Church. Bishop Siemaszko undertook to convert the nuns of Minsk, beginning with kindness. He later

144 Incomplete letter to Elizabeth Blackwell 1 March 1852, British Library RP 1877.

145 Letter to Samuel Smith 16 March 1856, ADD Mss 45792 f27.

146 Letter to James Caird 24 January 1879, London Metropolitan Archives H1/ST/NC1/79/1.

147 Lists, ADD Mss 47760 38-39, 45.

turned to force of arms, eviction from their convent, a forced march, imprisonment with chains, forced labour in dangerous conditions, starvation, beatings and other forms of torture (several nuns died from this ill treatment), all of which are graphically described in the article. The nuns finally escaped—their captors were drunk—when they learned they were about to be sent to Siberia. They eventually made their way to Rome, where they were given hospitality at the Convent of the Sacred Heart, where Nightingale was visiting the “madre” Laure de Ste Colombe in 1848.

Dickens’s article lists two informants, one described as an “English Protestant lady” at the convent in February 1848. Some of his material is identical with that Nightingale wrote in a letter from Rome 16 February 1848.¹⁴⁸ The story brings out the merits of the abbess, her willingness to suffer and her reluctance to parade her martyrdom. It ends with the same allusion to “the brave days of old” as in Nightingale’s account. In his biography Cook states that Nightingale wrote a long account of the “extraordinary adventures which the abbess related to her.” Advised to print this, he could not find that she did so (1:78n).

Dickens published the article in May 1854, or early in the manoeuvring that led to the Crimean War against Russia, only a few months before Britain sent in its troops. Czarist/Orthodox tyranny was often used as a justification for the war. One of the pretexts for it indeed involved the rights of the Orthodox Church (albeit in Palestine), so that this detailed account of its cruelty is germane.

Source: From Charles Dickens, “The True Story of the Nuns of Minsk.” *Household Words* 9,216 (13 May 1854):294-95

Finally we have the account of an English Protestant lady, who saw and conversed with the Mother Makrena [Mirazyslawki] in February 1848, in the convent of the Santa Trinita at Rome. At that time she was still suffering, but vigorous, stout-hearted, energetic and determined as ever. To this lady she gave some curious details not published, one, of her escape through the gates of the frontier town. Unprovided with a passport, she was sure of being stopped and, if stopped, discovered. A herd of cattle were passing and the abbess hid herself among them, passing through on all fours unperceived. Before she had thus escaped from the Russian territory she went one day to church, where

148 Letter to family, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9016/54 (in *European Travels*).

she heard her description given in the sermon, for the government set a large price on these poor fugitives, whose escape and freedom of speech might bring more ugly things to light. After service she went boldly to the house of the priest and proclaimed herself. But, instead of delivering her up to the authorities, he gave her bread and money and set her in the right way to the frontier town.

Her personal appearance, says our English lady, is decidedly “handsome, her profile something like Mrs Siddons in Hayter’s *Queen Katharine*,”¹⁴⁹ swelled to such an “immense size as she is, that she looks in the last stage of dropsy.” In character she is “gay, vigorous, even merry, nothing graceful or sentimental about her,” speaking “abruptly, awkwardly, without commentary or reflection. She is like a rough old covenanter, despising the world in the evils as well as in the goods it had to offer her. She is a brave old soldier of her faith, with a true touch of the woman in the extreme interest which she takes for other people’s scratches, while her own wounds are forgotten. She manufactures lint as well as guncotton. She has none of the pedantry of martyrdom. ‘She should regret all her life,’ she said, ‘having shown the marks of the chains to a friend, upon one occasion.’ Makrena had acquiesced, because she thought it ungracious to refuse, but she had a fit of remorse afterwards for having paraded the cross she bore. There is something of greatness in her rough humility and this vulgar simplicity is her best certificate.”

The Abbess Makrena is probably now the sole popish representative of the order of St Basil. She is more than sixty years of age, and is about to found the order of St Basil at Rome, in a house near the Scala Santa [Holy Steps], and has already four novices, three Poles and one Italian. “Her conversation is vehement, rapid, gesticulative” (we are again quoting our English lady), “her spirit as strong to bear persecution as it was likely to attract it and ready to forget it. Like a female Luther, or St Ignatius, she seemed violent, daring, uncompromising. I kissed the hand of the brave ‘guerriera’ and departed, feeling that she was one who did fight:

As they fought
In the brave days of old.¹⁵⁰

149 A portrait of actress Sarah Kemble Siddons, famous for her portrayal of *Queen Katharine*, by (Sir) George Hayter (1792-1871).

150 From Macaulay, “Lays of Ancient Rome” stanza 65.

Maria Edgeworth

Editor: Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849) was a novelist but the item below concerns memoirs she wrote of her father, which provoked comments from Nightingale on her own experience of family.

Source: Note to Benjamin Jowett, ADD Mss 45783 ff153-54

[1869]

Somebody (Disraeli) says that tact can only exist in the absence of deep feeling, that a family agree together much better if they will only wish to please each other and be pleased than if there is any deep affection among them. That I am sure is true. And I am sure that people, even not commonplace people, especially men, very much prefer, especially among their females, that there should be *only* that desire of pleasing and being pleased, and no deeper feeling or purpose in life. Sometimes a book, and not even a clever book, is like a revelation (to one) of the whole of one's past life. I have lived forty-nine years in this world and I never understood before things which this *Life* of Miss Edgeworth¹⁵¹ makes me see quite plain. He says exactly the proper thing, exactly what ought to be said (at the death of each wife) and you see that he felt nothing at all.

Upon my honour I think this is the best way of doing things: try to please all and care for nobody. Type and explanation of the want of higher interest. (She says that, at her father's death, her own private loss put every idea of public benefit lost out of her head.) I have endured the bitterest loss that ever woman had, except the Queen's, and I can truly say that now as then—for I feel its intensity more and more every week I live—my own loss is nothing, is gladly borne, compared with my ever-increasing feeling of the irreparable loss to the country. *How* irreparable I know now far more deeply even than I did at the time. She sums up her brother's perfect wife: "good sense, good manners, *good conversation*, good principles." That is like a new light to me.

What a fool I have been. Now I see that that is really all that fathers want in their daughters, all that the world wants in his wife: Good

151 *Memoirs of Richard Lovell Edgeworth, Esq., Begun by Himself, and Concluded by His Daughter, Maria Edgeworth*. Edgeworth's three-volume *Moral Tales for Young People* and two-volume *A Sequel to Early Lessons* were in the Nightingale library at Lea Hurst (now in the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books of the Toronto Public Library).

sense (meaning of course sense to think like him), good manners, *good conversation* (how enormous is the importance attached to that nowadays. One would think the world was moved by talk!). Good principles (for they don't want their women to run away and get into the divorce court). And with the four gs, even the better sort of people are satisfied; they *don't want* any deep feeling, any higher purpose in life, any deeper hold on things. It is rather in their way. It breaks up the family and does not contribute to "good conversation," to pleasant society. Christ's whole life [was] a war upon the family. I see now how it could not be otherwise.

People must almost always please their own families, not by the best which is in them but by that which is not best. The higher sort always have to give way to the lower, not the lower to the higher. In the Edgeworth family there does not seem to have been anything higher in them than what came out to please and amuse one another. This was their really amiable peculiarity. But, in their lives as in their books, there was wholly wanting the ideal. It is, I should think, almost wholly wanting in the world now, but more especially in the family, in marriage, and in the novel and in government administration. There is more of the ideal in *Indian* governors than at home. I am the ever-grateful fellow servant of one [John Lawrence] who has taught me again to believe in the ideal.

Benjamin Disraeli/Lord Beaconsfield

Editor: The Conservative Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli was also a much-published novelist, but Nightingale did not like his novels any more than his politics. The exception may have been his novel on social divisions in England, *Sybil, or The Two Nations*, 1846.¹⁵² "Lord Beaconsfield's *Endymion* is so low, vulgar and libellous that I cannot read it and will not send it. Is there no law to put down such mean libels against the dead?"¹⁵³ She promised her sister to return it "as soon as I go downstairs. I am ashamed of having such a low thing in the house."¹⁵⁴ This political roman à clef has a thinly disguised "Sid-

152 I.B. O'Malley reports her reading it out loud to her mother in 1846 (*Florence Nightingale 1820-1856* 118).

153 Extract from a letter to Angelique Pringle 13 February 1881, London Metropolitan Archives H1/ST/NC12/4/1.

154 Letter 16 February 1881, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/125

ney Wilton"; Lord Palmerston's marriages are disguised à la "Lord Roehampton." Living characters also quite obvious are Angela Burdett-Coutts as "Adriana Neuchatel," the "greatest heiress in England," and Richard Monckton Milnes as "Bertie Tremain," a "swell." Some editions gave a key to the characters. Nightingale's views of Disraeli's novel, *Coningsby* (in the letter immediately below), are also negative. On his death Nightingale remarked to her brother-in-law: "Doubtless you go to Lord Beaconsfield's funeral today. How solemn is the rendering up of his soul to God."¹⁵⁵

Source: From a letter to W.E. Nightingale, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8992/116

[c1845-46]

I have done *Coningsby*¹⁵⁶ to Mama and do not think there is much in it. It is more fitful than inspired, more languid than pathetic. I do not think it is worthy of Mr Parker or Uncle Sam and, as to the third volume, talk of French novels to see what English ones are! Yet Mama did not seem at all scandalized by it. I suppose it is not improper *enough* for us. Do you remember where the not very unrespectable Mr Ormsby says that he wanted to bet at White's "that Lord Monmouth's marriage could not last two years, but he thought, being his oldest friend, it was perhaps as well not to do it, etc." That is English life. I think it is ten thousand times worse than anything that Italian history lets one into, for there is none of the enthusiasm of vice in it, the poetry of wickedness, and it has not either even the *hommage que le vice rend à la vertu, l'hypocrisie* [the homage vice pays to virtue, hypocrisy].¹⁵⁷

Charlotte Brontë

Editor: Nightingale's diary notes reading *Shirley* by Charlotte Brontë (1816-55) while at the German resort Pyrmont with the Bracebridges.¹⁵⁸ She once borrowed Brontë's *Poems* from Richard Monckton Milnes. In 1861 she wanted to reread it, especially "The Captive," but the book was out of print so she asked him to loan it to her again.¹⁵⁹ This was

155 Letter 26 April 1881, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9008/149.

156 Benjamin Disraeli, *Coningsby, or the New Generation*, 1844.

157 François duc de La Rochefoucauld, *maxim* 218.

158 Diary note 20 July 1850, ADD MSS 45846 (in *European Travels*).

159 Letter to Richard Monckton Milnes 16 June 1861, Trinity College, Cambridge, Houghton 18/136.

presumably *Poems by Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell*, 1846, the first book publication of the Brontë sisters, who were still using their pseudonyms. The excerpt below gives high praise to Brontë's *Jane Eyre*.

Source: From a letter to Julia Ward Howe, in Laura E. Richards, "Letters of Florence Nightingale," *Yale Review* 24 (December 1934):342

28 July 1848

But have you read *Jane Eyre*? There are some authors of fiction, like Shakespeare who, like sculptors, set the human form before you, perfect in every part, behind, before, on either side not a point of view is wanting. It needs but the colouring and breath of our own actual life. Others, like George Sand, set a magnificent picture before us, without a back. It has the colouring, the appearance of life, but we know that it is but a surface, and that but one side of it. Others again, like Walter Scott, only aspire to giving us an outline, a silhouette, or a lay figure, to hang fine clothes and events upon. Some, like Miss Austen, give a Dutch picture, every detail elaborated. While another class still, leaving sculpture, painting, lithograph and all arts which represent the external form, present us with an analysis of thought and feeling, so far-searching, deep and minute, that we have no other idea of our hero or heroine than as a metaphysical problem. Now *Jane Eyre* seems to me to be real life—we know her, we have lived with her, we shall meet her again. It has all the faults of real life, but real and living it is.

George Eliot (Marian Evans)

Editor: Nightingale met Marian Evans (1819-80) in 1852, before her pseudonym was known, calling on her with her Aunt Mai, and sending a note afterwards. Evans recorded in a letter: "I was much pleased with her. There is a loftiness of mind about her which is well expressed by form and manners." Evans was less impressed with Hilary Bonham Carter, finding her "affected" and a bit snobbish: "I was the more surprised . . . that her friends [Nightingale and her Aunt Mai] seem so entirely the reverse." She was more agreeably impressed with another cousin, Barbara Leigh Smith, who is reputed to have been Eliot's model for *Romola*.¹⁶⁰

Like Queen Victoria and much of the reading public of England, Nightingale was an avid fan of George Eliot. She opened her "Note of Interrogation" in *Fraser's Magazine* with an allusion to *Middlemarch*,

160 Letter to Sara Hennell 16 July [1852], in Gordon S. Haight, ed., *Selections from George Eliot's Letters* 102-03.

calling it a “novel of genius” (*Theology* 3:12). In journal notes late in life (c1900) she credited Eliot with “unsurpassed talent in literary craft” for *Middlemarch*.¹⁶¹ She kept an extra copy so that she could lend it out.¹⁶² Yet in her comments on Jowett’s *Dialogues of Plato* (above) Nightingale made a number of acerbic remarks on *Middlemarch*, making marriage the solution for young women with aspirations: “Because women now can’t be Antigones and St Teresas, therefore they must marry two men, an uncle and nephew, one an imposter, the other a Cluricaune, within a year.” And this although in the “wilderness of London, where we are crying, imploring, stretching out our hands, advertising for women to come and help us!” Presumably Eliot’s heroine should have become a nurse instead of marrying either Mr Casaubon or his younger nephew. Moreover Eliot’s “husband’s son married [social reformer] Octavia Hill’s sister!” (see p 586 above). In the same vein Nightingale described *Middlemarch* to her father as “odious reading.”¹⁶³

Nightingale naturally read Eliot’s 1862 novel which uses Savonarola, martyr and fellow Florentine, as a subject, *Romola*: “Certainly the most living, probably the most historically truthful, presentment of the great idealist, Savonarola of Florence” (quoted in “Note of Interrogation” in *Theology* 3:12). She possibly read *Adam Bede*, for a quotation about “unloving love” to her sister, said to be from “friend Aeschylus,” may be from Eliot’s novel: “It is not only woman’s love that is a Greek quote as old Aeschylus calls it. There’s plenty of ‘unloving love’ in the world of a masculine kind.”¹⁶⁴

Source: Note, Add Mss 45844 f220

Text: *Middlemarch*: unsurpassed talent in literary craft. Essentially ignoble to disdain in her art the duties, interests, aspirations, ideals of humanity and addict itself purely to failures in ideal. One Octavia Hill to every street would regenerate London.

161 Add Mss 45844 f220.

162 Letter to Parthenope Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9021/16.

163 Letter to W.E. Nightingale 26 January 1873, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9006/2.

164 *Adam Bede*, Book 3, chap 22, in a letter to Parthenope Nightingale [1858], Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8997/69.

