

BL Indian material, Add Mss 45831 and 45836, drafts of Indian material, correspondence 50036, 50134, 50210, 51277, 51278, 441 pp

Add Mss 45831, drafts of Indian materials

unsigned preface, ff1-26v, pen & pencil [10:403-13]

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Preface

The ~~object~~/aim/object of ~~my~~ work/attempt is to show as well as I can

~~first why~~ how it is that whole peoples among the most industrious ~~people~~ in the world

perhaps on the most fertile soil in the world

are ~~is~~ the poorest in the world : -

~~how it is that they are why it is~~ how it is that whole peoples always in a state of half -/semi starvation

starvation who ~~they~~ are ~~eg~~ from time to time ~~often~~ on the brink of famine : And if not actually swept

away by famine, it is by their Rulers giving food wholesale -

~~I shall try to show that this is not owing to any~~

Is there any fatal necessity for this? ~~but~~ is it not due to two or three ~~preventible~~

causes, not only preventible, ~~by ourselves their~~

~~Rulers,~~ but which we, their Rulers, having ourselves ~~part~~ induced,

either by doing or not doing, can ourselves gradually remove?

These facts & arguments I shall not of course draw from my "innermost I": they are what I have learnt, while serving an apprenticeship of 16 years in Indian Sanitary matters, from our great Indian administrators, - the Anglo-Indian "Princes of the Blood", so to speak : & as well as from a study of ~~the~~ original documents, not usually accessible to, or at least not usually read by us, the English in England.

And to come at once to the causes -

These ~~causes~~ are:

1. the Land Tenures of other parts of India: ~~Bengal~~ & indeed ~~for it is of Bengal~~

~~that this part of the book will chiefly treat :~~

which places the cultivator at the mercy of his native Superiors; which is in fact a Serfdom:

And ~~for the sake of comparison~~ the Land Tenures of ~~different parts of India~~ will be given

& the conditions of the people resulting from these Land Tenures.

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2. the want of Irrigation which is felt more
or less all over India, except in a few
favoured regions : in greatly reducing the produce:
& also the want of Communications which
deprives the producer of a market -
& the conditions of the people resulting from this want of water
& of cheap transit
Lastly, I shall enquire what are the remedies
which the experience & wisdom of our great
Indian administrators have suggested to them -

But, With the view of introducing the subject to the English
reader, ~~I will/must give in~~ this Preface will give a sketch,
dry but short,
of the principal Land Settlements of India:

{the rest in written in very faint pencil, the first line
completely illeg}

Progress 1874 p 15 Para I

1873 *Bengal*

This is more fully explained in

1874 p 15 4 paras

1873 p 17 *Orissa* Sir G.C.'s printed paper Oude
p 17 *Assam*

p 18-19 North West *Provinces* 6 Paras
20 Para 7

Para 1

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3

4

4

Forest Plantation {written diagonally at the bottom of the
page}

Municipalities

Assessments Sim

too high, not permanent Friend of India

Money lenders

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The dispute begins even ~~in~~ as to the historical nature of these tenures.

But it would appear as if, while the Mahomedan Government was in its vigour, the great Zemindars, successors of the old Hindoo Rajas were suppressed & lost sight of: most of them wholly disappeared & the Government then dealt with the villagers direct. During the decadence of the Mahomedan powers a new set of Zemindars arose; some, farmers of the revenue, - some, successful freebooters, a few, descendants of old Chiefs: but their position was uncertain & variable: there was no time for them to settle down.

When the Government of India inquired into tenures in the North West Provinces, few of the Zemindars were found to have substantial claim: And, as has been seen, tho' some were maintained, generally we dealt direct with the Villagers.

As the price of the surrender of half of Oude, Saadat Allee, the then Nawab, obtained a contingent officered by British officers, And proceeded to use it very effectually "to bring to complete obedience x the subjects who were left to him, & to put down" the turbulent Zemindars.

For some time to come the holding of Zemindars, called Talookdars in Oude, were reduced to very narrow limits.

x p. 213 Sir G Campbell's Essay: Cobden Club -

It is only under the weak administration of Saadat Allee's successors, & after the British troops had been forbidden to interfere in internal affairs, that we can date "the rise of the modern Talookdars" - "A few of these are in some sense chiefs of clans". But just as formerly in the Highlands & in Ireland they were not really landlords but only chiefs.

By far the greater number of the modern Talookdars are of quite recent creation: farmers of the revenue, Court favourites & the like: "mere modern revenue collectors or contractors who have obtained a hold over the district intrusted to them. In all cases the power has gone to the strongest or most astute in each family, not to the man who had the most legitimate claims by seniority" x

Take for instance the case of the man whom it was the fashion to call "Chief of the Barons of Oude, Maharajah Sir Man Sing, K. S. J. The history of that family is curious - It only goes back a generation. And Man Sing is not an Oude Talookdar ~~at all~~: he is not even an Oude man at all. The uncle of the present Maharajah came to Oude a foreigner. He was a Bramin by caste, & a native of the old British Province of Behar - a trooper in one of our Cavalry Regiments.

x see Systems of Land Tenure : Cobden Club Sir G. Campbell : p. 214

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He happened to be on duty at the Residency, and there to attract the eye of the King who took him into his own service as an Orderly. Eventually he rose to be 'Keeper of the Private Gate' - a very important post under a Native Prince, & came into very high favour. As natives generally do under such circumstances, he used ~~to~~ his influence for the benefit of his family. He sent for his brother, Father of Man Sing, from Behar; & put him into the Revenue Service, where he rose to be a great Farmer of the Land Revenue also, being accustomed to British ways, he very industriously set himself to obtain from people having more or less claim to interests in the various villages deeds of sale in his favour; this was almost a novelty in Oude. Between his official position & these purchases he came to be the possessor of a great estate. He died before the Mutiny. His "eldest son has held great places, but is notorious for having almost ruined by tyranny the districts beyond the Gogra, & has been prudently kept in the background since British rule."

Man Sing, though the youngest of his sons, managed to put himself forward as the representative of the family: "The present Maharajah is an extremely clever person, thoroughly versed in political affairs".

This is the man who, at a meeting of the British Indian Association at Lucknow, said; -
~~"The question~~ that "there was no right, there could be no right of possession for the ryot: No length of time could alter the ryot's position. *If he in any way crossed the Talookdar* he was liable to dispossession! and Raja Man Sing desired that the one hundred thousand people inhabiting his Talooka should be declared liable to immediate eviction from house & home *if they in any way crossed him*. Though it were proved that every ryot in a village had occupied the same house & tilled the same land for three generations, Raja Man Sing would have it declared that *if they crossed him* in his wish to grow flax or in any other project, the feelings of attachment with which they regarded the lands inherited from their ancestors were to be as nothing - they were to go." x [In other parts of the Empire long continued unquestioned possession has been held to generate a prescriptive right .]

Do you doubt whether the Maharaja Man Sing said this?

x "The real

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Here are his very words: -

"The question is, do these occupancy rights exist? If the cultivators possessed these rights before Oude passed under British rule, no one would be allowed to evict them from their holdings as long as they paid their equitable dues, but no such rights ever existed. *You are all aware that our ryots live on our estates only by sufferance.* They have been allowed to retain hold of our lands for generations," [this by the man who only dates back a generation: he allows that the ryots have held the land for generations] "not because they had any right to what they held, but *because we were kind enough not to deprive them of their homes & comforts every now & then!* We made them settle on our lands, advanced money to them to till our soil, took care of their eternal & worldly welfare, & permitted their children to occupy the holdings with which their dearest associations were connected, not because they had any right to them but because it is the nature of man not to unmake those *whom we have made with our own hands.* The

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"ryots all along knew, however, that we had power to deprive them of the holdings if they in any way crossed us. The ryots knew full well that they were but possessors of the soil, & the landlords knew that they were its absolute proprietors. Possession, however continued it may be, is not right. I do not know the customs of other countries, but this is certain that in Oude at least possession is not right." Therefore, according to Man Sing, ~~a ryot's position~~/the Land Settlement in Oude is this:
the ryot ~~can~~ cannot to "cross his landlord" without losing his land.

x "The Real Story of the Talookdars & Tenant Right of Occupancy in Oude" Smith & Elder.

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3. Is it not matter of official history that Oude was annexed "solely & wholly" on account of the turbulence & misconduct of the Talookdars, the

inability of the native Government to control them.

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3. Is it ~~is~~/not matter of official history that Oude was annexed "solely & wholly" on account of the turbulence & misconduct of the Talookdars, "the inability of the King to keep them in order,"/native Government to control them, & the consequent oppression to which the people were subjected? Under these circumstances, & seeing how notoriously recent was the aggrandisement of the Talookdars at the expence of the villagers, it is not surprising that the orders drafted by Lord Dalhousie & issued by Lord Canning on his assumption of office directed that, where the villagers had claims to engage for the revenue with the Government direct, these should be favourably considered, & that the Talookdars should be required to prove any claims they might put forward in opposition.

It is however a great mistake to suppose that in consequence of these orders there was a sweeping dispossession of the Talookdars from any of their well-established possessions. Over great part of the country the Talookdars were the men in possession: & they retained their estates

being deprived only of what very recent & urgent oppression had gained them. By far the greater part of the villages which we found in their possession remained with them. Several of the most important men who afterwards rebelled did not suffer at all - Maharaja Man Sing was always said to be a bad manager, eaten up by a horde of dependants. Soon after the annexation he failed to pay the revenue for which he had engaged: & his estate was temporarily sequestered for the arrear.

If it had been in Bengal, would it not have been summarily sold? As it was, he was not deprived of it.

But a year had passed after the annexation when the Mutiny broke out, & in all that part of the country the British Government ceased to exist.

It has sometimes been said that upon this a simple native peasantry forthwith rushed to & set up the beloved native landlords of whom they had been deprived. Is not ~~A~~all this an utter fiction?

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In India some one must rule -
The Talookdars had ruled up to annexation
We had not put them down.

They were in full possession of their forts & guns
& armed followings & of most of the lands which
they claimed.

When British power disappeared, they resumed
power.

For a time they temporised to see which way
the battle of the Mutiny would go. Or, as Sir G.
Campbell says, "*The Talookdars did not behave
excessively ill.* Some of them assisted our fugitive
officers to escape, & for a time they generally
temporized, & did not take a very decided part.
From the time however when the attempted relief
by Havelock & Outram failed, & the relievers
were shut up along with the original besieged,
the great body of the Talookdars identified themselves
with the Sepoy cause, went into full rebellion,
& took part in the siege of the Residency" x

Some months later when the neck of the
Mutiny was entirely broken, the Talookdars
were dispersed & fugitive & anxious to make
terms.

From a military point of view they were
x Sir G. Campbell's Essay : Cobden Club : p. 216

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to the ~~English Military~~/British power utterly contemptible, & they would have accepted

very moderate terms. But Lord Clyde was said to be very anxious to bring operations to an end, & By one of those extreme vacillations of opinion which occur in India, did not many people seem to suppose that because a Military Mutiny had occurred & the Government had been upset, under one system of Civil administration, the opposite extreme must be right?

Did Lord Canning come to a great extent under the influence of this school of feeling, when he confiscated in name all the lands of Oude by his famous Proclamation?

We learn from Sir G. Campbell that Lord Canning x himself stated "that his object was not really "to confiscate finally the rights of the Talookdars, "but to get rid of all the engagements into "which we had entered after annexation, & "to obtain a 'tabula rasa' which would enable "him to restore the great landowners," & in fact to mark out a new policy on that 'tabula rasa'.

When the policy of a party has got the upper hand, the subordinates ~~are~~ in the Administration are

x See Sir G. Campbell's Essay: Cobden Club : p. 217

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often more extreme than the Chief. And ~~those~~
did not those entrusted with carrying out the
new Policy in this instance go farther than
Lord Canning understood or intended?

Not only was there offered to the Talookdars
still with arms in their hands everything of
which they had been possessed justly or unjustly
at the time of annexation: but there was so
great haste made to bring them in & settle
the Province that there was sometimes
very inadequate enquiry. Were not Talookdars ~~were~~
allowed to make their own lists of the villages
which they claimed? And were not Charters
pledging the faith of the British Government
to the grant of territories thus scheduled
(or non-scheduled) hurriedly passed? In
many instances was it not afterwards
found that this practice had involved a real
confiscation & granting away of the rights of
others?

Of course, the Talookdars "almost all came in, &
received English grants of all the villages which
they had in any shape or in any way brought
under their dominion before the annexation of
the country," & some which they had not.

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"Certain it is that a continual process of absorption of the independent villages into the Talookas, & suppression of those men who would have been considered village proprietors under the North- West system went on up to the time of annexation; so that at last the greater part of Oude was held by the large *Talookdars*, corresponding to the *Zemindars* of Bengal.

"Not only were the Talookdars constantly in arms against the Government, but the Talookas were also torn by intestine feuds. If we look to the successors of the great chiefships, we shall *generally* find that *the ruler for the time had murdered his uncle & supplanted his cousins, & that the cousins or cousins' sons formed an opposition, ready to supplant him on the first opportunity. The outs constantly harassed the ins by predatory attacks.*"

Sir George Campbell has put a story on record, ~~of~~ how, when he was magistrate of a British border district, he had "repeated remonstrances, "through the British resident, regarding the "atrocities of a man who was represented as "a *common robber & dacoit of the vilest description,* "sheltered by British subjects; and after some

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"blood had been spilt in an attempt of my police to capture him, I was quietly told that I need not trouble myself any longer, as he had made terms with his Government, & WAS INSTALLED AS TALOOKDAR"

We have only to look at the book of Colonel Sleeman, the British Resident, written after he had made an official tour through the country, to see what these Talookdars are.

But we cannot at all say that the Ryots were wholly against the system, or no system . On the contrary - They rather liked it. Though they were always being dragged in by one faction or the other, & always being plundered & oppressed when the enemy's faction had the upper hand, yet, as Sir G. Campbell says, "the exercise of despotic power by the superior implies the possession of the sacred right of rebellion by the inferior." If one Talookdar ill-treated them, they "paid him off" by going over to ~~the opposite~~ his enemy. They made terms with either side.

Now, this 'fun' is over. The "sacred right of rebellion" is snatched from them by British bayonets - And it is doubtful, indeed more than doubtful, whether the ryots are not worse off for being at peace -

"As respects the ryots, it was at first said that the *old hereditary ryots had a bare right of occupancy* but that there was *no limit to the rent* which might be demanded, save the *highest rackrent of the day*"

A little later, the Chief Commissioner declared "that there was no such thing as a right of occupancy." The Governor General, Sir John Lawrence, then stepped in with a will & ordered a "special enquiry"

But the Oude Ryots were not so sure that they wished for their "rights." At least they very much preferred the right "of rebelling & running away" they thought this their "best safeguard" And they were not so far wrong -

"There was also no standard of law & right; & though the ryots said that a Talookdar ought not to turn them out, when asked whether he formerly had the power to do so, they said "of course he had - the man in power could do anything"!!! Such was the right in Oude.

Certain compromises, thanks to Sir John Lawrence, were afterwards made to which we shall afterwards refer further on in the book. A good

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many village heads obtained the position of sub-landlords; but of the cultivators only a very small fraction have obtained ~~any~~/so much as a shred or rag of any rights of occupancy.

~~whatever.~~ The great mass of cultivators in Oude are now held to have absolutely no rights whatever: to be mere tenants at will liable to be dispossessed or to have their rents enhanced to any extent at the mere pleasure of the landlord.

And, as we have seen, the "chief of our Barons" of Oude" lays this down in so many words at a British Meeting apparently unopposed not only as a practice but as a principle not only as a matter of fact but as a matter of right.

Oude is the only Province in India in which this state of things exists - in which there is a pure landlord & tenant system according to English ~~ideas~~ theory: but, as we shall see, the very reverse of English practice.

13a

Insert p. 13

"Thus Lord Canning did in Oude precisely what Queen Elizabeth did in Ireland, when the surrender of the Irish chiefs was accepted, & their possession were re-granted on English titles." x When came the Revenue settlement, "there arose the question whether any inferior rights were to be recognized in subordination to those of the Talookdars, just as the same question arose when a settlement of Ireland was made under James I."

5. Lord Canning had inserted in his orders words saving the rights of inferior holders: but did not the party strongly in favour of pure landlordism, being in the ascendant in Oude, & having the execution of these orders, construe them as adversely as possible to the inferior holders?

And was not the result that the Talookdars were held entitled under their post-mutiny grants to all superior rights, & that those inferior rights only were admitted to which the claimants (the *onus probandi* being wholly thrown on them) could prove that they had had a strict legal right in a country in which there was no law & no right?

Certain compromises were afterwards made. A good

Insert 13a
of the enquiry (a special enquiry by Lord Lawrence) "*was that neither the ryots proved a right to stay in, nor did the Talookdars prove*

x Sir G. Campbell's Essay

{f21 is blank}

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"a right to turn them out; but the Talookdars being taken as prima facie owners under the grants, & the onus of proof being thrown upon the ryots, it may be said that the ryots generally failed of the proof necessary to give them legal status. *All depends on the way the burden of proof is put.*

"Eventually a compromise was effected, under which a *comparatively small number of the highest class of ryots, the descendants of the old proprietors & dominant families, have been admitted to a right of occupancy at rates (to be fixed from time to time) slightly below the full rack rents of the day, while all other ryots become tenants-at-will.*"

It ~~is~~/may be rather anticipating matters to place this in our Preface. The fact is, ~~it~~ this "compromise" was effected after a long struggle ~~be~~ in favour of the ~~poor~~/defenceless Oude Ryots, waged almost single-handed by Sir John Lawrence, then Governor-General, who instituted a special enquiry on the subject: as above mentioned.