Charles Kingsley

Editor: Nightingale in her youth wanted to meet the Christian socialist priest and novelist Charles Kingsley (1819-75) and mutual friends, the Arthur Stanleys, tried to arrange a meeting at their house. Kingsley, however, did not appear, nor did he on the second occasion the Stanleys expected a visit. Kingsley's *Alton Locke, Tailor and Poet: An Autobiography*, prompted Nightingale's "tailor novel," *Suggestions for Thought*, which she began in 1852, only shortly after *Alton Locke* appeared.¹⁶⁵ His 1851 novel, *Yeast: A Problem*,¹⁶⁶ contains early advocacy of Christian socialism, specifically the need to spend money on improved housing, a lifelong Nightingale concern. Nightingale sent volume 1 of his *Alexandria* to her friend, Louisa Ashburton, as preparation for her trip to Egypt in 1858.¹⁶⁷ She also recommended Kingsley's *Hypatia* to this friend, although she "detested" the book herself. She owned his *Good News of God: Sermons*, 1878, and gave a copy to nursing students in 1879.¹⁶⁸ She read and gave away copies of his wife's biography of him, *Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories*. Nightingale sent two Kingsley books to Harry Verney on his birthday (titles not known). She would liked to have sent him Kingsley's *Hermits* (about the early Christian hermits) but was afraid that her low-church brother-in-law would not approve.¹⁶⁹

There is a letter from the Christian socialist F.J. Furnivall to Nightingale vigorously refuting the suggestion, made by Julia Wedgwood, that Kingsley might be leaving his Christian socialist principles. We do not have Nightingale's side of this correspondence, which was otherwise on another subject, Anglican sisterhoods. It seems that Nightingale was following the story and was glad to be reassured that Kingsley was as strong as ever. Furnivall sent her Kingsley's latest pamphlet to prove the point.¹⁷⁰

Nightingale was attracted to Kingsley's softer, poetic side as well as the "muscular Christianity." A letter (above) hoped for more men "of the Charles Kingsley type," who found sermons "in everything in nature, in a blade of grass even" who could lead boys "up from nature to

165 Charles Kingsley, *Alton Locke, Tailor and Poet: An Autobiography*.

166 Charles Kingsley, *Yeast: A Problem*.

167 Draft/letter/copy 8 December 1858, Add Mss 45797 f45.

168 Now in the Florence Nightingale Museum, London.

169 Letter to Margaret Verney 6 December 1893, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9014/133.

170 Letter by F.J. Furnivall to Nightingale, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9034/43.

nature's God."¹⁷¹ Kingsley was also a strong, amateur supporter of the sanitarian cause. Like Nightingale he believed God meant people to prevent cholera, not accept it as a judgment, for his God, like hers, was unendingly benevolent. The hellfire preachers in his novels are always treated in a hostile fashion (see, for example, *Two Years Ago* 224-25).

Nightingale deeply appreciated Kingsley's pro-Crimea novel, *Westward Ho*, which made him the "beloved of the soldier." It was widely read during the war; indeed its writing and publication were speeded up to make it available to encourage patriotism around the time of the Battle of Inkermann. The subject of *Westward Ho* was the Spanish persecution of American aboriginals (the reader was meant to substitute evil Russia for Spain and innocent Turkey for the aborigines). It provided a justification for Britain's going to war against Russia in the Crimea. Perhaps it was for this that Nightingale wanted Kingsley in 1858 to do a review of the royal commission report for *Fraser's Magazine*.¹⁷²

Kingsley's appreciation of Nightingale's work in the war appears in his *Sanitary and Social Lectures and Essays*:

If you want Christ's lost lambs really to believe that He died for them, you will do it better by one little act of interest and affection, than by making them learn by heart whole commentaries—even as Miss Nightingale has preached Christ crucified to those poor soldiers by acts of plain outward drudgery, more livingly, really and convincingly than she could have done by ten thousand sermons, and made many a noble lad, I doubt not, say in his heart for the first time in his wild life: "I can believe now that Christ died for me, for here is one whom He has taught to die for me in like wise."¹⁷³

Nightingale evidently read Kingsley's cholera novel, *Two Years Ago*, soon after its publication in 1857. The main story begins in 1854 in a small west country town, the fictional Aberalva, where the doctor, with the help of the curate, tries to prevent a cholera epidemic. The heroine is Grace Harvey, a maid turned schoolmistress, with whom Nightingale clearly identified. The extracts below show the opposition they

171 Letter probably to General Edwin Philip Smith 24-25 August 1889, ADD MSS 45809 f198.

172 Letter to Sidney Herbert 11 February 1858, Wiltshire County Archives, Pembroke Collection.

173 Charles Kingsley, *Sanitary and Social Lectures and Essays*, in *Works* 18:10-11.

faced in the belief that disease was God's judgment for immoral conduct, not the result of unsanitary practices.

Elsewhere, however, Nightingale greatly objected to Kingsley's development of his heroine, who became a nurse in the Crimean War to search for the doctor she loved (who of course also loved her and wanted to marry her but did not until the last page of the novel). Nightingale declared that this "doctrine," that disappointment in love was the quality of a good nurse, did incalculable "mischief," for such women made "infamous nurses." Nightingale then described a real example of a Crimean War nurse, Teresa Longworth, who married an officer she had met in hospital, and how it ruined her life when he later left her for another woman and she spent her fortune unsuccessfully taking him to court. Nightingale drove home the point: "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."¹⁷⁴ The excerpts from *Two Years Ago* (some are slight paraphrases and most have ellipses) are indicated in quotation marks, page numbers in parentheses.

Source: Excerpts from Charles Kingsley, *Two Years Ago*, ADD Mss 43402 ff175-77

[1857]

Anti-Sanitary Arguments: "Does he think we was all fools afore he came here?" "Backed by the collective ignorance, pride, laziness and superstition of A[berlva], he showed to his assailants that terrible front of stupidity, against which 'the gods themselves fight in vain.'" "There's a deal of human natur' in man." "I'll prove my innocence by not reforming." (203)

"It is hard to make the humiliating confessions which must precede sanitary repentance: I have probably been the cause of half my own illnesses and of three fourths of the illness of my children. It is very much my fault that two or three of my tenants have died of typhus. Sanitary reform is thrust out of sight simply because its necessity is too humiliating to the pride of all, too frightful to the consciences of many." (203)

"This newfangled sanitary reform is all a dodge for a lot of young government puppies to fill their pockets, and my opinion always was with the Bible, that it's a judgment of God and we can't escape His holy will and that's the plain truth of it." (204)

174 Letter probably to W.E. Nightingale 23 May 1862, ADD Mss 45790 f281.

“The preacher’s object, to excite the utmost intensity of selfish fear. Those inquisitors who tried to convert sinners (and on their own ground neither illogically nor overharshly) by making this world for a few hours as like as possible to what God was going to make the world to come forever.” (290) “A pharaoh whose heart the Lord himself can only harden,¹⁷⁵ one of those base natures, whom fact only lashes into greater fury out of very spite against the agitators, they did less than they would have done otherwise.” (285)

“To pull down a poor man’s pigsty. They might even so well be Rooshian slaves.” “Ever since you’ve been in this parish you’ve been meddling. I’ll speak the truth to any man, gentle or simple, and that ain’t enough for you, but you must come over that poor half-crazed girl, to see her plaguing honest people with telling ’em they’ll all be dead in a month.” (269)

“‘That’s a lie!’ ‘Everybody says so.’ ‘Then everybody lies, that’s all, and you may say I said so and take care you don’t say it again yourself.’” (270)

“*To God when He speaks Himself* they will listen, not to me.” (264) “It is the usual fate of those who try to put a little common sense into their fellow men.” (265)

“Where she had expected at least a fair hearing, she had been met with peevishness, ridicule, even anger and insult.” “Whether it was the curate or the doctor she was setting her cap at, for she never had anything in her mouth now but what they had said.” (266)

He’s that here government chap as the doctor said he’d bring down to set our drains right. If he goes meddling with our drains and knocking of our backyards about, he’ll find himself over quay before he’s done.

“I was a very foolish meddling ass, who fancied that I ought to do my duty once in a way by my neighbours. Now I have only to say that, if you will but forgive and forget, and let bygones be bygones, I promise you solemnly I’ll never do my duty by you again as long as I live, nor interfere with the sacred privilege of every free-born Englishman to do that which is right in the sight of his own eyes and wrong too.” (211)

175 An allusion to Exod 7:3.

“Some may fancy that matters were now getting somewhat settled. Those who do so know little of the machinery of local governments. One man has ‘summat to say,’ utterly irrelevant. Another must needs answer him with something equally irrelevant. You would fancy that the go-ahead party try to restore order and help business on. Not in the least. They are a little afraid that they have committed themselves, till in ¼ of hour the whole question has to be discussed over again, through the fog of a dozen fresh fallacies, and the miserable earnest man finds himself considerably worse off than when he begun.” (210)

“He impiously pretended to explain away the Lord’s visitation into a carnal matter of pipes and gases and drains, etc. If it’s not my concern, what on earth I am here for is more than I can tell.”

“Have you nothing to say about God’s view of a fact, which certainly involves the lives of His creatures, not by twos and threes, but by tens of thousands? There they are about to commit wholesale murder and suicide. If they don’t know the fact, is not that all the more reason for your telling them of it?” (207)

Half of the worse sanitary sinners, in this blessed age of ignorance, yclept [called] of progress and science, are utterly unconscious and guiltless ones. “Tell you what, my lord: we pays you your rent and you takes it. You mind your business and we’ll mind our’n.”

“If the cholera is God’s judgment at all, it is His judgment of the sin of dirt, and the repentance He requires is to wash and be clean,¹⁷⁶ in literal earnest, and then the cholera would be impossible in England by now. But is it not God’s doing? Can we stop His hand?” (222)

(They begin to be wonderfully patient and impartial, in the hope of staving off the evil day, and finding some excuse for doing nothing after all.)

“Wherever cholera breaks out, it is someone’s fault; and if deaths occur, someone ought to be tried for manslaughter till men have common sense enough to make laws for the preservation of their own lives.” (222) “When a preacher tells people in one breath of a God who so loves men that He gave His own Son to save them¹⁷⁷ and in the

176 An allusion to 2 Kings 5:10, 12-13.

177 An allusion to John 3:16.

next that the same God so hates men that He will cast nine tenths of them into hopeless torture forever (and if that is not hating I don't know what is)." (224)

"So was A[berlva] left 'a virgin city' undefiled by government interference, to the blessings of that 'local government' which signifies, in plain English, the leaving the few to destroy themselves and the many, by the unchecked exercise of the virtues of pride and ignorance, stupidity and stinginess." (213) "The Nuisances Removal Act constitutes the offenders themselves judge" and jury in their own case. (212) He found it useless to quarrel with a man so utterly unpractical who would probably, had he been stirred into exertion, have done more harm than good. (207)

Elizabeth Gaskell

Editor: The novelist Mrs Gaskell (1810-65) was a family friend and visitor at Lea Hurst when Nightingale, in 1853, had finally begun her nursing career in Harley St. Gaskell wrote some of her novel *North and South* at Lea Hurst, both while visiting the Nightingale parents and after when invited to stay on by herself to write in peace and quiet. Nightingale asked her mother to send her a copy of Gaskell's book during the Crimean War, wanting "a good novel—not fashionable" to take her mind off work. She had already read it serialized in *Household Words* and now wanted the "whole edition."¹⁷⁸ An undated letter from London asked her mother to send her Gaskell's *Round the Sofa*. Nightingale sent Mrs Gaskell a copy of her *Notes on Nursing* in 1860 and corresponded with her later on coffee rooms and institutes for workingmen. Nightingale was sufficiently enthusiastic about Gaskell's treatment of a fictional nurse that her cousin Hilary Bonham Carter wrote Gaskell the complimentary letter that ends this section.

Gaskell's comments on Nightingale are astute. She sent descriptions of her fierce determination to family members. She corresponded with Parthenope Nightingale, who was the source of much of the material on her sister. Gaskell described Nightingale's single-mindedness with appreciation. What might have been seen as a flaw in character—Nightingale's tendency to move on and devote herself fully to the problem at hand—made sense to Gaskell. Evidently one cannot love and serve all humanity (or such significant sectors of it as the sick) and give one's

178 Letters to family 22 April 1855 and 7 August 1855, Wellcome (Claydon copies) Ms 8995/12 and 8995/26.

time to one's immediate neighbours. Gaskell, the wife of a Unitarian minister, treated Nightingale's "call to service" in a matter-of-fact way, likening it to Joan of Arc's. Gaskell's comments are of interest for having been made pre-Crimea: Nightingale's own references to her call are years later.¹⁷⁹ Gaskell's discussion of the call shows that it was much discussed in the family—her sister was the source—long before Nightingale was famous.

Source: From a letter of Mrs Gaskell to Catherine Winkworth, in *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell* #211 306-08

Lea Hurst, Matlock

Wednesday evening [11 October 1854]

Mrs N. tells me that when a girl of fifteen or so she [Florence Nightingale] was often missing in the evening, and Mrs N. would take a lantern and go up into the village to find her sitting by the bedside of someone who was ill, and saying she could not sit down to a grand 7:00 o'clock dinner while, etc. Then Mr and Mrs N. took their two daughters to Italy and they lived there till it was time for them to be presented. In London she was excessively admired and had (I have heard from other people) no end of offers, but she studied hard with her father and is a perfect Greek and Latin scholar, so perfect that when she went to travel a few years later with Mr and Mrs Bracebridge and they were in Transylvania she was always chosen to address the old abbots, etc., at the convents in Latin to state their wants. She travelled for a year and a half, going to Athens, and all sorts of classical Greek places, up the Nile to the second cataract with these Bracebridges. Mrs N. says they equipped her en princesse and when she came back she had little besides the clothes she wore; she had given away her linen, etc., right and left to those who wanted it.

Then she said that life was too serious a thing to be wasted in pleasure seeking and she went to Kaiserswerth and was there for three months, taking her turn as a deaconess, scouring rooms, etc. Then to Paris where she studied nursing at the hospitals in the dress of a nun or abbess, and was besides a month serving at a bureau in an arrondissement in order to learn from the Sisters of Charity their mode of visiting the poor. And now she is at the head of the Establishment for Invalid Gentlewomen, nursing continually and *present at every operation*. She has a great deal of fun and is carried along by that I think.

179 See *Spiritual Journey* 2:403, 440, 499-500, 516.

She mimics most capitally the way of talking of some of the poor governesses in the Establishment, with their delight at having a man servant and at having *Lady Canning* and *Lady Monteagle* to do this and that for them. . . .

She must be a creature of another race, so high and mighty and angelic, doing things by impulse—or some divine inspiration—and not by effort and struggle of will. But she sounds almost too holy to be talked about as a mere wonder. [Mrs] Nightingale says—with tears in her eyes, *alluding to Andersen*, that they are ducks and have hatched a wild swan—and she seems as completely led by God as Joan of Arc. Now don't name all this, but I never heard of anyone like her—it makes one feel the livingness of God more than ever to think how straight He is sending His spirit down into her, as into the prophets and saints of old. I daresay all this sounds rather like “bosh” but indeed, if you had heard all about her that I have, you would feel as I do. . . .

[Gaskell was staying in Nightingale's room] It is curious how simple it is compared even to that of our girls. The carpet does not cover the floor, is far from new. The furniture is painted wood: no easy chair, no sofa, a little curtainless bed, a small glass not so large as mine at home. One of the windows opens out upon a battlement from which, high as Lea Hurst is, one can see the clouds careering round one; one seems on the devil's pinnacle of the earth.

It is curious to see how simply these two young women have been brought up. *This* place has nothing of the magnificence of Embley, their house in Hampshire, yet is a stately enough kind of abode. Yet here is the eldest daughter's room. In the outer room, the former day nursery, *Miss F.N.*'s room when she is at home. Everything is as simple. Now of course the bed is *reconverted* into a sofa, two small tables, a few empty bookshelves, a *drab* carpet only partially covering the clean boards, and stone-coloured walls, as cold in colouring as need to be, but with one low window on one side trellised over with Virginia creeper as gorgeous as can be, and the opposite one, by which I am writing, looking over such country! First a garden with stone terraces and flights of steps and old stone columns with globes at the top of them in every direction—the planes of these terraces being perfectly gorgeous with masses of hollyhocks, dahlias, nasturtiums, geraniums, etc. Then a sloping meadow losing itself in a steep wooded (such tints!) descent to the river Derwent, the rocks on the other side of which form the first distance and are of a red colour, streaked with misty purple. Beyond interlacing hills, forming three ranges of dis-

tance—the first dun brown with decaying heather, the next in some mysterious purple shadow and the last catching some pale watery sunlight. I don't know where it comes from!