This will be recurred to when we come to treat of the condition of the Oude Ryots farther on in the book -

"Thus the Oude Talookdars are much more complete owners of the soil than any superior

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"landholders in any other province - infinitely more so than those of Bengal ever were." x

6. Under the King much of the revenues of the Talookdars was expended in maintaining Forts & Military contingents: the revenue received by the Government was much smaller than it should have been:

In our first settlements we were content to obtain as much as the King used to receive. But when the lands came to be measured & regularly settled, it was found that they were worth a great deal more: and though the revenue was settled on liberal principles unknown to native Governments (allowing half the rents to be retained by the landlords) there was a considerable increase in the revenue demand.

Meantime the Talookdars were permitted & encouraged to raise the rents of the cultivators, And they made the best, it must be confessed, of their opportunities.

Also: under the influence of English theories, by way of establishing their power, enforcing enhanced rents, & getting rid of independent

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& troublesome Ryots, they served large numbers of notices of ejection on the Ryots, & actually ejected many.

Is not this a thing wholly unknown under any other Government or in any other Province of India?

Now, if this had been attempted under native Government, the Ryots would have rebelled, & betaking themselves to a Guerilla warfare in the Jungles would have made terms for themselves. As it is, ~~they~~ are they not kept down by the strong arm of British power - The safety valve ~~is~~ as it were screwed down? And is there not much suppressed & smouldering discontent?

Oude is already more populous than any other Indian Province - it is one of the healthiest in which while peace is maintained the population most rapidly increases - If a rackrented & discontented population deprived of all rights on the soil comes to press very severely on the limits of the land, may we not well have another Ireland in Oude before very long?

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As Sir G. Campbell, ~~says~~, who seems to have foreseen this result, said ~~nearly~~ 5 years ago:

"Already we hear of their free use of the power of raising rents *without restriction* which has been conferred on them, & even of the service of *notices of ejection* in large numbers; & on the other hand of *combinations of ryots* to resist these proceedings. Class questions seem to be prematurely arising which have not been reached in other provinces in several generations. And it has been necessary for the Government to come to the assistance of the aristocratic system, by lending the *Talookdars* money, *not to improve their estates but to stave off their creditors.*" x

x System of Land Tenure: Cobden Club -

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Meantime, are the Talookdars doing the duty of English landlords?

Far from it.

They have been disarmed & wholly relieved of their military following: (they are backed by something far more potent, the power of the British Government). And they ought to be in far easier circumstance than before, some increase of Revenue notwithstanding. But the one part of their new position which they appreciate is the property & credit which we have created in their favour. Money-lenders, well knowing the value of land under our system, are ready to advance them money to any amount. Of this they take advantage not to improve their estates but to launch into personal extravagance. Most of them are already deeply in debt. Has not ~~The~~ revenue ~~has~~ fallen into arrear more than in any other province of India, & ~~we~~ have we not actually been obliged in order to preserve this aristocracy of our creating to pass special laws to protect them from their creditors, & to take a large number of the Estates into the hands of

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British Officers to be dry-nursed for the benefit
of the Landlords?

Thus the Oude Aristocracy had already become
a source of weakness to us. Instead of
their supporting a Government to which they
owe gratitude, are we not obliged to support
them?

 Their own position is bitterly uncomfortable
 The revenue is badly paid.

 There is a war of classes most dangerous to the
peace of the country. And must not a bold peasantry
accustomed to warfare & divorced from all
rights in the soil ~~must~~ every day become
more & more a source of political disquiet?

 Such up to this time is the result of
the experiment of pure Landlordism in India. **[end 10:413]**

unsigned summary, ff27-44, pencil [10:414-19]

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Zemindars under the Mogul rule	[qu tr. to p. 23]62
Land had ceased to be saleable thro' Mogul oppression	"
Cornwallis appeared only to have seen Mohammedan law:	"
Indian Law would have shown him communal property:	
Village Communities & Hindoo organization crushed	

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first by Mohammedans: then by English

qy
tr. 62

~~Dacoits~~ Expelled Ryots turned/ing Dacoits:

}
to
p. 23
63

type story of a brave & respectable Sepoy turning Dacoit & beheading the Zemindar:

}
"

[Under a new

Heading]

It has been shown that, if all India were irrigated, the Ryot under the Permanent Settlement would still be always on the verge of starvation - May not this Famine be used as a Reformer of the state of landed property in Bengal? A work for the greatest of statesmen - Every year adds to its difficulties:

63

No time therefore to be lost in setting to work.

It must be a gradual, but still an immediate work. Otherwise ~~Or~~ a Jacquerie may make it a sudden one - The Rent=league among the Mahometans Ryots of Eastern Bengal, might, but for Sir G. Campbell, have become a Jacquerie

63

[Insert M. S. } at p. 63]
Rent league }

& M. S. at end of Part II.

The Ryot's Evils

64

1. Usury.

Our rule gives security to property: & justice:

Is ~~it~~/our justice "a helpless agent in the hands of grasping usurers": our security, security to the ~~usurers~~/money-lender's property? "

Letter to the Secretary of Governor-General's Council on Usury

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Non-employment of natives in Bengal 66

Native Executive Establishment in Upper Provinces "

Honour the great object of life in India "

Honour among the natives the result of want of confidence "

Change in Civil Procedure Code wanted: that ~~the~~ 66 -

{ courts may ~~be~~/not be ~~confined~~/tied down to the 'four corners of a bond':

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No 'shaking of burdens' "

2. Excessive population: "

early marriages: physical deterioration: "

Lord Napier of Magdale's General Order:

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~~Some of~~ Sir G. Campbell's ~~(illeg)~~/opinion: "

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The Ryot's wrongs: 69

The Zemindar has all the rights: 70

Political

Economy } No equality between the Zemindar & the Ryots "

"Rights of property" in England for the benefit of the poor

as well as of the rich - Not so in India 70 -

71

Example of Russia & Japan, Prussia & Austria 71
 Common sense the sense of the *common* interest " "
 Hindoos not a barbarous nation " "
 240 millions cannot pass away " "
 What ~~is~~/can England ~~to~~ do? 72 -
 3
 Cannot she like all other great countries " "
 give the cultivator an interest in the soil?

[Should this come under]
 [Remedies?]

IV. *Are we afraid of the Zemindars?* 73
 Perhaps it is the cultivators who are to be feared:
 How can we 'force' them to feel our Christianity? Note
 to 73
 Should we not sum up the Ryot's rights } 74
 as well as the Zemindar's? What are they? }
 A

blank}
 We have introduced serfdom: " "
 & now the Zemindars, masters of the serfs, are our masters
 "
 May we not while consulting the security
 of our Empire, be securing its insecurity? "
 By sacrificing 50 millions to a few Zemindars. 75
 We are starving an industrious people. "
 Cannot England do what Russia has done? "
 What ~~is the~~/makes Russia really ~~dead~~ formidable to England
 in India 75-76

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Conclusion

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Humanity:	
Safety of Government:	
Would the Railway or the Emancipation of the Ryots be our best insurance of India?	"
If we do not emancipate the Ryot, May not the Ryots attempt to emancipate themselves/himself?	77
England has abolished Slavery in all /the "eating sore" of the world:	
Should/Shall she not abolish Serfdom in her own India?	"
Ryots not always so well off <i>bodily</i> as some slaves are /were	
The uneducated Ryot is utterly defenceless: but a "slumbering volcano": Note 77-78	
Famine ; no consequence of an abnormal of a bad season but an index of	78
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"Thou art the Man"	79
Irrigation a Starting point for reform of Zemindari system	"
Proposed Commission of Enquiry: to report	"
One Man would do more: if an Arthur Young or a Statesman knowing India on Violation of Contract of Permanent	79-80
Settlement	
Caste	Note p. 80

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<i>in Abolition of Serfdom</i>	80
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in these countries The legislator broke through older & better authenticated & more /established rights	
fixed than the rights of the Zemindars	84

unsigned draft, ff45-57, pencil

f45

Life or Death in India

[*Dramatis Personae*] {archivist: Bartlett}

The Marquis of Salisbury: ~~master of his work~~/a real workman and
born ruler of

men Secretary of State for India by the grace
of God

Sir George Campbell: ex- Lieutenant Governor of Bengal:
Gulliver among the Lilliputians

Sir Arthur Cotton R. E. the most perfect Master of
~~th~~ his Art of Irrigation

Col: RUNDALL R. E. Head of Water Department in
Bengal, then over all India : now in India Office
fire Department

Col: HAIG R. E. Head of Water Department in
Bengal: now at home ill

The ZEMINDAR: created landlord out of Tax-Gatherer
growing rich

The RYOT: created slave out of Cultivator: starving

For while "wealth accumulates men decay" -

f46

How noble is Gulliver when he comes upon the subjects near
his heart: the Land Tenure. the Zemindars & the poor Cultivators
What a grasp he has of it - the head to plan: the will & the
skill

to execute - One hopes he will enlighten public opinion
here

People in England are so satisfied with a word - without
in the least looking into the thing; the word being: contrast
breach of contract: keeping faith : breach of faith: rights of
property: confiscation Pol: Eco:

[It reminds one of the 'Weary Knife Grinder']

But *on whose side* is the breach of contract?