In every direction the walks are most beautiful. Old English Sir Roger de Coverley kind of villages are hidden in the moorland hills about here. *Dethick*, where Anthony Babington, Mary Queen of Scots' conspirator, lived—his old hall is still standing, the empty tomb he prepared for himself in the church still there, empty, unoccupied by the poor “head and four quarters of a traitor,” and all done round with a punning border of squat barrels.

Source: From a letter of E.C. Gaskell to Emily Shaen, in *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell* #217 316-21

Lea Hurst
27 October 1854

Mrs Nightingale says she was a “dreamy” child. Did I tell you of her eighteen dolls *all* ill in rows in bed, when she was quite a little thing? These two girls had a governess for two and a half years, from seven to nine and a half, with F.N. Then she married and they'd another whom they did not like, so then Mr N. took his girls in hand and taught them himself. He is a *very* superior man, full of great interests, took high honours at college and worked away at classics and metaphysics and mathematics with them, especially F.N. who, he said, had quite a man's mind. . . .

[Parthenope Nightingale] said that she never saw anyone like Florence for the natural intense love of God, as a personal being. She says F. does not care for *individuals* (which is curiously true), but for the whole race as being God's creatures. One little speech of Florence's Parthe told me: “I look to thirty as the age when our Saviour took up his work. I am trying to prepare myself to follow his steps when I am as old as He is.” Now she is thirty-three. Florence takes up one thing at a time and bends her whole soul to that.” . . .

Parthe one day said: “She seems led by something higher than I can see, and all I can do is to move every obstacle in my power out of her path,” and so it is with them all. That text always jarred against me, that: “Who is my mother and my brethren?”¹⁸⁰ and there is just that jar in F.N. to me. She has no friend—and she wants none. She stands perfectly alone, halfway between God and His creatures.

180 Mark 3:33.

Source: From a typed copy of a letter by Hilary Bonham Carter to Mrs Gaskell, ADD MSS 45797 f58

6 September [1859]

Dear Mrs Gaskell

It is a little thing that makes me think of writing to you, and yet a little thing that methinks will give you pleasure. I thought so this morning when Florence said of your *Ruth*: "It is a beautiful novel and I think I like it better still than when I first read it six years ago." Further she observed how you had *not* made Ruth start at once into a hospital nurse but arrive at it after much other nursing that came first. We had sent for your *Ruth* to lie on her table and tempt her, and she bids me ask now for *North and South*, which also she read of old, though, my dear Madam, I don't "*expect*" that she takes to that quite so much as to *Ruth*, do you? Not that she has said so.

Edna Lyall

Editor: Nightingale sent a copy of Lyall's novel, *Derrick Vaughan*,¹⁸¹ to Margaret Verney's daughter, Ellin, who had confided that "she had begun to read somewhere, with your knowledge, and had never seen the book to finish it." Nightingale then recounted the "agony" she experienced in girlhood to finish a life of "Madame," Henriette d'Angleterre, sister of Charles II. By the time she saw it again, when she was fifty, "it had no charm." She was not sure if she would approve of it for her daughter: "It is, I believe, Edna Lyall's idea of a *hero at home*, like your little girl of twelve (how I should have liked to tell that story to Parthe)."¹⁸² Nightingale ordered her *In the Golden Days* for Lea School.¹⁸³

American Authors

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow

Editor: The American poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-82), a friend of Arthur Hugh Clough's, published a highly idealized poem on Nightingale, Santa Filomena, just after the Crimean War, in the first volume of *Atlantic Monthly*, 1857:

181 Edna Lyall, *Derrick Vaughan*, *Novelist*.

182 Letter to Margaret Verney 17 October [1890], Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9013/94.

183 Letter to Francis Edwards, bookseller, 4 March 1891, Florence Nightingale Museum 0555.

Whene'er a noble deed is wrought,
Whene'er is spoken a noble thought,
Our hearts, in glad surprise,
To higher levels rise.

The tidal wave of deeper souls
Into our inmost being rolls,
And lifts us unawares
Out of all meaner cares.

Honour to those whose words or deeds
Thus help us in our daily needs,
And by their overflow
Raise us from what is low!

Thus though I, as by night I read
Of the great army of the dead,
The trenches cold and damp,
The starved and frozen camp,

The wounded from the battle-plain,
In dreary hospitals of pain,
The cheerless corridors,
The cold and stony floors.

Lo! in that house of misery
A lady with a lamp I see
Pass through the glimmering gloom
And flit from room to room.

And slow, as in a dream of bliss,
The speechless sufferer turns to kiss
Her shadow as it falls
Upon the darkening walls.

As if a door in heaven should be
Opened and then closed suddenly,
The vision came and went,
The light shone and was spent.

On England's annals, through the long
Hereafter of her speech and song,
That light its rays shall cast
From portals of the past.

A lady with a lamp shall stand
 In the great history of the land,
 A noble type of good,
 Heroic womanhood.

Nor even shall be wanting here
 The palm, the lily and the spear,
 The symbols that of yore
 Saint Filomena bore.

Editor: In a letter to her father Nightingale quoted the last stanza of his “Hymn to the Night”:

Peace! Peace! Orestes-like I breathe this prayer!
 Descend with broad-winged flight,
 The welcome, the thrice-prayed for, the most fair,
 The best-beloved Night.¹⁸⁴

She paraphrased his poem, “What the Heart of the Young Man Said to the Psalmist”:

Act, act in the living present
 Christ within and God o’er head¹⁸⁵

(Longfellow’s words were: heart within.) From the same poem she cited “a forlorn and shipwrecked brother.”¹⁸⁶ She also quoted from “The Goblet of Life”:

This goblet, wrought with curious art,
 Is filled with waters, that upstart,
 When the deep fountains of the heart,
 By strong convulsions rent apart,
 Are running all to waste.

Nightingale bought (for £1.1) an illustrated edition of Longfellow as a gift, “which Mrs Bracebridge thought very nice and likely to please a foreigner particularly—the illustrations are very pretty.”¹⁸⁷

184 Undated letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8992/69.

185 Note, 24 May 1897 Add Mss 45844 f179.

186 Letter to Margaret Verney 13 February 1895, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9015/20.

187 Letter to Parthenope Nightingale ca. December 1852, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8993/122.

John Greenleaf Whittier

Editor: The American Quaker poet John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-92) sent Nightingale a poem written for her in May 1882:

Source: "Poem to Florence Nightingale of England," Columbia University, Presbyterian Hospital School of Nursing O-27

Where pity, love and tenderness
Are found, the Christ must be,
So, whereso'er thy footsteps press
His presence walks with thee.

If now the vast, far-reaching good
Is hidden from thy eyes,
Of all thy gracious womanhood
And free self-sacrifice,

Ere long upon thy works shall fall
The clear white light of Heaven;
But then as now to Him shall all
Thy grateful praise be given.

Editor: Nightingale quoted Whittier in praising the work of Sir John Lawrence in India: "Peace hath higher tests of manhood than battle ever knew."¹⁸⁸ She also quoted Whittier's "The Voices" (lines 17-20) in her "Note of Interrogation" (3:23):

The world is God's, not thine; let Him
Work out a change, if change must be:
The hand that planted best can trim
And nurse the old unfruitful tree.

Harriet Beecher Stowe

Editor: Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 1852, gave enormous impetus to the anti-slavery movement in the United States. Stowe wrote to Nightingale in response to reading Nightingale's tribute to Agnes Jones, "Una," the pioneer superintendent of nursing at the Liverpool Workhouse Infirmary.¹⁸⁹ She could not understand the great

188 Letter to Mme Mohl 26 March 1869, Woodward Biomedical Library A.10.

189 Letter 20 March 1872, ADD Mss 45803 ff3-6.

lack of women willing to be trained to nurse, which prompted a lengthy reply from Nightingale. Stowe's letter was otherwise a chatty description of the glories of wintering in sunny Florida (see *Women* for both letters).

Source: From a letter/draft/copy to Harry Verney, ADD Mss 45791 f140

[2 May 1872]

Just as I was writing this a letter from Mrs Beecher Stowe (who wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin*) reached me. She has so fallen in love with the character of "Una" (Agnes Jones), which she had just read, that she writes to me asking me to tell her of the progress of the work, supposing that we have many more Unas, saying that that *is* "making virtue attractive," and asking me to tell about our "Unas" for them in America. Shall we ask her to write for us? She ends: "yours in the dear name that is above every other, H.B. Stowe."

She says that her brother, the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher, of whom you may have heard as a preacher, has reissued our "Una" with a notice by himself, which she will send us. They wish to "organize a similar movement" in America (a "movement" of "Unas"—what a great thing that would be!) Shall we try all to be "Una"s?

Letter Publication

Editor: As the correspondence below will clearly show, Nightingale was strongly opposed to the publication of famous people's correspondence. She was reluctant to turn over letters requested by descendants, especially if they had any remotely compromising material in them. When she wrote letters with potentially damaging information in them she typically marked them "Private, Burn," but it seems that this was often overlooked (some people did comply). Nightingale was especially concerned to protect the reputation of Sidney Herbert and felt that Elizabeth Herbert did not have good judgment on her husband's career and accomplishments. Lord Stanmore, in his biography of Sidney Herbert, got his own back by making disparaging remarks about Nightingale's "jealous impatience . . . undue intolerance of all opposition of difference of opinion . . . censorious spirit," and other "womanly weaknesses."¹⁹⁰ Frederick Verney, whom she consulted about the letters, by this time was a qualified lawyer.

190 Arthur Hamilton Gordon Stanmore, *Sidney Herbert: Lord Herbert of Lea, A Memoir* 1:404-06.

In discussing the letters of Sir Henry Acland, on which Nightingale was more obliging than usual, she queried: "Was it Mr Gladstone who said that all this 'adds a new terror to death'?"¹⁹¹

Source: From a letter to Fred Verney, ADD Mss 68888 ff185-87

5 July 1896

*Lady V. Campbell.*¹⁹² I am aghast. Sir John McNeill said that the sense of honour was degenerating in England and he was himself a fatal illustration of it!! I who thought him the soul of honour! (I will write no more confidential letters in this world.)

But to business. Lady V.C. and Lord Stanmore!!! I have had no time to do *my* letters to Sir J. McNeill—I too have been ill, much worse than usual. But if you knew how much must be wholly torn out—no "scratching" will do, though it is a comfort to see, as you point out, that I am to "scratch out *whatever* I like."

In July and August it is always impossible that I should undertake any private business. We are overburdened with work—I especially because of the great change at St Thomas'. But I may have some time in September to use as she desires and I cannot leave London though the letters are so repulsive to me that, when I just look at them, I shut them up like some unclean animal.

She does not seem to know the law. The law is, I believe, clear enough, viz., that letters are the writer's copyright, that is, that they cannot be published without the writer's permission. I remember saying (was it to you?, was it in the case of Lord Stanmore who *has my* letters) and who wants *Sidney Herbert's* letters in my possession, that I was in his, Lord S's, power. You said: "Not at all. You have but to get an *injunction* and, etc." (I forget what the last words were).

I am sorry I prevented you from sending your excellent letter to Lady V.C. I believe I did so because I could not swear to every word in it. But you must now write her an "excellent" letter, please—not exactly threatening her with the law—that would be rude, but letting her know that there *is* a law and quoting whatever you please in this my letter as [][[.

It is curious that people who lead the ordinary society and recreation life have not the least idea of the life of one who has not had a

191 Letter to Fred Verney 9 August 1900, ADD Mss 68889 f122.

192 Lady Victoria Campbell (1854-1910), daughter of the 8th Duke of Argyll, whose sister was the widow of Sir John McNeill.

moment's leisure or a holiday for more than forty years and who cannot leave her work for them. Amen my preserver.

your loving
Aunt Florence

Source: From a letter to Frederick Verney, ADD Mss 68888 ff194-96

29 October 1896

Private. I am told that as you are so very good as to act as my agent, Lady V. Campbell had no business to forbid my seeing the letter she wrote you, and which was followed up by your most kind letter from the mountains, which was not to the point and showed that they were under an error. Till I have seen that letter I hardly know what to say. Of course the easiest and honourablest thing would be what you suggest, viz., "that Lady V. should" "leave them the letters with" me "altogether." I have even now only looked over the letters *cursorily*. There are two long ones of mine about Sidney Herbert which it is impossible to conceive how a man of honour could have kept. And nothing should induce me if I could not destroy them *not* to take out an injunction against the publisher for printing them, which I am told would be the right course.

There is a mass of trivial correspondence from my relations. There is a long letter from Sidney Herbert himself, showing how much Sir J. McNeill had helped with making regulations for the general hospitals and for the expenditure of my Fund, which I should not see any particular objection to being published. But they are so wholly uninteresting to the public. And there are some confidential letters from Parthe showing how much I had been persecuted in the Crimea, which it is no use reviving now. Indeed, I myself had forgotten it.

The whole leads to such a mistaken idea of Sidney Herbert that, if they are to be published, I should insist on writing a kind of epilogue showing what Sidney Herbert really did do and having it published with the life. But I suppose there is nothing they would like better. The whole is out of date and partakes of the nature of a libel, and oh what a waste of time for me. But even this is plain sailing compared with the other, Lord Stanmore's *Life of Sidney Herbert*, which is a difficulty indeed.

ever your loving
Aunt Florence

Historians

Editor: Nightingale's fondness for historical reading appears throughout her life and the many volumes of this *Collected Works*. The examples that are given below are of the difficult-to-classify sort. In a letter to her sister she offered to send on Ranke's "new book."¹⁹³ To an unspecified family member she complained about a mistaken reference to the historian Gibbon (not Stephen¹⁹⁴) "who says of Socrates, vide the account of Muhammad about 'how a good man may deceive,' etc."¹⁹⁵ She commented on Carlyle's "new" book in 1843, *Past and Present*, in a letter to her Aunt Julia Smith, and wished she could read the bits on work with her. "Blessed is he who has found his work: let him ask no other blessedness. He has a work, a life purpose—he has found it and will follow it."¹⁹⁶ She quoted to Colonel Lefroy a passage (unidentified) of Charles James Fox, "No, don't read me history, I know that's false."¹⁹⁷ She asked her sister to loan her Guizot's *Histoire de la Civilisation*.¹⁹⁸ Historical allusions and anecdotes from her reading of history appear in correspondence everywhere, for example, from a letter to her cousin Henry Bonham Carter: "You oaf, you lubber, you lazy loon, as that excellent woman said to King Alfred when he let her cakes burn."¹⁹⁹ Referring to the ineptness of the War Office post-Crimea, Nightingale cited La Rochefoucauld on the Fronde: "There never were so many fine words and so little good sense, so much enterprise and so little effect, so much action without design and so much design without action."²⁰⁰

When Margaret Verney was working on the Verney *Memoirs*, Nightingale said: "She is so happy doing the old Verneys who have been eaten by worms 200 years ago. What a thing it is to be interested in these

193 Letter to Parthenope Verney [February 1845], Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8992/77. Probably Leopold von Ranke, *History of the Reformation in Germany*, 1844, of which an English translation was published in 1845.