And what is the contract we have made with the
Zemindars? - And was there no contract with the Cultivators?

f47

We in England are always talking about land-owners' rights: rights of property: always on the side of the land -

But have the Cultivators no 'rights' in the 'land'?

We are always deprecating: "confiscation" ~~of~~

but confiscation of whose property? of whose rights?
~~might we perch is it~~

~~but~~ is not the 'confiscation' the other way?

Are we not 'confiscating' the ryot's rights?

Would it be at all correct to say that in Bengal

the ryot is the rightful owner of the soil? - the Zemindar

the man put over him by Govt?

In Orissa, it is worse: for the contract is between the

ryots & the Govt: the ryots are the land-owners:

they hold the land direct from Govt: & the Zemindar

is - - - what? - the Middleman ? - the Collector/Tenant? the Renter?

But the Englishman in England, of course, with his feudal

notions - for 'Zemindar' reads 'proprietor', 'land-lord':

& then he talks of the Zemindar's right in his own land:

f47v

- confiscation - breach of ~~faith~~ - contract -

And that sets us all in a blaze:

[It is quite refreshing to see the intense passion wh: Gulliver puts into his advocacy of the ryot's rights]

But is not the breach of contract the other way?

is it not the Zemindar who breaks the contract

(on wh: he holds the land) with Govt? - not Govt with him?

If so, even if Ld Cornwallis had intended what he *did* only, he wd have been a reasonable man compared with what we are:

we seem to have confiscated the Zemindar's duties

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{archivist: Life & death in
India - 1873-4}

Are or rather were The Zemindars landlords: or ~~rather~~ only farmers of

Revenue, having the right of receiving the *Tax*, of which they retained about one third?

Did the Permanent Settlement "confiscate" the rights of the land-owners, & make a present of them, with powers - as it turned out almost unbounded to the Zemindars?

When this is talked about to India Office Secretaries of State who

are great English landlords, the landlord immediately appears: and they say: "You are talking down-right communism": all their sympathies being with the Zemindars.

Have not all great Indian Officials hitherto been afraid of the Zemindars? just as they were of the Bengal Army. This is *the* battle that has now to be fought.

This is *the* cause that has to be won.

If we continue to act as we did with the Army, will it not end in a similar catastrophe?

Must we not face the difficulty? & no longer allow that terrible principle - or non-principle: "it will last my time":

leaving overwhelming calamities for those who follow - to rule in this matter?

Is not the Bendal Zemindarry question = nearly
 that of the southern States slave - owners?
 And if we do not take up the matter, will not
 God take it into His own hands, as He did the
 rights of the slaves? and perhaps settle it
 with torrents of English blood?

England has abolished Slavery. It is her great
 title to the gratitude of Man - She is even
 now carrying out her right to ~~it~~ be Empress of
 the Seas by saying there shall be not Slave
 trade on the wide Oceans.

But, at this moment on her own lands, in
 her greatest dependency, where breathe under
 her rule one fifth of the human race, there
 exists unchecked, nay unwittingly established
 by herself, a virtual form of Slavery, terrible
 in its evils

Shall this be borne by England?

In one respect, is not Bengal Slavery worse than Southern States
 slavery?

for the slave in America was well-fed, his Master often an
 educated gentleman:

the Bengal ryot is in a chronic state of semi-starvation: when he
 is not under the

~~subject to frequent~~/pressure of absolute famine. ~~& also~~

The Zemindars are certainly not *land-owners*:
 We cannot too clearly & strongly insist upon this in
 dealing with the matter in this country, because a

word used in a false sense falsifies the whole argument

They were farmers of the Revenue - they merely collected the Government tax, retaining part of it for their own support.

Did not the real rights of the land belong to the Chief Cultivators?

In Tanjore we have what we call Meerassidars, *bonâ fide* landlords, with a perfect right to let, sell, mortgage &c, which they do & always have done

But did not the Permanent Settlement in Bengal make over all the farmers' rights in the land to the Zemindars?

This was certainly not the intention of Lord Cornwallis: but so it actually worked: and with Regulations which we could hardly believe as standing on a Statute book of our Government: they put the Cultivators, that is the whole population, absolutely at the mercy of the Zemindars. The 5th & 7th Regulations, giving to the Zemindars the power of summoning whomsoever they ~~pleased~~/please to their Office &c &c work in the most monstrous manner.

f51

Governors General, full of the idea of Landlordism in England, have thought that they would make a class of English landlords in India ; - like the men who thought that all were "the creatures of circumstances" - & that , if he put 10,000 sparrows into a huge hive, they would make money.

But in the first place English landlords are not models: in the second it was more like making Irish absentee landlords & without the feudal feeling: it was something like making Irish middle men: & in the third India is not pervaded by a Christian atmosphere -

In fact & in result, has not the Permanent Settlement been the most outrageous overthrow of rights of cultivators that ever was effected?

had they not clear & solid rights in the land?
& were they not reduced almost to the state of slaves - worse than slaves in point of food?

Even where this atrocious system was not established by Government, was the state of the mass of the people anything less than a state of abject dependence upon the rich & high caste people: dependence for a claim upon those

who acknowledged no claim?
And is this not so still over a great part of India?

Is not the "confiscation" we are taught to dread a "confiscation" of the "rights" of the whole body of the people? And has it not already taken place?

And is not the redressing of it what is now needed?

Was not the cultivator really the owner of the soil in Bengal just as he always was in Tanjore?

the Zemindar really the farmer of the Revenue, & this his proper position?

Now matters have settled down into an entirely new state: and none but a master hand can unravel the complication

Does not the whole matter absolutely require to be effectively grappled with, as the Famine is?

{the following paragraphs have a large x drawn through them}

Under the Company's Government was there but one thing thought of - viz. to get possession of the largest Revenue - and did not every Revenue Officer feel that this was the one thing he had to look to?

Did not the Governmt renounce their own duties? Forty years ago, was not the common saying about us ~~by~~/among the natives that we were a kind of civilized savages: that we could fight - but when that was done we were utterly lost that we could not even

keep in repair the noble works of beneficence
 that their own great men had constructed:
 and they would point to the tens of thousands of
 ruined tanks &c all over the country -

On one occasion did not somebody make some
 effort to have some little work done to roads:
 and did not the India Board come to the deliberate
 conclusion that it would not pay to make a
 single mile of road?

E. g. was not the average annual sum expended
 in Rajamundry on all Public Works £500 a year?
 and the whole expenditure on the 20 Districts
 £70 000 a year, £3500 per district, when
 £20 000 would barely have kept the old works
 in repair even had they not been allowed to
 go to ruin?

Could a Government who so ignored their own duties
 ever think of enforcing any upon the Zemindars?

But ought the Zemindars ever to have had any duties
 excepting to collect the Revenue?

Ought not the Government to have considered all duties as
 their own proper work; & have kept the Zemindars
 in their own proper subordinate position - instead of which
 they were made Kings & Despots, irresponsible Kings

f54

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without even a Constitution to lay down their duties & control their rights.

2. About Irrigation: the Ryot will say & does very truly that the Zemindar will take the whole profits of the water.

Col. Haig found that, where Govt had charged 1 Rupee or half a Rupee the Zemindar had added 3 Rupees to his rent.

The actual Irrigation in Orissa is fully 100,000 Acres this year: probably much above it.

This alone would give an increased produce of

about £150 000, besides some £10000 or more for Canal *tolls alone*: so that no doubt the actual Total Results in produce & saving on carriage &c is much above 10 per cent even now -

But under one Canal Col: Rundall found 50000 Acres irrigated: while 3000 or *them* only were acknowledged: & on these only was water-rate paid.

Above the Canal, the crops were almost a complete failure from want of rain

Would not a Minister of Public Works , as proposed

f55

-9a-

by Lord Salisbury, take care to have these things put to rights? & alter the whole face of affairs?