194 Probably Sir James Fitzjames Stephen (1829-94).

195 Unsigned letter to an unidentified recipient c1848, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8993/16.

196 In chap 11, "Labour." The letter is itself missing but an excerpt is Cook, *Life of Florence Nightingale* 1:34.

197 Letter 22 April 1856, Wellcome Ms 5479/5.

198 Letter to Parthenope Verney 22 March 1882, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9009/21.

199 Letter 28 December 1895, Hampshire Record Office 94M72/F582/33/2.

200 Letter to Colonel Lefroy 2 December 1858, Wellcome Ms 5479/13.

who give no one care, no responsibility, no anxiety. Bless the worms.”²⁰¹ In 1900 to William Rathbone she asked who could say “that our times are not as exciting and full of interest as the best times of the republic of Rome?”²⁰²

Source: Letter, ADD Mss 46176 ff37-41

Embley

2 October [1846]

My dearest friend [William Shore Smith]

Since I wrote last the Glorious Apollers²⁰³ have all been staying here, and most amusing have they been. Professor Wheatstone had all kinds of jolly little polarizing concerns with him, and when we went out walking he always had one in his pocket, that he might never lose one effect of clouds or shadows, and he used to polarize all the way as he went along. Then we had such a queer fish, a Professor von Middendorf,²⁰⁴ the Siberian traveller, who has been farther north than anyone has ever been before (except by sea). He was excessively amusing, overwhelmingly polite, but declared himself much scandalized by English usages, which savoured, he said, of the feudal, barbaric times. When we asked what, he said “passing the wine round the table” reminded him of the Knights of the Round Table and Mr Nightingale of King Arthur. He is a Livonian, but a Russian subject, and had gone through the whole of the Russian dominions from St Petersburg to the Chinese frontier at the river Amoor (and it took him 2½ years—if you look in the map, you will wonder it didn’t take him more) marking their boundary for them. He went to where the soil was frozen 610 feet below the surface!, and still found rye would grow there, far beyond the limits of any wood, where the only vegetation was larch about an inch high.

He lived for eighteen days in a hole in the snow on a fifth of a *raw* dog, and *that* his own dog, who had followed him all the way from Livonia (he could not speak of it without the tears in his eyes). Then his friend Toitchem, the prince of a Samoyed tribe, 4½ feet high, came and saved him, but he was months without seeing a fire or eating anything but frozen fish *raw* and he has taken such a dislike to eating in general that I never saw him eat anything here.

201 Letter to Maude Verney 26 October 1892, ADD Mss 68887 f82.

202 Letter 30 April 1900, City of Liverpool Archives 610.

203 Perhaps a play on the “Apostles” of Cambridge?

204 Alexander Theodorovich von Middendorf (1815-94) published four volumes on his Siberian travels in 1843-44. He visited at Embley after the meetings.

Once after 3½ days without food he was so ill that he took some mice, which he had preserved in spirits of wine in a bottle in his pocket, and drank the spirits of wine, which saved his life. After this, Toitchem wanted him to marry his daughter, a princess under four feet, but very accomplished. Toitchem said: “You are my very dear friend. I am a ruined prince for I had to sacrifice forty reindeer on the tomb of my wife, who was a very highly educated woman, and this and other causes have ruined me, but I will tell you the lowest price for my daughter—eighty reindeer, twenty white foxes, two needles, one yard of red cloth and a little tobacco. Now I know that you are a very superior man, but you are a poor one—go home to him who shines brighter than the rising sun (i.e., the Emperor) and bring back a barrel of brandy that shall fetch the price for my daughter and then we will live happy till the end of our days. You can shoot farther than I can (they have only crossbows) so I will drive the reindeer to you and you shall kill them.” Poor Toitchem.

Middendorf couldn’t persuade him that he shouldn’t come back to marry his daughter, who was sixteen, and they are waiting for him *now*. I asked him what colour she was. “Hm! he said, a sort of whitey brown. There was a widow who mended all the clothes of the tribe, a very clever woman—she often mended mine. She was the Mantua-making princess of the Samoyeds. I went away in the spring and when I came back I didn’t know her! She had washed herself! I had only known her mask!”

These Samoyeds are a wandering tribe; the women always pitch the tents (I can pitch a tent now, he showed me how) while the men smoke till they tumble down, drunk with tobacco. They are *so* wandering that they will move their tent a dozen yards rather than stay in the same place, if they don’t want to go farther. “Very warm,” he said, “it was in the tent, about thirty people lying in a space the size of the bow window.” Their hospitality surpasses that of the widow of Zarephath,²⁰⁵ for often, he said, when he was travelling, which he could only do in the spring, he had asked for food and they had given him the last bit they had, without any prospect of getting more for days, since they live on hunting. When he was in the wood country, he could always do, because he could eat the bark. They are pagans and some attempts

205 In 1 Kings 17:10-17 the widow had only a handful of meal in a barrel to feed herself and her son, but at Elijah’s request made food for him and yet had enough to eat for many days.

have been made to Christianize them with *tobacco*, in all which cases these good pagans, who never attempted to take from him the things most valuable to them, his cutlery, his medicines, his gun, became liars and thieves. I tried to persuade him that he had a "mission" to go and marry Toitchem's daughter, and civilize them properly.

Their miraculous gift in finding their way surpasses even the Indians'. Middendorf got as far as to the foot of Cape Ceverovostochnor (somewhere about the eighteenth parallel if you look in the map, I hope you'll be surprised). Here his needle showed 17° [19?] variation from the North Pole (you know that at London the variation is more than 24° west of the North). Presently he asked his native guides where the North Pole was. There was a great consultation, "There, there," said they, plunging forward, as if they saw it. He was sure they couldn't be right because then his needle would only have 10° variation so he asked them where the sun was. N.B. they hadn't seen the sun for a week and they showed him. And by Jo! they were right (as he found the next day when the sun came out) about everything, though they had never been there before. When he came back to the Samoyeds, he asked them how this tribe, which is still more savage than their own, did it. "How," said Toitchem, with a look of great contempt at the guides, "how do the white foxes find their way?"

Middendorf has fixed all the Russian boundaries for them as far as China. When he got into civilized places at the River Amoor, he struck back into the deserts again. Of course Tobolsk, Siberia and all those places are to him like Pall Mall and Piccadilly to us. Some of the nations are "nations dansantes" and some "nations chantantes," but none unite the two. The highest accomplishment of a Samoyed princess is to growl like a bear, and they dance in a circle, each alternate person being "bear" and the other "man" retreating from "bear" till they tumble down. At the river Amoor they sing, and he sang us a love song, exactly like the roaring of beasts. Bless my heart! what practice he must have given himself to imitate that song.

I have not time now to tell you of all Mr Wheatstone's most entertaining experiments, nor of all that able-bodied poet's Monckton Milnes's funny stories, nor of Schönbein's wonderful discovery of a [illeg] cotton, but I will write again. . . .

ever thy old Bos

Source: Letter, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9000/8

18 February 1862

My dear [Parthenope Verney]

By all means, as the old Duke of Cambridge said to the “Let us pray” at church, by all means let us read Stephen on Provence. I for one never take up Stephen or Macaulay and lay them down again till I have read to the end. The genuine spirit with which they inform their *creations*, creations though they be, though *partial* enthusiasm always for the right, honest in Macaulay—is it always quite honest in Stephen?²—make the charm of both these historians (?).

But as the *good* German theological school, Ewald and Co., say that Oxford has not yet the first element of historical research into theological matters, in which I quite agree (I can’t for the life of me, read Jowett and Co. though I try all I can, I do indeed), so the real historians abroad say that there is not the ghost of historical research in Stephen, I am too ignorant to say. But as for taking Stephen’s authority against Fauriel (who is “poor! Mme Mohl’s” authority, as you call her) upon such a subject as Provence, of which Fauriel is acknowledged sovereign and sole dictator, I should as soon think of letting the authority of the six hundred Army doctors be taken against mine as to the state of Scutari. And I did not. I beat and the six hundred fled (I mean in the commission, after I came back). *Magnus* est veritas, as Smedley says. Therefore I say: “Not in drink but in anger, what is Stephen to Fauriel?”²⁰⁶ I like Mme Mohl’s Provençal and eleventh-century chapters better than her whole book put together. If you send Stephen to Papa, you must send him this note too.

The dean of St Paul’s²⁰⁷ (urged by you) was so good as to send me Sir G. Lewis’s Hey diddle diddle.²⁰⁸ Please thank him for it. If I can, I will write myself. It amused me very much, but there is one thing which puzzles me, and that is what makes un homme sérieux. No one ever gave Sidney Herbert the credit of being one. His conversation was so brilliant, for people who like *anecdotic* conversation, 1000 times more brilliant than Macaulay’s. Yet he would as soon have thought of

206 Claude-Charles Fauriel (1772-1844), authority on literature, especially Provençal; his lectures were published posthumously as *Histoire de la poésie provençale* in 1846.

207 Henry M. Milman (1791-1868).

208 George Lewis, *Enquiry into the Credibility of the Early Roman History*. Nightingale was critical of the Cabinet minister for neglecting administrative work for such esoteric writing.

doing such a thing as this, while at the War Office (he who had more wit than they all), as of dancing before the Queen on his head with juggler's tricks.

Everyone calls Sir G. Lewis an homme sérieux. Yet he can play juggler's tricks in an office which killed his predecessor. I understand he does no work at all, but contents himself with saying that he is "very anxious" to carry out all his predecessor's plans. . . .

ever yours

F.N.

P.S. "Viewry," an old Oxford word introduced by John Henry Newman, now I believe in disuse, is what Stephen was as an historian. And among serious historians he will never have a higher credit than this. For me, I read him as de Maistre²⁰⁹ (not Xavier but the other) said he read Voltaire, once through every year: *c'est un plaisir que je me donne à l'imagination* [it's a pleasure I give to my imagination].

Source: Note to Jowett on Gertz and Bunsen, ADD Mss 45783 f158

[1868-69]

I am reading a very long correspondence of Gertz, containing the very essence of the views and axioms of the great powers from 1816-30—the secret history of all the congresses which have afflicted Europe in that time, and showing *the vanity of all the wisdom* of Metternich²¹⁰ and the ruling men of that time, *when one reads it by the light which history has since thrown* on the events of that epoch. They did work like moles underground, have done great harm, *kept back the sound development of Europe* and have prepared all that has happened since.

It is not quite easy to give an opinion on Bunsen.²¹¹ He has written at least thirty big volumes on very various subjects—he was rather cox-comby and vain than a humbug. He was learned and painstaking, but second-rate in his learning, because he wrote on too many subjects and was obliged to lean on other people's labours—on which he liked

209 Christian de Maistre.

210 Prince Klemens von Metternich (1773-1859), Austrian foreign minister and major influence at the congress of Vienna and other congresses.

211 The diplomat and Egyptologist Baron Christian Carl Josias von Bunsen (1791-1860), an acquaintance of Nightingale, was the first person to tell her of the Kaiserswerth deaconess institution. Her negative view of his writing was evidently widely shared, as "voluminous and verbose theological writings, for the most part of little enduring value," according to F.L. Cross, ed., *Dictionary of Christian Biography* 210.

to build grand theories, but gradually the foundations give way and the whole crumbles away, as is the case with his very voluminous and ambitious book on Egypt. I have read his books only partially: life is short and they are very long. I suppose the best is his description of Rome.

Editor: The Nightingale family knew the historian Macaulay, who has already been referred to in comparisons with Socrates and Goethe. To Frederick and Maude Verney she recounted: “Yes, Macaulay was a most disagreeable companion, to my fancy. His rude imperiousness to good men was intolerable, but the episode with Zachary is beautiful. When I compared him with Sidney Herbert I could scarcely stomach him. His conversation was a procession of one.”²¹² To Lord Stanley, then chair of the Indian Sanitary Commission, Nightingale explained that she had all the books that were copied for the report at her house, “‘to witness if I lie,’ as Lord Macaulay sings.”²¹³

Source: From a letter to William and Louisa Shore Smith ADD Mss 45795 f98

16 June 1876

*Could you be so very kind as to put up Macaulay’s Life, two volumes*²¹⁴ (which Miss Petherick tells me my mother has done with), *and send it by BOOK POST TODAY to Sir Harry Verney, Claydon House, Bucks.* The accounts of him [Verney’s health] are quite good, indeed he wrote to me himself in pencil. But, while the painful catching of the breath continues, it is as important as it is difficult to keep him from talking, and it is supposed this book will have a soporific effect.

Source: From a letter to Frederick Verney, ADD Mss 68883 ff172-73

22 January 1886

Pardon me for not sending your notes on Sir H. Maine²¹⁵ back yesterday. It was the first moment of leisure I had had to look at them and Maine together (which Maine Mr Jowett brought me). I concur with your “notes” altogether and should very much like to look at them again. It seems as if the periodical literature of the day, which requires

212 Letter 7 February 1888, ADD Mss 68885 f168.

213 Quotation unidentified, letter 10 July 1863, City of Liverpool Archives, Derby Collection.

214 George Otto Trevelyan, *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, 1876.

215 Probably Henry Sumner Maine, *Popular Government: Four Essays*, 1885.

a condensed literary treat, but by no means *considered conclusions*—on the contrary, rather a flashy, flimsy treatment—were bearing its fruit in all branches. The admirable clearness of Maine's and Stephen's "form": its charm, at least in Maine's, its brilliant illustration and simile, their total disregard of depth and almost equal disregard of truth, are all "periodical"-ly, if I may frame a word. Periodicalism, which = criticism, conscientiously disregards considered truth, because it aims at keeping the ball going. Criticism is like cricket. Answer and retort are the conscientious aim of periodicalism.

Still, Maine's book—besides being eminently readable—has its value. As Mr Jowett, who won't allow criticism of Maine's criticism, says: It shows that the essence of a government does not go with its name. The U.S.A. republic has the greatest amount of political, the least amount of social or individual liberty. No one can doubt that France, though a republic, is less free a country than England. I like your notes immensely and am sorry to part with them.

Source: Letter, Woodward Biomedical Library A.69

10 South St.
21 March 1889

Dearest Rosalind and Barberina [Smith]

To celebrate 6 February 1889 are sent hereby, with Aunt Florence's much love, the seven last volumes of Gardiner.²¹⁶ You appeared to wish to begin with Cromwell, but the first three volumes (James) are really among the best, where all is best, for the "higher criticism," the drawing out of the spirit of facts. I need only mention volume 3, pp 73, 152, 240. Churches the opening chapter of volume 1 especially p 17, Calvinism and Catholicism. So I shall send you these three volumes to Embley, with great interest in your interest, my "commères." I also send F. Harrison's *Cromwell*,²¹⁷ believing that Cromwell interests you particularly.

Dearest Rosy, thanks very many for your valuable pamphlet "English Labour" and for what is coming. I send you Longfellow, but are your Kensington commères at all worthy of it? The highest success to you all at Embley, in every sense of the word, is Aunt Florence's loving wish.

216 Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603-1642* (10 vols.).

217 Frederic Harrison, *Oliver Cromwell*.

Biography of Ellen M.

Editor: Nightingale's "Biography of Ellen M." is the closest she ever came to fiction writing, that is, it is a true story, told in a lively way and showing her fondness for adventure stories (especially those with a moral). The cause of Ellen M.'s unhappiness was one Nightingale concerned herself with throughout her life: the need for a woman to have a life of the mind and scope for independent action. Some folios are missing.

Source: Biography of Ellen M., Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9027

[1840]

Ellen was the only daughter of a pretty Irish widow. Pulchra mater pulchrior filia [beautiful mother, more beautiful daughter]. Partly owing to her mother's ill health, partly to that mother's overweening care and jealousy of this beautiful creature, she had scarcely seen any human face but her mother's when she was called upon to lay her in the grave. During a long and painful attendance on her mother's deathbed—she was her only nurse, her only companion and, at seventeen, when she closed her eyes, she felt left alone in the world. She went to live with a brother whom she scarcely knew, and whose great friend was a Dr M., editor of the *Standard* and a well-known contributor to Tory reviews. Dr M. was a thorragh littérateur of about forty years of age, the wittiest of diners-out, the most recherché of those who make colloquial popularity the reward of real hard work in literature and literary celebrity more than money their need. He was, however, making many thousands a year at that time by the *Standard* and magazines, was honourably staunch to his party and faithful to his politics, though often courted by the other side and beloved by all who knew him for his kindness and benevolence.