In Orissa the progress of traffic is wonderful: the traffic 3 times what it was last year there

were 300 Passengers a day on the Midnapoor Canal:

And this altho' the Canals are isolated:

If the main line from Calcutta to Cuttack were completed, would not the traffic increase far more rapidly?

To return:

Even in Godavery in many places, the instant the water reached the land, the Zemindars raised the rent; this when the Government were taking no water rate.

Is it not a certain fact that the main reason why the Ryots do not use the water in Orissa is that the Zemindar would take the whole benefit?

Does not the case require the immediate & most energetic proceeding of Government, *giving the cultivator definite rights*; and taking the most ~~necessary~~/summary measures to prevent the Zemindar interfering with him: & this whether the land is irrigated by Government or not.

Is it possible to mistake in Bengal & especially in Orissa the appearance of the great body of the people to be that of a people who for generations had not had a sufficiency of food?

3. While the authorities are afraid of the Zemindars, is not the ~~mass~~ real 'party' to be afraid of : the mass of the population - if they must be afraid of something?

f56

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Could not great Officials make others feel that
there was something else to be afraid of?
& make them distinctly understand that if they
or other Civilians would not do their duty to these
millions, ~~they~~ somebody should be found who would.
The present Secretary of State seems just the man
to take this matter in hand: & may perhaps set
about it in earnest, as soon as he has started
his noble Irrigation scheme.
The Irrigation is an excellent starting point for the
Zemindarry investigation: on the ground that *some*
definite Regulations are absolutely required.
Would a special Commission be the best ~~th~~ mode
of enquiry - say 3 members - two of them non-Indian?

unsigned notes, ff58-59, pencil

f58

New Edit: of Life or Death
Canvery line between life & death
Ld Napier's remark
Storage Reservoirs A. Cotton
Connection of Major Sewers
with House Drainage W. Clark
1 Generation not to pay for that in
wh. it has only a life interest
- loan

f59

{this f is substantially the same as f45}

unsigned notes, ff60-65, pen

f60

X X end of M. S. p. 5

"relation to Government which their ryots occupy: and I am therefore to request you formally to warn the Zemindars of Orissa generally that if they continue to make any of the exactions described, Government will certainly exercise the power vested in it, &c &c It would appear that remissions of revenue made in consequence of the late famine never reached the ryots, & that ekrarnamahs, certifying total remission of rent, were taken when a part only had really been remitted. This &c &c leads the Lieut: Governor to fear that the Zemindars of Orissa are a specially unscrupulous & incorrigible set of men, in dealing with whom strong measures are absolutely necessary." &c &c

{in another
hand: Cupps}

"There is reason to fear that the evil represented is not confined to Orissa, & representations have been made

of the wide spread existence of similar practices in many parts of Bengal."

[The offending Zemindars are "called upon" "to state reasons" "why their estates should not be brought under khas management:"]

In another Resolution dated May 30, 1873, referring to "replies" from "Commissioners" of Burdwan, Rajshaye, Cooch Behar, Dacca,

Chittagong, Patna, Bhaugulpore, Chota Nagpore, Assam, & Presidency Division, Sir George Campbell states that it is "clear that, in spite of the law, cesses in large numbers are levied

from ryots *by almost every Zemindar in the country*; the fact being that owing to the absence of sufficient agency in Bengal,

those parts of the Regulations which give rights & privileges to

Zemindars have not only been maintained but stretched to the

"utmost; while those parts which restrained them & limited their rights have been utterly set at naught."
 Farther on, we learn of "duress or violence used by Zemindars
 "to enforce illegal cesses" &c &c.
 Yet these are a class not like the feudal Lords of the Middle Ages in Europe or like the nobles of Russia in possession of the rights of centuries, looking like the rights of nature but a class created by ourselves not 80 years ago
 The "abwabs" & "illegal cesses" are so astonishing that we recommend every one to get No. 46 of "Records of the Government of Bengal" - & study for themselves. **[end 10:419]**
 Among these we find: "A charge for providing bracelets for the ladies of the Zemindar's family."

Nota Bene that nothing at all exists of the converse, - of the "ladies of the Zemindar's" as of the English squire's "family", - providing (not "bracelets" but) clothing, for the ryot & the ryot's wife coming out of their close hut, half starved & half clothed, into the morning air: & shivering with fever - nor food nor anything else for the sick.
 Nothing at all exists in India of the *mutual* kindly neighbourly relations - we will not call it charity - between the Squire's wife & the cottagers' wives in England. It is all the other way. The "charity" (extorted) is from the Ryots to the Zemindar's "ladies".

We find: "A cess levied ~~to~~/by Zemindars *on their visiting* their estates:" (they do nothing "on visiting their estates" for their ryots.)

"A charge on boats: a sort of landing fee".

"Presented to Zemindars by washermen" - "by barber" -

"by sweeper" - !! [I must give a wood-cut to show this

wretched "sweeper": who has "presents" "levied" upon him).

And all these are ANNUAL!

One of these is: "for eating Mangoes by ZEMINDARS! (not by those who ~~p~~ pay)

Another: for "use of Tooth powder by Zemindar"

A "Marriage Cess" is "general"

We tap another List of "Illegal Exactions" in the Presidency

Division: that is, close to Head Quarters of the English power at Calcutta

which created these Zemindars under special conditions

Here are some of them "Exactions": not conditions: there are none kept.

"A contribution made to the Zemindar when he is involved in debt requiring speedy clearance "

[The Ryot *is* always "in debt": ~~are~~ often compelled to work all his life in bondage to the Usurers for his father's debts.

Does any one "contribute" for him?]

Then the Ryot pays "on occasions of religious ceremonies in the Zemindar's house": he pays "on the occasion of the audit of his own accounts"

Then there is "forced labour exacted from the ryots without payment". [the Ryot seems always to pay & never to be paid.]

He pays on his own marriage: he pays on his daughter's marriage: he pays on the Zemindar's

marriage: he pays on the Zemindar's son's marriage:

he pays on the "Gomastah's son's" or "Gomastah's daughter's"

marriage: he pays on the "Zemindar's sons" "first

taking rice": he pays on his own "ploughing of land":

he pays "to the Zemindar on his making a tour through

"his estates"; he pays for being "permitted to perform {written in light writing in the margin:ltracey} any poojah or festival" himself: he pays for equally for the

Zemindar performing poojah:

When "a farmer" takes a lease, he does not pay a fee: he "levies a fee at heavy rates".

The Ryot, instead of receiving any nice sick cookery ~~for~~ from the Great House, "takes rice, fish & other articles of food on occasions of feasts in Zemindar's house"

Then there are 'no end' of "Fines", of course -

The very "hides from the carcasses of beasts thrown away" have a tax levied upon them.

These instances are taken almost promiscuously

from the 'Records' quoted. They are not chosen as remarkable, in any way. And any one by merely turning over the leaves of these Papers may find hundreds other such"

"for keeping & buying elephants":

"for Court expences":

"for keeping establishments."

And "the Magistrate of the district remarks that the road cess having given the Zemindars a legal power to levy charges, it is reasonable to apprehend that the ryots will be more helpless than ever."

The Ryot pays "contributions to meet the expences of district post": [was not one of the conditions on

f64

-5-

which privileges were granted to Zemindars
that *they* should maintain the institutions of a
civilized country?]

The Ryot has to make "annual payments to the agents
of Zemindars": payments "at the opening of the
rent year": payments at the close : payments
everywhere, payments every *when*.

Besides the above, contributions for the support of
schools & for the construction or repairs of roads
& bridges" [I thought that the Zemindars were
created for one thing to make roads] "are often
levied: in addition to casual cesses on the occasion

"of marriage or other ceremonies, or on the occasion
of the Zemindar visiting his estate". [Shall this be
called "visiting", or *robbing* "his estate"?)

"Levy of fines for settlement of petty disputes
among ryots is also a common practice."

the very presentation of a "petition" to the Zemindar
is "levied upon": (from the unfortunate petitioner,
of course)

I close the book, because I should otherwise [10:420-]
have to 'extract' the whole of a
closely printed Folio.

f65

Note to p. 9 xx Life & Death in India [10:442-50]

Some of these abwabs or cesses levied by the Zemindars
are "General": others are levied by "some" Zemindars:
others by "many": others are levied, one by ~~one~~/this &
another by ~~an~~/the other Zemindar: none by none, one may
say.

But this makes the matter worse: suppose every
small proprietor in Brittany able to ~~levy~~/impose an illegal
rate/~~tax~~, & any he pleased, - ~~upon every labourer~~
any tax that came into his head or fancy, -
upon every unfortunate labourer.

unsigned notes, ff66-74, pen

f66

p. 12



improvement?

Now, a sprinkling of non-official Europeans throughout India is an ~~immense good~~/benefit. When the Governor-General called for reports from the Governors or Commissioners on the results of grants of land made after the mutiny to Europeans, the replies were all entirely in favour of the system. And this altho' the bias of the Civil Service is generally against that class.

They all declared that it was productive of immense good: & that not only was there no ill-blood between the Europeans & the natives, but exactly the contrary: that natives highly appreciated the presence of Europeans among them.

The most experienced Anglo-Indians believe that there is a wonderful power of amalgamation between native & European.

{ff67-69 printed text, not transcribed}

them?

When Sir Arthur Cotton first steamed up the Godavery, the first question asked at every village was: But will you bring us salt?

That the price of salt should be so high that the average consumption is less than half that of the districts like the Godavery where it is cheapest, & where the people can afford to buy it, is a reproach to us: & that our financiers should have increased the Salt Tax, because ~~they knew that~~ there was no one to speak or fight for the Ryot, is a reproach to them.

But is not the essential point in Indian famine to increase the wealth of the people?

The average amount paid by all India is 2½ Rupees a head; 40 millions £ by 160 millions of people. The amount paid by Tanjore (under 2 millions of people) is £720,000

more than 3½ Rs: and by Godavery (1,600,000 people) £530,000: 3¼ Rupees a head.

If all India were partially irrigated, & the people paid 3 Rs a head, would not the Treasury be overflowing? Even as it is, does not the Revenue exceed the current expences? And is not the first thing

wanted a man bold enough to pay for all new works out of loans: & abolish at once half the salt-tax?

[Are not 6½ Millions a year being paid at this moment, besides 3½ Millions paid out of the Treasury to the Shareholders, in all 10 millions, for the small amount of goods & number of Passengers that are carried by Rail?

And could not all this be carried by Canal for ½ a Million?

Were ~~if~~ India to save ~~d~~ this alone, would it not enable ~~them~~/her to pay

so much more in other taxes that the Salt Tax might be abolished? and if there were a system of Canals, would not the saving on Transit alone by the enormous traffic, be equivalent to the

f71

-2-

p. 13 X X X

abolition of more taxes?

We have ~~saved~~ increased the income of ~~of~~ of the Godavery territory far beyond the amount of the taxes: much above a million while the taxes are only half a million. If we had declared the Godavery tax-free forever, but without irrigation, would it not have been a miserably poor district - compared with what it is now while paying ½ a million a year?

Does it signify more than a straw what the middle & upper Class of natives say about the Salt-Tax? is not all they know about it that it is a tax on the poor, instead of some tax that might be laid on the rich? Or does it signify very much what the poor say? What speaks is: the grinding poverty, the feeble ~~health~~/strength of the people: the consumption one half of what it ought to be for health.

What would the poor have said if they had been consulted about draining Calcutta, tho' they were dying by tens of thousands for want of it?

Is it not one of those many things in which we ought to think for them?

What did the people of Godavery say when we talked of irrigating the District? One of the educated class, a Tassildhar, in reply said: "There never had been an acre irrigated in the Talook, and there never will be."

What did all England say when it was proposed to connect the two halves of the British Empire: we who flatter ourselves that we are the most intelligent people upon earth? What did the Lords

f72

-3-

p. 13 X X X

& Commons say to it?

If we wait till men want even the most palpable things done for them, must we not wait for ever?

About the Irrigation works for Oude, the highest quarter in India said: 'The Talookdars themselves don't want it.' What an argument!

f73

22/8 {archivist: Wright} ~~Appendix~~ Note. x x
p. 15

1.Village

Russian Reform

Municipality

1. The Russian "world" or village Municipality (3000 years old, by the way)

is presided over by an elder, elected by the heads of families,

his business is with the village lands, the schools, ~~the police,~~ the

poor: the police, of which he is the head: he is the village judge, & can fine & imprison on a very small scale: the elder, with the heads of families elected according to

their amount of land, presides over the communal assembly.

But he is subordinate to the District Elder; & even the allotment of the land takes place in an assembly of the whole commune, including the women & children: in each commune there are skilled, uneducated Land Surveyors, who execute the work of division. He is also subordinate to the Justice of the

Peace, who

is elected by the community of the district from among the nobles &

landholders in the district: & can fine & imprison on a larger scale: but

cannot pronounce between himself & his own peasants.

2. Next comes the District Assembly, composed of from 300 to District 2000 families: they have a head aided by the

village heads,

Assembly who are the elder & assistant elder of the different villages -

The District Assembly is composed of the different communities chosen from every ten heads of families.

Its business is with Taxation & Recruiting: & the control of the Village officials: it is summoned by its head.

In India there was no organization by which, in the Mutiny, the peasants could combine for the defence of order:

As Haxthausen says: "the rural population forms a dam against the flood of a revolutionary spirit."

In Russia, on the contrary, every ten villages send deputies to form a canton, & ten or twelve cantons form a District, the members of which are chosen by peasants, merchants, clergy, nobles, each apart, each free.

3. The Provincial Assembly is at the head of all: it is composed Provincial of delegates from the districts. It holds regular sessions.

Assembly Its business is with county affairs: roads, education, prisons,

fisheries, imperial taxation, conscription, spirit licences: also, with the ~~construction~~ & maintenance of public

buildings,

~~the postal~~ ~~arrs~~ the levying of taxes imposed by law, mutual

insurances,

f74

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Appendix Note xx p. 15

local trade & industry - matters required for the Civil & Military

administration - management of property, capital & incomes belonging to country districts - proposals relating to local needs.

Enlarged powers are being gradually conferred on the Provincial Assemblies by Government, so ~~he~~/that ultimately Russia may have a real Representative Assembly, a House of Commons: for which these are a Training School.

They have been consulted on Military Service, on Railway projects: they vote large sums for Village Schools: in the Annual Budget sometimes two fifths of the votes are obligatory, but three fifths discretionary.

Public opinion is elicited, & taxation levied by them.

As might be expected, the Landlord interest is strong in the provincial, the peasant interest in the District Assembly.

[The above is taken mainly from the Revd James Long]

{ff75-78 printed material with notes, not transcribed}

unsigned notes, ff79-83, pen & pencil

f79

-1-

{archivist: Lowe} p. 20 xx

Survey

The registration of the peasant's rights by the Government is already in progress in the North-West ; that is, the recording the names, rights, interests, & holdings of every landholder & every cultivator in a country held by peasant proprietors, parcelled out in minute divisions, & containing 72,000 square miles (that is as large as England & Scotland put together) comprising 80 000 villages, with an agricultural population of nearly 3 times that of Ireland, or between 14 & 15 millions. Every field is to be mapped & classified according to its produce - As the "Calcutta Review" has it: Government will possess "just as accurate & detailed information regarding every state in these provinces, as is possessed by any landlord or farmer at home, regarding his individual property."

The Revd James Long, after saying that, in Bengal, the "police system is a signal failure," in "the detection of crime," recommends "the village system in its various compartments - the village watch, the village chief, the village jury" - not only for purposes of police, but for what he describes as "the corroding evil of Bengal: the grasping & black mail of subordinate agents who prey both on the landholder & peasant, without remorse, fleecing both." He says that "the revival of the office of Village Registrar," contemplated by the Bengal Government, is needed to "record the subordinate rights in land". & to "give a clue through the labyrinths of the sub-division of property: no trifling work in Bengal where a mango tree is sometimes divided into sixteen shares."

Mr. Long comments on the absence of Vital Statistics in Bengal:

The Punjab & even Burmah were able to furnish their Vital Statistics to the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India, Dr. Cuninghame: Bengal none -

p. 20 xx

"Village Schoolmasters", Mr. Long says, "might be utilized as Registrars". The revival of Village Registrars, 60 years ago, by Lord Moira, was stifled after a time by "Zemindary influence"

Mr. Long tells us that the "native land surveyor" in Bengal "is the plague of the country; his measurements are too often regulated by the amount of bribe he receives." [The Government of Bengal now requires, in order to check this, "a knowledge of land surveying from subordinate Government officers."]

In the Russian village municipality "the allotment of the land takes place in an assembly of the whole commune, including the women & children; there are in each commune skilful land surveyors, who execute the work of division." "It would be well," says Mr. Long, "if we had that class in Bengal."

He adds: with regard to serf emancipation in Russia

"the basis of all lay in land secured to the peasant on certain conditions, and the elevation of the peasant in the social

scale by giving him a share in the village administration based on the elective system."

"The serfs have been emancipated, & the village system is made the basis of all other reforms": or, as Haxthausen says, "a system of self-government, that the people might be released from the despotism & avarice of the officials".