Ellen was a beautiful animal of seventeen, romping whenever her spirits reacted from the depression of her mother's death, in Irish cars, in Irish dances, with all the young men and women who came to her brother's house, also a professional literary man in Dublin. She herself could hardly read and write, and was kept by her saintly mother in such pure ignorance that at the moment her first child was born, she asked the nurse how children came into the world. To this fascinating savage Dr M. proposed, and she, in utter ignorance and childishness, accepted the man whom, half an hour before, she had considered like her father. They married and Dr M. brought his lovely savage to London.

He had just immortalized himself by a duel with Lord -- (in which, unfortunately, neither were shot) for a libel on Lady --, which Dr M., when half drunk at a dinner party, had written and inserted one evening in *Fraser's Magazine*, while he was temporarily its editor. And, with too much honour to allow the real editor to fall into the scrape, he, whom no one suspected—except that it was too clever for the real editor—immediately avowed himself the author, though Philip drunk had been piteously appealed to against by Philip sober.

The London life now began and, the young savage's first dinner party at her own house was awaited by her with all the terrors which such an occasion merits. "If I should disgrace myself for life, it will all fall on Dr M." (whom she loved with all the vehemence of her Irish nature). She dressed herself carefully in her white muslin and a broad bright new sash. (She told me the story when she was a widow and a grandmother.) Dr M. ordered the dinner himself. Mr Lockhart took her down to dinner. Every man at table was a celebrity; she was the only woman.

The soup went very well; it was easy to help and something for her to do. But, when it came to the chickens, her hands trembled so much that she could not carve them. She was sure, and it did not occur to the gentle ignoramus that she would not be called upon. Mr Lockhart all at once awakened to a sense of her fright—she used to tell me this story forty years afterwards with an enthusiasm of gratitude. He took her hand under the table so that nobody could see and said in an ordinary voice, so that nobody could hear, giving the hand a little fatherly shake: "Never mind, never mind, you will do very well; give me the chickens." From that day he became her protector.

In the course of four years she had four children and, though during the first part of her married life going out a great deal, these events naturally restrained her ardour of society. Her husband began to go out without her, chiefly to literary and artist men's dinners. From these, alas! he always came home late and she was sitting up for him and sometimes receiving him inebriated, not cheered. He became moody, though always kind and fond to her and his children.

One night it was later than usual—it might be 3:00 or 4:00 in the morning—three weary hours she had waited she knew at her needlework, three more intolerable hours she had waited hanging out of her bedroom window on a damp November night, becoming more and more convinced that there had been an accident. But, not even knowing at whose house he had dined, still less where she could find him

now and, unwilling to publish his disgrace to the servants, in case she should send them to find him intoxicated, at last she became aware that a cab, the same cab, had driven four or five times up and down the street. At the same moment the cabman became aware of her head projecting out of a window above his. Accosting her in broad Irish, he begged if she could please to tell him where Dr M.'s house was, and she, answering, adjured him to tell her where Dr M. was. "Where should he be," he answered, "bless his soul, but safe and jolly at the bottom of my cab." And he drew up at the door.

In shame and sorrow she was obliged to call the men servants to carry her husband upstairs. The cabman picked some papers out of the bottom of the cab, where they had fallen from his pocket in his drunken rollings to and fro, and threw them on the hall table, she in her agony of shame, distress and rapture at seeing him again, taking no notice. "How could I, how could I?" as she said afterwards. She sat up with the unconscious beast all night, for how could I sleep? In the morning, as she was sitting lazily over the fire in her dressing room, half asleep, her maid brought these papers to her. I think, ma'am, she said (and there was a cautious pity in her voice, which struck Ellen at the moment), you had better not let my master's papers lie about. These have been littering in the hall all the morning. The words were impertinent, but the tone was full of compassionate warning. Ellen took the papers.

She had meant merely to keep them till her wretched husband was in a state to receive them. But a well-known signature caught her eye and reminded her of an anonymous letter of warning she had received long ago, which, in her blind idolatry of her husband, she had entirely slighted and disdained. The signature was L.E.L.'s. L.E.L., whom *she* had so often had at her house, whose brilliancy in society she had so often admired, who had so often talked "intellectuals," which she could not follow, with that husband whom *she* could only love and who she had sometimes fancied, but repelled the thought, had acted the Corinne to her Lucile, even in her very presence.²¹⁸ The papers, which she now, forgetting everything else, read from beginning to end, were a series of letters from L.E.L. to her husband, from which it was easy to get her the whole story.

There had been no actual sin between them: L.E.L. was too proud for that. But he wanted an intellectual second wife—his little loving

218 A novel by Germaine de Staël, *Corinne, or Italy*; Corinne is the tragic heroine who loves but dies, Lucile her sister who survives.

savage was not enough for the clever man of literary taste. L.E.L. was alone in the world. Both had laid the flattering unction of their souls that they injured *her* in nothing. They took away nothing from *her* which she could miss, they deprived her of nothing which they considered hers. But she considered it hers—her husband's whole soul and mind—and she burst into a passion of cries and sobs which exhausted her till she sank into a stupor, only waking to cry again till she seemed like Niobe, all tears.²¹⁹ It was in this state that an old lady friend, her great intimate, coming to call upon her, found the young wife. And with a vehement incontinence of grief, which she regretted her whole life after, did she pour her whole secret, her whole sad heart into this woman's bosom, who was, alas! but too well primed, for it was she who had given her the anonymous warning.

Mrs - - comforted her in a coarse sympathizing fashion, vowed she would be revenged on L.E.L. and left her, charging her "to let her husband know that his wickedness was no secret to his wife at last." But, when the time came when she knew she should find her husband writing articles in his library, when she went in and found him languid, sad, repentant, trying to write and leaning his head upon his hand, the storm of passionate reproaches was beaten back upon her heart. All she could do was to lay the letters upon the table, stammer out, These were found last night, and creep out of the room. They never had any explanation, but there must have been some other explanation.

Within a week there appeared in some vulgar Sunday paper a garbled account of the whole business (the result of the confidence with the friend) and, stranger than all, L.E.L.'s strange justification. It is probable that she had nothing to do with putting this in the paper, but that she simply circulated it among her friends. She said that the whole was a novel written by herself, which novel she had submitted to Dr M. for his criticism, and that the letters written to him by her and those, which she did not deny he had written to her, were essays at love letters, to be inserted in this novel, in which he was helping her. However that may be, Dr M. had had some explanation with her and she had declared that she would marry the first man, be he who he may, who asked her. Dr M. had promised his wife never to see her more.

219 The mythical Niobe's many sons were killed by Apollo and her many daughters by Artemis. In Shakespeare's play *Hamlet* described his mother's behaviour at his father's funeral, as "Like Niobe, all tears" (Act 1, scene 2).

Ellen continued to go out in company with her husband and frequently they found themselves in the same party with the imperious genius. On one occasion, a Captain Maclean, who had recently come to London with an introduction to Dr M., asked who that striking-looking woman was. It instantly occurred to Dr M. that here was an opportunity of disposing of L.E.L. respectably. Nothing more passed, but he introduced Captain Maclean to her. He proposed, there and then; L.E.L. accepted and the rest of her miserable history everyone knows.

Dr M.'s punishment of the sin of the woman whom he had taken unto himself as his intellectual helpmate, to supply the deficiencies of the beautiful ignoramus, whom he had chosen as his affectional mate, was complete. Let no woman flatter herself that in such circumstances she will ever be spared even by him who has led her into them.

The poor little affectionate wife's fate was to be hardly less melancholy. Intoxication was followed up by extravagance, extravagance by debt, debt by the Fleet. In the Fleet he was in good company. Lord R.S. occupied a room on one side; in the same gallery were the honourables and many other lords and commoners. Cards, dice, drinking and bad women filled those merry dungeons which now are passed away. Money could do everything. They dined like aldermen and they lived like princes, if to live like a prince is to have opportunity for every sort of riot, as tradition still informs our conservative ears. [two folios missing]

... their pledge, though often before had she caught a sight of the long-necked bottle sticking out under his pillow. But all was in vain. The miserable man's race was run, and friends nor foes, spirits nor abstinence, wife nor doctor could not stop it now. He was released from the Fleet and died six weeks afterwards in his wife's arms, declaring, as he had done all along, that never man had such a wife.

Ellen, the widow, went to stay with some friends in Northamptonshire, with her eldest daughter, a girl of seventeen, who was broken-hearted. Of the three others, the youngest, a puny girl, who was born at Paris, had been at nourrice [a wet nurse] in France, with a paysanne [peasant woman], and was still at school there. One boy was an idiot and another a good-for-nothing. The eldest girl had all her mother's beauty and her father's intellect. She was devotedly attached to him. She was engaged to be married to a man high in the law at Dublin, who has since been appointed to the first legal office in one of our colonies.

The mother and daughter were scarcely arrived at the Northamptonshire friend's when the lady of the house, taking Mrs M. aside, said to her with little preparation: Good God, don't you see that girl is dying? Dying, said the mother, who during her late troubles, had never looked in her daughter's face. Yes, said the friend, and tomorrow and no later. I shall take her in the carriage to Dr R. at Northampton, the cleverest physician I know. They went. It was market day and Dr R.'s waiting room was besieged. He refused to see them without an appointment. Send up your name, said the friend to Mrs M., say that it is a case of importance and trust to the rough old bear's benevolence.

They were admitted. He was immensely struck by the girl, who was indeed one to attract all hearts and imaginations. He gave her three quarters of an hour, during which he examined her closely. He then asked to be left alone with her and she, as he subsequently told the mother, asked him how long she had to live and begged him to prepare her mother. He came downstairs to where the mother was waiting and said: You must not go back, you must stay at Northampton. I shall take a lodging for you. By degrees he told her there was no chance but that he could ease the dying girl's progress to the grave. And then [he] asked her name, saying he had not caught it. She told him. "What," he said, "not daughter of my old friend and school fellow William M.?" The same, she said, but I am his widow. From that day he never ceased coming two, three times a day to see the daughter. He interested all the neighbourhood in her [two folios missing]

. . . nothing from life but to enjoy it still, was provided for by the kindness of Mr Lockhart, a bishop and some other distinguished men in a college for the widows of professional men, where, in her own little house, with her own little maid, she enjoys her lamb chop and asparagus, tells capital stories of all the old ladies and their maids and their common pump and their chaplain is a favourite with them all, even at the disputed pump, does them many a good turn and will die as she has lived, a child playing on the shore of a stormy sea.

Miscellaneous Poetry

Editor: Nightingale as a young woman exchanged poetry with friends. The following, from a letter to a friend, is said to have been written by Sir John Herschel, the astronomer. The letter below states that "they were written for Mrs Kater and sung to her and Captain Kater as a duet to the tune of Cherry Ripe, which in their way of singing, slow and with an accompaniment of chords, was the most pathetic thing imaginable."

Source: Undated, incomplete letter to Joanna Horner, Columbia University, Presbyterian Hospital School of Nursing C254

Whither, whither shall I flee
Far from look or thought of thee?
By what spell compel my heart
From its baffled love to part?
Like the dove, that round the ark
 O'er those waters lone and dark,
Urging far her weary race
Flew and found no resting place,
So to thee my thoughts, in vain,
Driven abroad, return again.

Spite of scorn, of broken vow,
All without is cheerless now,
Yet perchance, as worldlings say,
Time may bring a calmer day,
Years may blight love's sweetest breath,
Absence do the work of death.
Whither, whither shall I flee
Far from look or thought of thee?
 Say, can adverse winds assail
Him, who courts no favouring gale?

Fate hold scourges yet in store
For him who loves and hopes no more?
Vain, 'tis vain, the heart bereaved
Of all its brightest dreams conceived,
Where a stamp like this is set,
Pines or breaks can ne'er forget.

A Literary Parlour Game

Editor: The parlour game reported here comes from a notebook Uncle Samuel Smith initially used to record a Smith family trip to Scotland in 1809. It seems that it was recycled for Christmas parlour games at Combe Hurst, home of Uncle Sam and Aunt Mai Smith, in 1862-63. (The notebook also has a list of furniture at Nightingale's house in South St. in 1874.) The list of qualities to be answered in the game is in Nightingale's hand, as are her own (rather facetious) answers. She also filled in the entries for an aunt. Other participants include novelist Elizabeth Gaskell, educator Anne Jemima Clough, possibly Harriet Mar-

tineau (or a H.M.) and the vicar, Jervis Giffard, and various Nightingale relatives and house guests. The entries below are those by Nightingale and her favourite rejected suitor, Richard Monckton Milnes, permitting readers to consider how well matched they were.

Some of Nightingale's choices seem odd (apart from the joking ones). One would have expected Michelangelo as favourite painter from references to him in so much correspondence, yet she chose the Dutch painter, Ruysdael (her grandfather had owned important Ruysdaels, now in the National Gallery, but this painter is nowhere mentioned in surviving correspondence). Similarly "favourite prose author" Tacitus appears (above) only once, and once in *European Travels*. Monckton Milnes's choice of Parson Adams as his favourite male character in fiction is quite wicked, for the well-educated, but simple, parson in Henry Fielding's *Joseph Adams* preached chastity for men as well as women, while Milnes was a collector of pornography.

Source: Parlour Game in Notebook, Private Collection of George Ebers

1. Favourite Quality

FN: Geniality; RMM: Justice

2. Most Disliked Quality

FN: Loquacity; RMM: Contented ignorance

3. Strong Point

FN: Generosity; RMM: Metaphysical perception

4. Weak Point

FN: Generosity; RMM: Mathematical faculty

5. Favourite Public Character

man living FN: Prince Albert; RMM: Frederic Maurice²²⁰

in history FN: Charles James Fox;²²¹ RMM: Washington

woman living FN: none of 'em; RMM: Mme Sand

in history FN: none of 'em; RMM: Queen Elizabeth

6. Most Disliked Public Character

living FN: Buchanan;²²² RMM: Louis Napoleon

220 Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-72), priest, Christian socialist.

221 Charles James Fox, MP, was an upright politician who refused bribes, a reformer on India, liberal in such causes as the repeal of the tea duty, favoured Roman Catholic rights and sought peace with Napoleon; a few days before his death he moved the resolution that abolished the slave trade.

222 Probably James Buchanan, U.S. president who compromised and equivocated on slavery.

in history FN: George IV: RMM: Francis I

7. Favourite Art, Occupation or Amusement

FN: Making vistas, domestic accounts, reading; RMM: Poetry, arrangements, whist

8. Favourite Prose Author

FN: Tacitus; RMM: Voltaire or Dr Johnson

9. Favourite Poet, Musician, Painter

FN: Cowper, Mozart, Ruysdael; RMM: Goethe, Mendelssohn, Titian

10. Favourite Food

FN: Turtle soup; RMM: Macaroni à l'italienne

11. Favourite Residence

FN: Combe; RMM: London

12. Favourite Motto

FN: "Don't"; RMM: Ne depensez votre argent que dans les folies qui vous amusent beaucoup [Don't spend your money except in follies that greatly amuse you].

13. Point of Attraction in Others

FN: [no answer] RMM: Sense of humour

14. Favourite Flower

FN: Foxglove; RMM: Roses

15. Favourite Animal

FN: A Thoroughbred Alderney;²²³ RMM: Cats

16. Favourite Character in Fiction

man FN: Gavroche;²²⁴ RMM: Parson Adams

woman FN: [no answer]; RMM: Elaine

223 A rich-cream type of cow from the Channel Islands.

224 Street urchin in Victor Hugo, *Les Misérables*, 1862.

NON-HUMAN SPECIES, LOVE OF NATURE, BIRDS

One suspects that Nightingale would have become a good amateur field naturalist if she had not been confined to her sickroom. Certainly her love of nature shines through these short notes, even if her enjoyment had to be largely vicarious, the view from her window. Her appreciation of trees and flowers is evident, her love of birds especially so. Early in life she told her cousin, “There is nothing makes my heart thrill like the voice of birds, much more than the human voice. It is ‘the angels calling us with their songs.’”¹ Late in life a letter to Lea Hurst asks to have the birds fed “as usual, and charge it to me.”² A letter to a friend remarked on a friend’s belief in the immortality of animals, “which is quite my own conviction,” agreeing also that they “have some qualities so much higher than we have.”³ Like J.S. Mill Nightingale believed that beautiful things in nature make people better, help “civilize” them or restore their spirits in times of stress. In a letter to a nursing colleague in Belfast Nightingale offered to send flowers and asked about “a tame cat” or a bird to make the institution more cheerful (see p 819 below). An article by Monsignor Fink stressing the Roman Catholic influences on Nightingale saw a Franciscan strain, with her delighting in flowers and love for “all of God’s creatures.”⁴

Two entries in Nightingale’s 1877 diary concern nature, one of a hare run down by two greyhounds and man galloping behind: “all for the pleasure of the greyhounds and the man, and not *one* to sympathize with the hare.” The second affirms: “It is God’s butterfly. Kindness to animals.”⁵ She owned a copy of F.O. Morris’s *Letters to the “Times”*

1 Letter to Hilary Bonham Carter in *Life and Family* 1:435.

2 Letter to Mr Yeomans 19 December 1888, Boston University 1/9/120.

3 Letter to Mary Clarke Mohl 12 June 1873, Woodward Biomedical Library A.39.

4 Leo Gregory Fink, “Catholic Influences in the Life of Florence Nightingale” 3.

5 Entries 25 February and 17 November 1877, respectively (*Spiritual Journey*).

about Birds, etc., a collection of letters advocating bird protection, now held in the University of Nottingham Archives.

Nightingale clearly saw individual personalities in animals. In a letter to Maude Verney she noted: "I have not seen big Mr Tomcat yet, but my kitten has—he would make three of her. First she kissed him and then she boxed his ears. But he did not give it back, only walked out of doors."⁶ Her Arctic explorer cousin, Benjamin Leigh Smith, had been saved by the dog Bob, who brought back game for the stranded crew (recounted in *Life and Family* 1:724-25). Nightingale had Bob brought for a visit one Sunday afternoon.

Source: From an incomplete letter to W.E. Nightingale, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 8992/74

[January or February 1845]

The keepers have brought in *my poor owl*—I had heard him hoot every night, and often he had made me creep—now he will never hoot any more. I don't know why they should kill the owls, particularly if, as Gale says, the mice run about like donkeys.

Source: From a letter to Parthenope Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9003/131

17 December 1869

If my memory serves me, the "wren" was a golden-crested wren, in the Pentons' time, in the old tree in the middle of the sweep opposite the parsonage door, and Matilda Penton the operator. Now golden-crested wrens lay not only "eight eggs" but I have myself counted at Embley up to thirteen and sixteen.

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9006/30

14 March 1873

Could you ask your *former tenants* in the summer at 32 *what a little bird was* in a cage on the balcony. It used to begin at 3 o'clock in the morning making such a holy little noise to itself, *talking to God* I am sure. At last its silence woke me one morning. I rushed to the window and your tenants were gone! No one could believe how I missed it. I think it was some kind of (*young*) lark. (There were two cages on the balcony; the other made a very ugly noise.)

6 Letter to Maude Verney 21 December 1887, ADD Mss 68885 f67.

Source: From a letter to Sir Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9009/115

23 November 1882

I return a lark which you were so good as to send me. *Pray, pray* forbid ALL killing of larks. (I have enforced this on the cookery school.)

Source: From a letter to Parthenope Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9011/11

12 March 1886

Do you know Mrs Gatty's *Parables from Nature*? I think them exquisite and know nothing else which teaches after the fashion of Christ. There are three on the resurrection.⁷ Some of them are most profound, the loveliest things I know, though, about grubs. Some, like the robin singing what it believes to be its last song of thanksgiving for the last holly berries in the snow, most pathetic.⁸ Some have all the subtle wit of her daughter, Mrs Ewing, like the "Meeting of the Rooks," who determine that man is an "elongated" rook, and that the object of all his mines, his collieries, his black chimneys, is to get himself *black* again *like a rook*, but he only succeeds in being black by day and comes white again at night.⁹ It is a charming burlesque (*dusaristotokeia*)¹⁰.

Source: From a letter to Margaret and Lettice Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9011/57

9 October 1886

Darling Lettice, I live in Mother's beautiful rooms at Claydon and think of her and you and I keep her east window open at night, and hear the birds whispering their morning prayers to God before the dawn. Then comes the dawn of another day and I think of Mother. Then the cock begins in the courtyard with his loud impertinent cry and all the hens, white, black and Oxford mixture, come out on the lawn to my indignation, for they grab about and feed on the lawn. And if a solitary thrush comes modestly in the corner under the trees for his worm, they run at him, and say: "That worm is ours." The thrush

7 Margaret Scott Gatty, *Parables from Nature*; "A Lesson of Faith" cites Job 14:14 and gives example of caterpillar turning into butterfly; "The Circle of Nature," on the hydrologic cycle, has vapours returning with a blessing; "Not Lost but Gone Before" gives an example of dragonflies hovering on surface of water, longing to reassure the hearts of the trembling race "who are still hoping and fearing below."

8 In the chapter "Daily Bread."

9 In "Inferior Animals."

10 A Greek reference: unhappy mother of the noblest son.

retires discomfited and I think of getting a peashooter and shooting peas at the hens. But I know they would only stop and pick them up. But, if I do but shake my window, they run away, for they know their conduct is greatly to be disapproved. Then, at 8:00 o'clock, as I have observed at Lea Hurst and wherever I have been, the singing birds stop their songs and twittering and go away somewhere, to breakfast for half an hour.

. . . When you write of Lettice singing like a "little bird" to herself, then I think of the morning singing birds under your east window here and God's carol in their voices.

Source: Note, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9011/129

5 May 1887

There were four parent birds (starlings, I think) which I have watched for long flying in and out of the top windows of the belfry whose secret I have most carefully kept. I think their little ones are *hatched* (in the nests *inside*). Since the ringers came this morning, the poor parent birds have not gone in; two are on the tree outside occasionally. Surely no one can have had the cruelty to take their nests.

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9011/133

19 May 1887

Don't look into too many birds' nests. It makes the mother forsake. I have seen forsaken nests at Claydon. And you know the Countess of Desmond who lived till she was 157 died from falling out of a pear tree (where she had gone birds' nesting, I suppose).

Source: Letter fragment to Mary Shore Smith, Private Collection of Hugh Small, copy Balliol College

ca. July 1888

There is a thrush here. We fed him during the winter—he is so good as to sing in the trees opposite my bedroom windows, in all the din of Park Lane, the only thrush I ever heard sing in London. Perhaps you [Aunt Mai] sent him—he does so remind me of Embley.

Source: From a letter to Margaret Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9013/111

29 November 1890

We are here in sharp frost and deepish snow and are all feeding birds. But a dear Missel thrush, whom I had been feeding up with animal food—he can't eat bread—for your next spring here; I am afraid is

dead, he tried to get into my room yesterday for warmth. The worst of it is you know that the sparrows come and eat up everything. Grand-papa has cut down the three large bushes on the east slope of the lawn nearest the house, where the blackbirds and other delicate birds used to roost. I have not seen my own particular robin who used to fly straight to me from the east side, then take a tour round the church and again to my window, since. I saw a wretched blackbird digging his grave in the snow yesterday. These are too shy to come to my balcony. The frost is very hard indeed.

Source: Note, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9014/43

21 September 1892

A cry for Justice

To the Rt Hon Sir Harry Verney Bt

F. Nightingale's statement: In defiance of all pacts and promises, at 1:00 P.M. today 20 September 1892, the magpie entered the tennis lawn and leapt upon a chair on which was a large white duster, another white something and a black one, but perhaps this last was only his tail. He began tearing the large duster, but which was torn before. He then flew off with something to his hiding place, in apparently the churchyard, where I found a bone of his, but perhaps it was Nip's. He then returned quite innocent round the church. At this juncture appeared Ruth,¹¹ and rescued the duster. There then ensued a struggle, a *single combat* between *Ruth Achilles* and *Magpie Thersites*,¹² when the duster was dragged thrice round the walls of Troy. But Ruth firmly held her ground, and the magpie appeared intent on flying in her face. The magpie returned round the church, looking quite innocent to the lawn tennis, but, on Sir Harry and Miss Lettice appearing, retired with a piece of meat to the bushes in sanctuary.

I now call upon Sir Harry as a magistrate to empower me to capture the magpie who has broken bounds, who, fond of attacking people's heels and biting their fingers is easily caught. For the sum of one and six, a boy will have no objection to have his fingers pecked, to seize the magpie and wring his neck. But I do not propose to proceed to this extremity today, only to cage him. Tomorrow if he returns wring his neck.

11 Ruth Florence Verney (1879-1968), Nightingale's goddaughter, Harry Verney's granddaughter.

12 An abusive Greek at the siege of Troy.

Affidavits:

I testify to single combat with magpie.

(signed) Ruth

I testify to magpie biting my heels.

(signed) Lizzie Coleman

We testify to being driven from house and home by Magpie.

(signed) Blackbirds and Thrushes (their marks), etc. [birds' feet are drawn in lieu of signatures]

Source: Undated note, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9014/82

A mutton, shank bone, cooked (all the best part of the meat stripped off for human cormorants) is what the tomtits would like for his, Sir H.'s, birthday. (We always began the mutton system for the tomtits at Lea Hurst in the summer, and at Embley in the autumn. And they signified their gracious acceptance of it by pecking at the bone all day, except when they were swinging on it.) Suet is very agreeable to birds, *sparrows* only will eat, can digest, crumbs. Other birds must have all sorts of meaty things.

F.N.

There was one wretched half-starved starling (starlings eat only animal food) who used to beg at my window this year, the only survivor of the splendid parade of starlings on the church tower.

Source: From a letter/draft/copy to Harry Verney, ADD Mss 45791 f245

22 November 1892

Birds: I don't believe a word of it, that sparrow clubs are at an end and bird slaughter stopped. Ask Morey. I saw a sensible diminution of birds in my *last* few weeks at Claydon over and above the extraordinary disappearance of the last two years. Some species have entirely disappeared. One wretched half-starved starling who came to my window to beg is the sole representative remaining of the splendid crown of starlings which used to sit or parade along the top of your church tower. I hope Lettice feeds the birds.

Source: From a letter to Edmund Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9014/129

20 November 1893

Thank you for the glasses for birds very much. My winter birds are beginning to flock to my balcony. What seed do you recommend for the common (not cage but) London birds?

Source: From a letter to Harry Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9014/134

7 December 1893

Take care of your birds. Feed your small birds, your singing birds especially, your little tomtits, your tree-creepers, your flycatchers(?), your robins, your starlings. It is a dreadful thing to see the rooks killing the starlings, the starlings killing the blackbirds and thrushes. It is the horrible "survival" of the strongest. All these birds are meaty birds—they must have animal food, your singing birds are disappearing every year from Claydon. The omnivorous sparrow, the robin and chaffinch, when hard up, are the only birds which will live upon bread, the blackbird and thrush and tomtit can only live on what resembles worms and insects. They creep into holes and die. Hang up a mutton bone in the trees. I always fed your nuthatches and squirrels with nuts. The rook can shift for himself. My mother always put the whole remains of breakfast and luncheon out of window. The birds flew down directly, at Embley. Now Embley is being depopulated of birds like Claydon.

(printed) F. Nightingale, a bird

Source: Draft/copy, ADD Mss 45812 ff203-07

London

13 October 1894

Private

Uncle Toby

You do me the honour of asking me to be something to your "Dickie Bird Society"—all hail to it! I observe that one of your "pledges" is to "feed the birds in the winter." Do your young members know how to "feed the birds"? Every child, servant, storybook, etc., thinks that it means "*with crumbs*," do not they? Now as a general rule sparrows are the only birds that will eat crumbs; robins will eat them if "hard up." All singing birds are carnivorous, live upon worms, insects, etc., and, speaking generally, if you feed wild birds in the winters, you must feed them with meaty things, is this not so?

There is an ornithological book, unhappily out of print, which gives you the food of every English wild bird at different times of the year. There is another which has two chapters showing the main things on which wild birds live, also out of print. And people go on feeding the birds with crumbs as before. My mother always cut up everything that was left at breakfast and luncheon: bacon rind, pieces of fat, potato, brown bread and butter, odds and ends with gravy, suet, etc., put it out of window for the birds. The consequence was that we had 120 sorts of birds—some rare—while nobody else had more than eighty. The

consequence was that we had garden fruit, while others had none, because they destroyed the birds that destroyed the insects that destroyed the fruit.

The most pitiable sight in bird life I know is to see a thrush nothing but bones and feathers trying to eat the crumbs the good housewife to the birds was throwing out, and dying of starvation. Yet there is a still more pitiable sight, and that is in a very hard winter to see the rooks killing the starlings, the starlings the blackbirds, and the poor little finches with their clothes over their heads dying silently, silently, because no one has the sense to give them the food they can eat. It goes into the kitchen maid's pail and is thrown away, or to the pigs, who really could spare some. Even in London you can save many lives. The poor little tree-creepers who do not speak will come to your balcony and go away finding nothing and die. Still no one learns the lesson.

Doubtless you make your little *country members observe* what the *wild birds eat during each month of the year* and distribute their *largesse accordingly*. There are some seeds and berries some birds will eat and perhaps they will take a *small* percentage of your fruit as a "commission" for saving the rest. But rooks when following the plough are generally eating the wireworm and the creatures which destroy your corn, are not they?, and so with other birds.

Yet I knew allotment men who had the barbarous stupidity to sweep all the birds sleeping in the bushes after dark into their nets and had their allotments eaten up by insects in consequence. So with oak trees. To return to birds' food, in winter cold weather, if you hang up a mutton bone with a little mutton on it in a low tree, you will soon find it covered with tomtits feeding. When the gardener shoots the little birds and the gamekeeper the larger ones, one feels that the order of nature is being upset, and that these men are bringing about the very thing they thought to prevent.

I hope you will excuse this somewhat disconnected and interrupted letter, written to appeal to your kindness to save the birds. I regret that, owing to the state of my health and the pressure of much work, I am unable to do more; I am in fact almost entirely a prisoner to my room.

Source: From a letter to Charlotte (Mrs T.H.) Green, Wellcome Ms 5477/18

11 November 1894

The "owl" I assure you was a much more interesting person than I. He fell out of his nest on the Parthenon (a very small fluffy owl, the Athenian owl, and was called Athena) and I rescued him from some

boys who were tormenting him, for the sum of one parà.¹³ I brought him home to England in my pocket, where I regret to say he ate a live Athenian grasshopper, but failed to make any impression on two small tortoises which I was also bringing to England. When he was adopted at my old home in England he lived principally in a bookcase behind the books, where he made his presence known by uttering a peculiar cry, some 150 times, like a prayer. But, with the extraordinary instinct of some animals—smile if you please—he dropped off his perch dead when he heard I was going to the Crimea, though he had not seen me for fifteen months (I was keeping a hospital in London for sick governesses).

My mother carried him about wherever she went, while he lived, and had him stuffed when he died, where he still is at my old home¹⁴ (I am the sole survivor of my immediate family). Now, was he not an interesting character?

Source: From a letter to Rosalind Nash, Woodward Biomedical Library A.75

1 January 1896

I am glad that L.V. Nash, esq. [Louis Vaughan Nash, their son] likes his 'oss [horse], whose head and neck strongly resembles the Duke of Wellington's horse Copenhagen who, without food or water, carried his master for ten hours through the Battle of Waterloo, and when they returned to their miserable headquarters, frolicked about and kicked his heels in the air, as he had not English enough to express his joyful ecstasy that he had won the battle. How much cleverer animals are than we are!