"Combination" against "feudalism": that is the secret. What the Russian Government has done, cannot the English?

f81

{archivist: Warner} p. 50 p. 50

go on from newspaper extract p. 50

Can it be wondered at that the natives say that they had
Usury under rather have one of their own "magnificent despots"
who

British rule. would "cut the knot" of such oppression as
this, than

a "law-abiding" people like ourselves to reign over them
who only tighten the knot? which strangles them & their
industry, & lays waste their
fruitful

lands? - - that our law is

worse than their misrule?

They cannot even say like the Irishman: 'if it were not
for the honour of the thing, I had as lief be without':
when he went in a Sedan without a bottom.

For 1. the Sedan of our Justice has top, sides & bottom,
all impenetrably sealed, not to be stretched or expanded
in any way whatever. And 2. we give native gentlemen
no 'honour', no share in the Government of their district.

And this in a land where 'honour' & distinction, promotion ~~are~~
are 'the great objects of life.' This in a land where if
we would but give head-men, chiefs, native intelligence
its proper place in its district, & not fill up all places
with Englishmen, confidence would return & trade would
revive. Why is there all this usury? - why all this
hoarding of money? Why does ~~not~~ a people which
has so distinguished itself in past times in manu=
factures & in the arts of civilization, distinguish itself
no longer? When we talk of hoarding however, we must not be
supposed to mean that any but
the most "exceedingly trifling" sums are hoarded. "Capital they
can hardly be said
to have". "How very slight these hoards must be" is ~~every~~ the
conclusion from every
evidence we have. Why but because there is no confidence?

We add another Extract from Mr. Stewart's letter
to the Governor-General's Council Secretary:

p. 50 x x x

{ff82-83 are printed material, not transcribed}

unsigned miscellaneous notes, ff84-89, pen & pencil

f84

p. 12 M.S. ††

very indifferent (to say the least) to their rights or improvement

- though even then there were individual exceptions?

Of late years however has there not been a marked

improvement in this respect? In the Civil Service generally,

do not strong feelings now exist in favour of Ryot rights?

~~Is it~~ It is not more expedient than just strenuously to acknowledge this fact? Of the noble efforts in the

direction of native improvement of men like Sir

W. Muir & Sir G. Campbell England is well aware

& have not many of their subordinates been animated by their spirit?

Can there then be any bounds to the change for the

better, whether in Indian Zemindar or English Official & non-

official, which time may work?

My poor little paper only conveys the impression made on a

disinterested outsider; that is, one who has no personal

or party interest in the question involved, by a careful perusal of the original documents: & desires beyond

every thing to express the strong & earnest hope that the

more

enlightened Zemindars of the present day would seek

for an amicable adjustment of their own & their

Ryots' rights, in the palpably benevolent spirit

of Lord Cornwallis' enactments.

Doubtless, the Zemindars, under the Mahomedan régime,

were, as a rule or as a class, tax-gatherers or farmers

of revenue, not *bonafide* landlords, in our sense of

that term. But every office in India, under the natives,

tends to run in the hereditary groove, & to originate

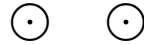
possessorial rights

f85 {archivist: Burkitt 22/4} p. 24 ++
pigs?

Also: must we not carefully consider: 1. that the rights
of
property are of a very different kind in India from what
they are in England: no shock is given to commerce by
interference 2. that non-interference in England goes upon
the supposition that property will be more improved by
leaving even the extra profit in the Landlord's hand: also
on the argument from the difficulty of distinguishing what
increase of value is due to external circumstances, & what to
the landlord's own capital & enterprize?

No ancient nations had our extreme ideas respecting the
sacredness of private property. Why do we introduce them into
India which is an ancient nation?

The rights of property are commonly defended on the
ground that they are for the benefit of the poor as well as of
the rich. Political Economists explain how property
accumulates & then flows out among the poor as a fund
for wages. But where this is not the case, how shall we
defend the rights of property?



deeper?

The great difficulty which ~~a person~~ a non-Indian official has in judging about India is 'what is practicable'. 'what forces can be overcome & what cannot?' [It is a sort of Political Engineering.] but also: 'what forces can be made use of: & what cannot?' - and 'what stimulus can be given to the decayed life of the native population? &c The outsider only guesses about all this. On the other hand, the Official has his official way of looking at things: 'There must be famines: not a good: but you must remember the increase of the native population under our peaceful sway' &c. And is it not always worth while for him to consider carefully the 'guesses of outsiders,' derived from general considerations, & other states of society,

& convert them by his experience into solid ~~action~~ practical conclusion & action?

The natural progress of India might have been through war, through famine, through misery & oppression of all sorts: Still some - not eminent British official but - eminent native prophet or chief would have at times come to the front & given a chance of better things -

A revolution like that of Japan would have been possible. [If a prophet were to appear among the Ryots, we must put him to death]

But have not we English extracted all the genius & vigour of the natives, & do we not leave or rather keep them at a peaceful level of misery & degradation?

Have not even the Missionaries a worse chance than they had? - for formerly they might have worked by the conversion of a native Prince: & through a native feeling: Now they are aliens & strangers.

Compare the English government not with the principles of Christ but with the principles of Bouddha!

f87

Insert p. 25 †††

subject to all this misery & starvation are not an idle race,
but rather slavishly industrious. There may be famines
among barbarous nations, owing to idleness & improvidence:
but is it not unique that regular cultivators of the soil
~~what might be made~~ should be liable to be
starved periodically under a favourable climate,
or what might be made such, by a plentiful supply of fresh
water, with proper drainage.

Remember all this time how large a portion of
the wealth of England is drawn from the blood &
bones of the people of India.

Meanwhile what have the people of India become? "a
people
"long used to hardships" who "lose the very notion of liberty":
to

quote the same political author, writing of another nation:
"they look upon themselves as creatures at mercy & that all

"impositions laid on them by a stronger hand are legal &
"obligatory". Would one not think that he was
writing of the Ryots? "Hence proceed that poverty &
"lowness of spirit, to which a kingdom may be subject;
"as well as a particular person". Would one not
think that he was writing of India?

Go on to
Is the English Government
p. 25 0 0

despot?

But if we do not do it, what then?

When we compare the Russian emancipation of the serfs, & our non-emancipation of the Ryots - (and is not the first an infinitely more difficult & dangerous business than the second?) will not the thought sometimes occur to us that Russia would have been a kinder mistress to the poor Hindoos than England?

Russia in India is the dread of England, & might be really terrible (not by sending an Army of 100 000 men 3000 miles) but by lying hid among the surrounding nations & conspiring with some internal movement. What if the Crimean War & the Mutiny had fallen in the same year? ~~May we not~~ suppose Russia having prepared the way by native Emissaries, working for some years in secret,

to proclaim the emancipation of the Ryots: what hopes would be aroused? She would supply the necessary organization in which Orientals are deficient. She would fight with the many against the few: we with the few against the many.

Can any government of the few, of 'the handful of Europeans,' be secure which allows the mass of the people to hope that there might be a better or not much worse condition for them under some other? - Or indeed under which they say: 'We can't be worse off'?

Suppose Russia fifty years hence to be in possession of India, & to have fulfilled our mission of liberating & elevating the Ryots: would not this be very provoking?

{f89 is printed, not transcribed}

unsigned notes, ff90-128, pen & pencil

f90

-1-

Wages & ~~Note~~ p.53 * ~~p. 65~~{archivist: Davies} 22/4
seem the 'Indian Economist', 1874, says: "Wages in money
Price of to have undergone little or no change for the last 20
Food years, while prices have risen heavily. In
ordinary
years the ryot feeds his labourer out of his own grain
stores; in dearth he cuts him out adrift. Masses moreover
of the ryots themselves seem to be little better off than
day labourers. *The ryots will work day & night to irrigate
their lands where water is procurable; & if we want a
rubber crop, the way to get it would be, we think, to
assure the ryot that, whatever he might sow, he & no
other should reap.*"

What a
country
road

p. 54

††† p. 78

is What a country roads means ~~we will not try to tell:/~~may be told by an instance or two:

of "the *main line of road*" down the valley from Kurnool to Cuddapah, Col: Rundall says that it "is even now for miles & miles in such a state that, during the dry weather even, carts take to the field in preference, while in the wet weather it becomes so impassable that, after heavy rain, carts are detained for days before they can move. The country is thus virtually shut up".

[This is printed in Italics in the Report from which it is taken].

Col. Rundall adds: " A good line of communication, available at all time & seasons is therefore an essential requisite, and if at the same time the cost

"of transit ~~can~~/on it be kept low, there can be little question as to the effect it will have in stimulating production."