Trees and Flowers

Editor: Nightingale had strong views on the desirability of trees and other plants on hospital grounds, so long as trees were not so placed as to impede ventilation and sunlight. In 1897 she sent a nosegay to a nurse with cancer: "It sometimes gives a moment's pleasure to a great sufferer to see how God was thinking of *her* when He made those beautiful flowers."¹⁵

13 A small Turkish coin, according to the OED worth one twentieth of a penny.

14 Athena was put on display at Claydon House in 2002; until then she continued to reside at Lea Hurst, now a nursing home, RSAS AgeCare.

15 Letter to Miss Gordon 2 January 1897, Wellcome Ms 5476.

Especially in her old age Nightingale appreciated the gifts of flowers and plants sent to her by family and friends. William Rathbone sent her flowering plants weekly. Roses arrived on her birthday from Edmund and Margaret Verney. Wildflowers from the country brought back memories. A very late letter to her cousin Rosalind Nash exclaims: "How charming are the violets and honeysuckle and ivy and catkins which you have had the great kindness to bring me yourself, fetching the spring woods straight to my bedside, which I could not see in any other way, and which no shop could send me—1000 and 1000 thanks."¹⁶ Nightingale had brought cypress cones back from Scutari, which were planted at Claydon. Edmund Verney sent her a photograph of the trees grown from them in 1905.¹⁷

Source: Note, Buckinghamshire Record Office

17 September 1861

Trees: It is impossible to give a general rule in answer to this question. So much depends upon the height of the building, the height of the trees, the aspect of the windows, the direction of the prevailing winds, the nature of the soil, etc. I should prefer having nothing of *the same* height as the building within the distance of *twice* the height of the building. That the trees are to the north is in favour of their standing, both because they impede *no* sun and because north winds are generally cold winds.

A room is notoriously unhealthy where the trees stand just between the windows and the principal sunshine they get. That "the soil is damp" is against the trees standing. It is certainly unhealthy to have always a sodden surface close to your hospital walls, but trees make a place a great deal more attractive to the sick. A place surrounded with trees except to the southeast was healthy because the prevailing wind was southeast. One thing is certain; you can always cut down trees, you cannot build them up. They will be least unhealthy during the winter, supposing them to be unhealthy.

If the committee wish it, I will ask Dr Sutherland to go down and look at the place sometime this winter or next spring. And he and I can then report to the committee our opinion about these poor trees, as to which it is impossible to me to judge from the present data. Dr Sutherland is now abroad.

F. Nightingale

16 Letter 31 January 1901, ADD Mss 46865 f102.

17 Letter of Edmund Verney to Elizabeth Bosanquet 6 November 1905, Claydon House Bundle 329/1.

Source: Note on roses, Columbia University, Presbyterian Hospital School of Nursing C137

3 November 1881

Mr Francis

The old-fashioned *white* Derbyshire cottage rose, double but not very double; it flowers in great profusion.

The old-fashioned *crimson* (or dark pink) Derbyshire cottage rose, so little double that it shows its *golden eye*.

The old-fashioned damask rose, scarcely double at all.

F.N.

Source: From a letter to Ellen Pirrie, London Metropolitan Archives H1/ST/NC1/85/10

14 October 1885

The infirmary ground is yet unplanted. It seems ridiculous to offer you rhododendrons from England, but if you think well, might we send you some? We have furnished the grounds of two London work-house infirmaries with rhododendrons, which did well. Is there any flower mission at Belfast? If one can get in flowers and plants, a canary or singing bird in a cage, a tame cat which will not hurt the canary, it is a civilizer, is it not? in the wards of an union infirmary. I hope you have these cheerful things in your own rooms.

Source: From a letter to Margaret Verney, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9014/148

6 March 1894

Do you know the pair of two magnificent Cedars of Lebanon in Embley garden were blown to pieces in the great southwest gale? There is nothing left but a few bare poles. I think nothing is so pathetic as the pains nature takes to repair her disasters. A few of the bare small branches broken off were sent to me with their cones on. The other day I found leaf buds sprouting all over these dead sticks. "It is spring," they said, "we will do our part." That is God's lesson to us.

Source: From a letter/draft/copy to Harry Verney, Add Mss 45791 ff211-13

[after 12 May 1890]

I think of you and learn a lesson of your faith. I never see a soap bubble when I am washing my hands without thinking how good God was when He invented water and made us invent soap. He thought of us all and thought how He could make the process of cleansing beautiful, delightful to our eyes, so that every bubble should show us the most beautiful colours in the world. It is an emblem of His spirit.

When we put our own into it and handle them too roughly, immediately they break, disperse and disappear. So I try to put as little of my own as possible into things.

Some Scotch doctor says: "Wait for the buds and the birds and trust in God." So I scarcely ever see that lovely thing, a bird, without thinking it teaches me to trust in God. And I think God thought of me and of others when he had that tree in Dorchester House Garden put there, for the little birds fly up from it to be fed at my window, though they are often disturbed by the crows and the workmen in the other houses. I have had no end of thrushes and other birds besides sparrows this year.

My mother was so fond of these verses:

O Lord how happy we,
If we could put our trust in [Thee]
If we from self could rest [?]
And feel at heart that One above
In perfect wisdom, Love is working for the best.
O let these wayward hearts of ours
Such lessons learn from birds and flowers.
Leave all things to a Father's will
And feel before Him lying still
E'en in affliction peace. Bid them from self to cease.

Fare you very well.

ever yours and hers

. . . Some of the commonest things in the world combined with His light, drops of water, soap bubbles, are the most beautiful.

Source: From a draft/note to unnamed recipient, Add Mss 45815 f122

[c1897]

Nobody has ever yet been pauperized by pure fresh air and by an abundance of it. We can say exactly the same of pure water. If every good and perfect gift comes down from above,¹⁸ pure water is one of these. Shall we not commemorate the Queen's reign by bringing from the purest source available a Queen Victoria River of water absolutely pure, of generous abundance that can never fail, to be for countless ages a gift of health and life to the capital of the empire and its immediate surroundings, and possibly all the population between the source of supply and London.

18 A paraphrase of Jas 1:17.

Is it possible to imagine any greater pleasure for the Queen in her closing years than to know that her love for her people had been productive of such a boon as this? Supposing that the Queen gave her assent, would such a scheme as is here outlined be in your opinion worth attempting?

Animal Welfare

Editor: Nightingale's concern about the cruel treatment of animals can be seen also throughout her life (her first patient was a dog). A letter recounting her one trip to Oxford (see pp 668-70 above) reported an encounter with a three-month-old bear cub, chained to the door of a Christ Church undergraduate's. She succeeded in getting it to lick butter off her hand, begging for it to be left alone, and then, with a friend keen on "mesmerism" hypnotizing it. The last two letters, from late in life, show Nightingale's concern with species extinctions and extirpations. The bird watcher had noted the decline in bird populations. What response she might have received from her 1891 letter to the secretary of the (Royal) Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals we do not know or even if the letter was sent. The letter from the following year to Harry Verney only expresses regret for the unhappy trend of bird declines. There is further material on animal welfare in *Life and Family* (1:755-66) on cat care, including a letter reporting on the ill treatment of animals by a veterinarian.

Source: From a letter to Mary Clarke Mohl, Woodward Biomedical Library A.35

27 November 1871

There was a gymnotus¹⁹ sent over in a bucket to Faraday for him to make electrical experiments with. That gymnotus must have been a very near relation of mine. And the Royal Institution bothered it as the government offices bother me. But I have no protector as my friend the gymnote had, whose patron Humboldt, actually wrote, at its request, I suppose, a letter saying that "Il importe surtout de ne pas trop tourmenter l'animal [It is above all important not to torment the animal too much]," which "épuise's [exhausts]" itself by giving too many electrical discharges. O my dear! how many electrical discharges do the government offices require of *this* "animal" and there is no one to say to them "qu'il ne faut pas trop tourmenter l'animal."

19 An electric eel.

Source: Letter, Wellcome, Ms 5483/15

Lea Hurst
5 August 1878

Dear Mr Yeomans²⁰

A poor cow of beast in the pasture has such a very bad cough. I don't think it stopped coughing for ten minutes during the night. It tried to eat but could not. It was under the birch at the corner of the garden wall *below* the drawing-room windows till long past daylight this morning. There were two there with bad coughs, but one much the worst.

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Source: From a typed copy of letter to Dr Murdoch, ADD Mss 45809 ff235-36

December [1889]

Next to botany I would put zoology: birds first, because they are a sort of mysterious being living between earth and heaven as it were, and we always find them sovereignly interesting to children. Children personify them so much. Birds have such different dispositions. In the early morning when you hear them whispering to themselves, or rather to God, and singing in their low-toned way, not shrilly, it always seems to me as if they were singing their little prayers to God and I used to talk to my little grandnieces and nephews in this way. But though there are heaps of scientific books about birds there are none which teach children the way they are able to fly and their extraordinary feats in flying and their lightness, which their hollow bones ensure. I never met with a grown-up person, uneducated or even educated, who knew these things in a simple way. Let us go at the bird subject.

But it has often struck me on hearing of the ill treatment of their animals by Hindus and their carelessness about them that a little tract about domestic animals and animals for cultivation would be so useful to them done in a plain, practical manner as you would do it.

When I see from my couch the horses in Park Lane, it seems to me that they are so much better than human beings. The horses in the hansom cabs have evidently been gentlemen's riding horses, or even hunters; you can see this by the fineness and beauty of their legs. What a humiliation and what a change to them from hunting or riding upon beautiful turf in an English country place and having to go as fast as ever they can upon the hard pavement drawing a hansom

20 William Yeomans ran a grocery which Nightingale used to send provisions to former tenants, etc., and he supported the local reading rooms; Nightingale left him £100 in her will, "with thanks for his kindness to the people of Holloway for me."

cab. Yet they go to the last; you see them putting forward their utmost power and all for duty as it would seem. I do think such horses must go to heaven. Then the omnibus horses pulling from the shoulder, never swerving from their work, although in these slippery streets you see them tumbling down. I should like, if I were you, to write a tract upon animals for the Hindu peasantry.

There is an enormous change since my young days in the treatment of horses and donkeys in London streets, and I do think that a great deal of it is due to Lord Shaftesbury; certainly he was the deliverer of costermongers' donkeys. You know he enrolled himself as a costermonger. Should there not be something of the same sort in India?



Dog collar, "Miss Nightingale, Lea Hurst." Courtesy of Bent Harder, British Columbia. Photo: Steve Izma.

Source: Letter, Lothian Health Board Archives, Edinburgh University Library LHB1/111/1-2

[printed address] Claydon House
Winslow, Bucks
25 October 1891

To the Secretary of the Society for the
Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
Sir [John Colam]

I have been encouraged by Professor Flower and others to ask if you would be so very good as to send me the leaflets you publish for the protection of wild birds. Perhaps you could also kindly send me a copy of the Wild Birds' Preservation Act, which I have sought for in vain.

In parts of this country the agriculturists and gardeners are intent on destroying their best friends, the birds. The allotment men, in particular, *trap* and *net* small birds, singing birds, all birds, wholesale.

Gentlemen often say to me, “Surely no one would kill a robin.” Unluckily the *trap* (and still less the net) does not distinguish between a robin and a jackdaw. There are sparrow clubs, and prizes given to those who destroy the most birds!! I need hardly say that every kind of small bird is destroyed by these clubbists.

Luckily an allotment man trapped a pheasant and immediately the magistrates saw the error of our ways. But, meanwhile, one singing or small bird is scarcely seen where there used to be hundreds. Any assistance that you can kindly give me in the way of leaflets, acts, or recommending books which show what small birds *do eat*, will, Sir, be gratefully received by

your faithful servant

Florence Nightingale

APPENDIXES

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APPENDIX A: BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

L.A.J. Quetelet (1796-1874)

The Belgian statistician and astronomer Quetelet¹ was Nightingale's most important mentor on the application of scientific method to the social sciences. He was head of the statistical services for his own country and influential throughout Europe on the organization of government statistics, probability theory (he published original work on the subject) and his own statistical analyses in demography and criminology, which other social scientists replicated with data from their own countries. His politics were, like Nightingale's, liberal and reformist. Most fundamentally, the two shared a commitment to knowledge for application, and both were subjected to criticism for supposedly denigrating "free will."

Nightingale and Quetelet met only once, when he was in London for the 1860 International Statistical Congress, over which he presided and to which she sent the two short papers on hospital statistics (see pp 83-89 above). Nightingale invited him to her home, indeed invited him to make use of it to hold meetings with other participants at the congress. He worked behind the scenes with Dr Farr to win acceptance for her proposals on uniform collection of hospital statistics. She knew his work well, annotated the copy of *Physique sociale* he gave her, and wrote "In Memoriam" on his death (see pp 11-69 above). She was deeply hurt by his death, which occurred only a month after her

1 On Quetelet's life and work see: Lynn McDonald, *The Early Origins of the Social Sciences* 254-57; Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Notes on the History of Quantification"; a chapter in Stephen P. Turner, *Search for a Methodology of Social Science: Durkheim, Weber and the Problem of Cause, Probability and Action*; Theodore M. Porter, *Rise of Statistical Thinking 1820-1900* 31-67.

father's; hence she lost the major "father figure" of her intellectual life at the same time that her biological father died.

Nightingale cited Quetelet in her published papers in *Fraser's Magazine* and in numerous places in her unpublished essays, comparing him both with Plato and Newton. The idea of teaching his ideas to future administrators goes back to "In Memoriam," as a memorial to Quetelet, "the science of which he was the discoverer, upon which alone social and political philosophy can be founded" (see p 40 above). Quetelet's methodology, in short, was the means for realizing her call as a saviour in the world, by permitting the acquisition of knowledge that could be applied by God's co-workers. She herself recognized its importance, to her Aunt Mai crediting him with "transmogrifying the whole of our theory" set out in *Suggestions for Thought*.²

To Dr Farr, on Quetelet's death Nightingale reminisced about their late friend's faith as being of "the very highest kind of religion, the seeking in the laws of the moral world which he had done so much to discover the action or plan of Supreme Wisdom and Goodness." She noted how Quetelet had "objected to the dying being 'munis des secours de la' Roman Catholic 'religion' [armed with the help of the Roman Catholic religion]." ³ She left the three volumes of his work he had given to her in her will to her cousin, Rosalind Nash.

(Sir) Edwin Chadwick (1800-90)

Edwin Chadwick⁴ had been variously an employee, member and secretary of the royal commission on the reform of the Poor Law in the 1830s. He no longer held any official position when Nightingale first met him post-Crimea, although he was still well known, for good and ill, for his earlier work. He was Britain's leading "sanitarian" and an expert on life insurance and public insurance programs. He was one of the very few people Nightingale respected enough to do his bidding, writing letters at his suggestion while her usual practice was to recruit others to write for her. Like Nightingale, Chadwick appreciated the need for media coverage of their causes. He even bought a small periodical to turn it into an outlet for sanitary causes.

2 Letter to Mary Shore Smith 30 August 1872, Add Mss 45793 f215.

3 Letter to Dr Farr 4 March 1874, Wellcome Ms 5474/124.

4 See S.E. Finer, *The Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick*.

Nightingale turned to Chadwick for advice on statistical analysis for her first royal commission. When Nightingale wanted to meet J.S. Mill she asked Chadwick for an introduction. When she was discouraged by the death of Sidney Herbert, a cousin asked Chadwick to write to her, to rally her with “your faith that her working days are not over” (in *Life and Family* 1:533-34). Nightingale sent Chadwick her outline of the ABCs of the reform of Poor Law relief and appealed to him for help in getting the Metropolitan Poor Law bill through Parliament (see *Public Health Care*). In discussing mortality statistics with Dr Farr Nightingale referred to the writing of a *Chadwickiad*.⁵ Nightingale sent Chadwick a copy of her book on lying-in institutions, inscribing it “with the earnest request that he will note omissions for a new and (it is to be hoped) better edition.”⁶

There were also serious differences between the two (as evident in Endorsing Candidates pp 360-63 above), for Nightingale utterly opposed the harsh “workhouse test” that Chadwick had led in bringing in, thus requiring the destitute to enter a workhouse to obtain any assistance. She was critical of Chadwick also for generalizing from London conditions to India on sewerage needs.⁷ She once even described Chadwick in private correspondence as “nothing but a publicist.”⁸ Chadwick indeed did serve as a publicist for her, at her request, but did so much else as well, which also she acknowledged.⁹ Chadwick’s extensive behind-the-scenes involvement in sanitary reforms during the Crimean War are related in the volume on that war. He was knighted for his many services only in 1889, the year before he died.

John Stuart Mill (1806-73)

John Stuart Mill is recognized as a leading philosopher and political theorist.¹⁰ He was educated wholly at home by his distinguished father, James Mill, who had himself been educated in the Scottish moral philosophy tradition and was the acknowledged successor of Jeremy Bentham, the utility theorist.¹¹ J.S. Mill came to reject the extreme

5 Letter [8 January 1857], Add Mss 43398 f3.

6 In the Archives of University College, London.

7 Letter to W. Clark 5 October 1872, University of North Carolina.

8 Letter to Sidney Herbert 25 December 1857, Add Mss 43394 f213.

9 Nightingale letter to Chadwick, 8 July 1863, Woodward Biomedical Library A.7.

10 On his work see especially John M. Robson, *The Improvement of Mankind*.

11 On Mill’s life see his own autobiography in the *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill* vol. 1.

statement of utility theory, which made him attractive as a model for Nightingale. He earned his living for most of his adult life as an employee of the East India Company, retiring from it only when it was wound up and the British government took over the administration of India. By then Mill was able to live off his writing, which is available in a 33-volume *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*. Mill married Harriet Taylor after her respectable two-year bereavement on her first husband's death. She was a writer herself, his co-author on *Principle of Political Economy* and the essay "On Liberty," but not on the *System of Logic*, 1843, Nightingale's favourite book of Mill's oeuvre. Taylor's daughter from her earlier marriage, Helen Taylor, succeeded her mother in working with Mill on women's issues. There is one extant letter of Nightingale to her, and references indicate there was further correspondence.

Nightingale's relationship with Mill was complex. The fact that the two never met says nothing of the importance of the relationship for her; it seems that she would have appreciated at least an introductory meeting, but Mill was content with correspondence. (Chadwick had told her she required no introduction to him, that she should write him cold about their mutual concerns.) Mill's first service to Nightingale consisted of reading and commenting on her *Suggestions for Thought*, which he thought important and original and should be published. Of course the material included also a devastating critique of the Church of England and a plea for a greater role for women, with both of which Mill would have agreed.

Mill was a member of Parliament when the Metropolitan Poor Bill Nightingale was promoting was under discussion (see *Public Health Care*). He assisted in amendments and speeches for it, but not as much as she had hoped. He was out of the House one critical day and Rathbone unsuccessfully chased around London, trying to locate him. A greater disappointment, Mill declined to help on Nightingale's India work, despite repeated requests (see pp 386-88 and 396-97 above). He was a former employee of the East India Company and presumably would have had to contradict what he written earlier if he were to take up her radical reforms. In fact much of his work for the company was on the Indian princedoms, not central to Nightingale's concerns. Nightingale's initial proposal, that he be a member of the royal commission on India was killed by other members of their inner circle; they considered him too impractical. Not the least of Mill's merits for Nightingale was his *effectiveness*. Unlike the philosophers Comte and

Hegel, she remarked to her father, Mill was responsible for real *progress* in the world.¹²

Mill worked briefly on another Nightingale cause, opposition to the Contagious Diseases Acts, although there is no evidence of their exchanging views on the matter. He appeared as a witness before a royal commission at the House of Lords in 1871.¹³

Nightingale acknowledged that she published her *Introductory Notes on Lying-in Institutions* (in *Women*) “partly to please him.”¹⁴ That is, she did the research for her own good reasons, but Mill convinced her of the need to *publish* it. She described him as “the tenderest” of the positivists and herself his “profoundest admirer.” He was so dedicated to the truth that he would welcome defeat if that would serve it. She read and absorbed his books; the second volume of his *System of Logic*, 1843, which she frequently reread, was “so amusing.”¹⁵ His *Autobiography* was “inspiring,” and helped to make sense of many things they had argued about on religion. Deeply saddened by his death in Avignon, she speculated that he might have lived longer had his house had better sanitation—he succumbed to a local endemic disease.

William Farr (1807-91)¹⁶

William Farr rose from humble circumstances, assisted by his employer, Jeremy Bentham, to become the pre-eminent statistician in Britain of his time. Bentham enabled him to study medicine in Paris. He had a long career at the Register-General’s Office, eventually becoming superintendent of Statistics. Nightingale was involved behind the scenes in manoeuvres to get him the director’s position and was appalled that the Conservative prime minister Lord Beaconsfield wanted to appoint a friend over him, for Farr had “created the office.” Moreover, “that London is the healthiest LARGE city in the world is mainly due to Dr

12 Letter to W.E. Nightingale 28 April 1861, Add Mss 45790 f205.

13 *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill* 21:349-71 and U.K. House of Lords, Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Commission on 13 May 1871 728-35.

14 Letter to J. Mohl 20 May 1873, quoted in Cook, *Life of Florence Nightingale* 2:221.

15 Letter to Benjamin Jowett, in Quinn and Prest, *Dear Miss Nightingale* 69.

16 See John M. Eyler, *Victorian Social Medicine: The Ideas and Methods of William Farr*; by Farr, *Vital Statistics: A Memorial Volume of Selections from the Reports and Writings of William Farr*.

Farr's watchful statistics."¹⁷ To Farr himself she made a similar compliment, "as you have pointed out and tested our way and our progress."¹⁸ He was awarded the C.B. in 1880.

Farr and Nightingale had a cordial working relationship from the immediate post-Crimean period. He frequently assisted her with statistical analysis but the relationship was not entirely one-sided. He respected her statistical ability sufficiently to propose her for membership in the London (later the Royal) Statistical Society. He was a frequent visitor to her home and recipient of gifts from the country, braces of game, etc. One of his three daughters was named after her: Florence Farr (1860-1917), a well-known actress (see *Life and Family* 1:719). Mrs Farr and the daughters were given tickets to hear Dr Elizabeth Blackwell speak. After Arthur Hugh Clough's death Nightingale sent Farr "our poor Clough's" books on Plutarch, for his children: "If you like to keep them in your hands."¹⁹ On his retirement in 1883 Nightingale contributed to a "Testimonial Fund," indeed would even allow her name to be publicly used to try to attract more donors. On his death she contributed £100 to a fund for his widow and family, who were poorly provided for (he had lost money in investments). She left money for the two unmarried daughters in her will (one other daughter was married and her namesake, the actress, supported herself). There is a Farr collection at the British Library of Political and Economic Science and material also at the British Library and Wellcome Trust.

Adeline Paulina Irby (1838-1911)

Adeline Paulina Irby, advocate for Bosnia refugees, was the daughter of a British admiral, granddaughter of a peer and cousin of a prominent MP.²⁰ Nightingale respected her enormously for her courage, commitment and refusal ever to compromise, although she was often exasperated by her lack of practicality and imprecision about facts. Irby was not only a frequent correspondent on serious business but a visitor on a first-name basis (Florence, or "Schwester Florence," from their

17 Letter to Harry Verney 8 May 1879, Wellcome (Claydon copy) Ms 9007/227.

18 Letter to Dr Farr 14 May 1879, Private Collection of Susan Teagle, copy Wellcome.

19 Letter to William Farr 28 November 1861 Wellcome Ms 5474/50.

20 See Dorothy Anderson, *Miss Irby and Her Friends*, and obituary *Times* 18 September 1911.

mutual Kaiserswerth association). She had indeed attempted to establish a Kaiserswerth-linked school in Bosnia (which was condemned by the Orthodox Church authorities).

Irby became a friend of Nightingale's parents initially, and was supportive of and helpful to Mrs Nightingale in her old age (thereby taking much pressure off Nightingale). She moved in to Lea Hurst for a time in 1877, permitting Nightingale to return to London to resume her "business."

Irby's main cause was the Slavonic Christian refugees in Bosnian Herzegovina. She spent years of her life on travels there to bring relief, establish schools and assist refugees. She settled in Sarajevo after the war years, ran a school and died there. A street, Misirbina Ulica, is named after her. She was buried in the Protestant Cemetery but later removed to the Orthodox Cemetery, where a plaque in the chapel commemorates her life. Ironically she is remembered with a ceremony at the chapel on the same day annually as the "patriots" who shot the Archduke Ferdinand, the precipitating cause of World War I.

At her instructions her letters were destroyed on her death, including those of Nightingale, but many of those she wrote Nightingale have been preserved. Also much on the relationship can be gleaned through Nightingale's correspondence with Shore and Louisa Smith, who were both members of Irby's board overseeing Bosnian relief.

APPENDIX B: CHRONOLOGY

12 May 1820 Birth of Florence Nightingale

January 1835 First British General Election after the Great Reform Act, Whig/Liberal victory, (W.E. Nightingale a candidate)

20 June 1837 Accession of Queen Victoria to the throne

July 1841 British General Election, Sir Robert Peel forms Conservative government in September

January 1842 Nightingale develops lesson plans

September 1846 Nightingale attends scientific meetings in Southampton

June 1847 Nightingale visits Oxford University for scientific meetings

July 1847 British General Election, Lord John Russell forms Whig/Liberal government

May 1850 Nightingale visits Hills's school in Athens

November 1850 Nightingale writes memorial note on the Hallam brothers

1851 Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations, in London

February 1852 Lord Derby forms Conservative government

July 1852 British General Election; Lord Aberdeen forms Whig-Peelite government in December

January 1853 Nightingale does analysis of 1841 census

May 1854 Publication of "The True Story of the Nuns of Minsk," in Charles Dickens' *Household Words*

21 October 1854 Nightingale leaves England for Crimean War

February 1855 Lord Palmerston forms Whig government

7 August 1856 Nightingale returns to England after Crimean War

September-October 1856 Nightingale visits Queen Victoria
at Balmoral Castle, argues for royal commission
on the Army in the Crimean War

March 1857 British General Election; Liberal victory; Lord
Palmerston forms Liberal government in June

May 1857 Sepoy Mutiny, First War of Independence

February 1858 Lord Derby forms Tory (Conservative)
government

May 1859 British General Election, Liberal victory; Lord
Palmerston forms government in July

June 1859 Nightingale begins work on hospital statistics

March-May 1860 Nightingale tries to get items on health
and housing into 1861 census

May-June 1860 Nightingale works on relief
for Spitalfields weavers

July 1860 Correspondence with J.S. Mill begins on *Suggestions
for Thought*

July 1860 International Statistical Congress, London

April 1861 Nightingale reviews census papers for Dr Farr

2 August 1861 death of Sidney Herbert; correspondence
with W.E. Gladstone begins

14 December 1861 death of Prince Albert

26 April 1862 Nightingale writes Gladstone to oppose
the Contagious Diseases Acts

April 1863 Nightingale writes Gladstone urging the
appointment of Lord de Grey as secretary of
state for war

30 November 1863 Sir John Lawrence succeeds Lord Elgin as
viceroy of India

1864-68 Nightingale works on social insurance and
home ownership measures for workers

March 1864 Nightingale concerned with relief in Sheffield

November 1864 Nightingale writes Gladstone about India

1865 British General Election; Earl Russell forms Whig/
Liberal government in October

June 1865 Nightingale writes Robert Angus Smith about
pollution abatement in alkali works

June 1866 Earl of Derby forms Tory/Conservative
government

June 1866 J.S. Mill presents petition (including FN's
signature) to Parliament for women's suffrage

February 1868 Disraeli forms Conservative government

November 1868 British General Election; Gladstone forms
Liberal government in November

April 1868 Nightingale signs suffrage petition; in July
signs petition for Married Women's Property Act

November 1868 First British General Election after the
Representation of the People Act; Gladstone forms
Liberal government in December 1868

December 1868 Crown Princess of Prussia (the British
Princess Royal) calls on Nightingale; correspondence
begins on nursing

March 1869 Nightingale publishes "A Note on Pauperism"

April 1869 correspondence with Richard Monckton Milnes
about emigration as a remedy for pauperism

February 1870 Nightingale works on emigration measures;
in March 1870 publishes "Justina" letters to the editor,
Pall Mall Gazette, opposing the Contagious Diseases Acts;
in November sends letter to National Congress on
Penitentiary and Reformatory Discipline

March 1871 Nightingale queries wording of 1871 census

October 1871 Correspondence begins with Benjamin Jowett
about his edition of the *Dialogues of Plato*

8 February 1872 death of Lord Mayo, viceroy of India

June 1872 Publication of Francis Galton's Royal Society
"Blood Relationship" paper; Nightingale comments on it

1873 Quetelet sends Nightingale his *Physique sociale*

1 May 1873 Death of David Livingstone (not known
until 1874)

February 1874 Death of L.A.J. Quetelet; Nightingale drafts
"In Memoriam" essay

February 1874 British General Election; Disraeli forms
Conservative government

November 1874 Nightingale works on plans for Wellow School

1875-79 Nightingale assists A.P. Irby on Bosnia refugee relief;
FN letter on Bosnian relief read at a public meeting;

September 1876 Nightingale letter on Bulgarian
relief published in the *Times*

1878-81 Nightingale works on coffee rooms; May 1878

Nightingale publishes "Who Is the Savage?"; in July

1878 Nightingale publishes statement supporting

women's suffrage; in November publishes

"Voting Charities" in the *Times*

26 June 1879 death of Lord Lawrence

January 1879 Nightingale writes Gladstone about famine
deaths in India; in May Gladstone visits Nightingale;
they discuss India

1879-80 Nightingale works on women's unions and
income security measures

February 1880 Charles Gordon seeks a meeting with
Nightingale, correspondence begins in April on
defects of military hospitals in South Africa

April 1880 British General Election, return of Gladstone to
government

November 1882 Nightingale urges Gordon to accept
a post in the Sudan

July 1883 Nightingale receives Royal Red Cross decoration from
Queen Victoria and writes her on health care deficiencies
in the War Office and in August on the Ilbert Bill

March 1884 Nightingale signs petition for women's suffrage

July 1884 Demonstration for franchise at Hyde Park

November-August 1884 Nightingale encourages candidacy
of Alice Stopford Green for mistress of Girton College

December 1884 Gladstone calls on Nightingale, who cannot
see him but writes him about India

January 1885 death of General Gordon at Khartoum

June 1885 Lord Salisbury forms Conservative government

November 1885 British General Election, Liberal victory;
Gladstone forms government in February 1886

July 1886 British General Election, defeat of Gladstone on
Home Rule, Lord Salisbury forms Conservative
government in August

1886 Correspondence begins with teachers at Lea School, to 1898

1886-89 Nightingale works on Gordon Boys' Home

20 June 1887 Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria's accession
to the throne

December 1888 Nightingale contributes to park memorial
for Fawcett

September 1890 Nightingale publishes "Juvenile Offenders"
in the *Times*

1890-91 Nightingale works on a proposal for a chair or
readership in "social physics" with Benjamin Jowett
and Francis Galton

July 1892 British General Election; Gladstone forms
government in August, succeeded by
Lord Rosebery in March 1894

May 1895 May Day Meeting in Hyde Park

July 1895 British General Election; Lord Salisbury forms
Conservative government

19 May 1898 death of W.E. Gladstone

13 August 1910 death of Florence Nightingale

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