In a previous Paragraph, (he is speaking of the 'Toombuddra project',) he says: - "If by the construction of a Reservoir,

the Canal is made perennial, there can be little doubt of the irrigation spreading faster: but when to this is added a continuous navigation, a great additional stimulus to cultivation will be conferred by raising the value of almost every description of produce, especially of those grains which are at present unable to be transported, or to bear the high cost of transit entailed by the existing means of communication."

p. 57 ⊙ ⊙ ⊙

In a native state in the Punjab, Bhawalpore, as will be
told further on, Irrigation

Bhawalpore has been successfully carried on, and an economical
| system of Canal administration introduced by the
Political Agent & his Irrigational Officer - the
natives

cheerfully lending their aid in carrying out the
works. If the people of India can be taught
& guided in helping themselves, we thus do them
lasting good. The Bhawalpore works are
Inundation Canals. Vast portions of the

Bhawalpore

Desert are only a desert from want of water. [end

10:450]

{written diagonally }

To Printer.

Please print this
all along the
line, *not* with
an inner
margin, as
rest of p. 57
is printed

statements that the people must be "compelled" to take
{archivist: Davies } the water!]

"In the other Doabs, more particularly in the Rechna Doab, a similar canal would be productive of very beneficial effect."
[10:450-51]

How Jaccobund The Blue Book of 1873 tells us that "Jaccobund was founded was founded in the midst of a barren treeless waste.

"The water of the Bigari Canal was brought to Jacobabad, & the tail was extended thence to the Kelat boundary near Keragari (Khyra Ghuri). Now the former desert is a dense forest of babul & other trees, upwards of 60 feet high, sheltering the houses & gardens of the inhabitants. Within a few miles there is the desert again, which skirts the Baluchistan hills, a level plain of splendid, fertile, alluvial soil, but hard, naked & barren, like a threshing floor, without shrub, herb or grass, except in the vicinity of Canals."

[And so with many, many parts/vast regions of India.]

"There the desert is converted into a garden; woods took the place of sand, & the Bagari Canal revenue, which amounted to £4796 in 1852, was £13594 in 1857, and £17339 in 1862. The improvements of General Jacob only cost £16,200".

The Ford- wah The "Progress & Condition of India, 1873", tells us

in Bhawalpore that "the native state of Bhawalpore extends for 300 miles along left banks of the Sutley, Chenab & Indus. The Trevevanna once fertilised a vast tract; but, owing to neglect, the feeding-channels & the Trevevanna itself silted year by year, & more land fell out of cultivation.

"The people took to rapine for a living, & at last the whole N. E. district of Bhawalpore became a mere populations of cattle-feeders.

"This was the state when Major Minchen, the political agent, assumed charge of Bhawalpore in 1867, during the

"minority of the Nabob. He borrowed £15000 at 12 per cent interest for 10 years, & dug a canal called the Ford-wah, with the best results. A revenue of 12 lacs, paid in grain, increased to £190000 paid in cash. The system of yearly clearances had been placed on a sound basis. This is a measure of the blessings conferred upon the country"

? ~~Letter of Mrs. Barnes:~~

Political Value Col: Strachey says (1870) that "the value of of Irrigation permanent means of irrigation in the district west of the Indus would be very great, in a political as well as fiscal sense. Everything which would add to the wealth of the population & security of obtaining a means of existence, must conduce to the confirmation

"of habits of order & peace":

How little do we English folk think of the paramount importance of these two things:

the wealth of the *population* (not only of the Revenue)
the security of their means of existence (not only of

India)

in our home thoughts!

"In this point of view it seems probable that attention should also be given to the irrigation of the Peshawur valley & the Yusufzaie country. There is no so powerful agent in the cause of civilization as money."

The ryots never have any.

"The possession of money derived from honest labour, & the knowledge that the means of procuring it in this way were fully secured, would assuredly produce a

"very beneficial effect on the border tribes," aye and on the Ryots ~~every where~~ too - all over India [end 10:451]

How the Ryots never have money. [10:451-65]
 Canals from Akin to the political effect of Canals,
 a Military is the question of their hold on the
 Point of View affections of the people : &
 consequently of their security in case of
 mutiny. We are told on the
 highest authority that Canals & not

Railways

would be defended by the people: that "you can keep armed steamers running upon it at all times, day & night, independent of the traffic, which you cannot on the Railway"; that "an Irrigation canal in use would have the whole population on the side of it, and it would be a very dangerous experiment for people to try & destroy a Canal: the people would be inclined to protect it ; whereas they would not care about a railway being destroyed".

Moral & Mr. B. T. Login, C. E. says: "In India the promotion
 Political of irrigation works becomes a matter of public policy
 Effects as well as humanity, for the wide-spreading
 distress

of Canals.

occasioned by want of water is liable to produce discontent -"

Indeed ~~we~~ could think so, ~~indeed!~~

"On the other hand, the moral effects cannot but be beneficial, when, from one canal alone, & that in an incomplete state; more than a million human beings were fed by its produce in 1860; & the writer well remembers on that occasion the cry for water & the satisfaction which its arrival caused among all the cultivators."

Compare this with the professed official fear that they will not take the water.

"Only those who had the distribution of this water can fully appreciate the good effect such works must

p. 57 7

"have on a population like that of India. *If every stream which now flows to waste from Oude to Peshawur were turned into irrigation canals, we should have a far greater military command of the country.*"

For satisfaction in plenty of water is better than compression by force for the peace & content of a people & besides this,

Canals are a real source of ~~military~~ defence.

But, Mr. Login adds: "altho' no one would ever dream of closing a canal to quell a rebellion, yet the moral effect of our having the power to do so would at once make the industrious cultivators side with us in keeping the indolent & rebellious in order."

In other words, industry is always on the side of our power.

"The effect, therefore, of having half a dozen more Canals like those from the Ganges, the Jumna, & the Ravee would possibly enable us to dispense with at least half a dozen European regiments."

~~A Canals are is equal to~~ /is more than a Regiment : for the one only

represses disaffection : the other changes it to affection.

"or, at all events," Mr. Login proceeds, "in the event of a war on the frontier, few troops need be left behind to overawe that portion of Hindoostan which produces the most warlike races of India. Therefore, for political causes alone, there is every reason why a regular system of irrigation canals should be carried out in Oude, the North West & the Punjab - leaving out of view the far higher cause of humanity.

{archivist: Latly? 22/4 } p. 57 †

"The full development of irrigation would greatly enlarge the commerce between England & India, for irrigated land could support 3 times the present number of inhabitants of one of the most thickly populated portions of the globe.

"It has been shown that, owing to the Ganges Canal, Ganges Canal as many lives were probably saved in Bengal saved as during 1865-6 as perished in Orissa in 1868, many as & this canal in 1866-7 repaid to the country Orissa Famine more than its total cost, while it was slew the means of feeding little short of 2½ millions of people"

Compare this with the official complaints of the Ganges Canal not paying!

Lord Lawrence says in his Examination before the Parliamentary Committee, July 1, 1873: "I think that there is one element in the question, which apparently you have not taken into consideration, and that is the great saving of revenue which has been effected by the existence of the Ganges Canal. I would say in a broad & general way that the money which you saved in the year 1861-2 in the shape of land revenue, & in the shape of saving the property of the people, was far more, on the most moderate calculation, than all the accumulated interest which we lost until the canal paid say 5 per cent. on its actual outlay"

X X X

"I travelled through those districts in 1837; I saw the utter barrenness of the land; the whole country was waste; there was not a green leaf of any kind or description in many of the districts, I saw large tracts of land under Canal Irrigation

in other districts in those very years of which we have been speaking; and there it was one sea of corn & barley."

Old Canals Lieut. C. C. Scott- Moncrieff tells us that from the the of Northern India earliest times engineering works were constructed to store water & enable it to be thrown over the country. But in 1350 the Emperor Feroze Toghlak, "one of those enlightened & able monarchs who did so much for early India, bringing to bear on the hot plains which his fathers had overrun the energy & vigour of his Northern habits & Turkoman descent" made the first Irrigation canal; he also built 50 dams across rivers to promote irrigation, thirty reservoirs &c &c. His Canal which was to water the parched districts of Hansi & Hissar, about 100 miles west of his capital at Delhi, drew its water from the river Chetang, one of the drainage lines of the Sub-Himalayas

His Canal was restored & vastly improved about 200 years later by the great Akbar, "one of the greatest & wisest rulers of that or any other age & country." Akbar's son, Shah Jehar, "the Louis XIV of the East", carried on the work, & completed a system of Canals of about 420 miles, drawing now the water from the Jumna, "whose sources are supplied by the endless Himalayan glaciers, & which consequently only comes down in greater volumes the greater the heat, which melts the ice."

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 inner margin.
 as rest of p. 58

We come now to the depth of wretchedness more wretched still than Bengal: the "Garden of India": Oude. Condition of Ryot in 1873 in the "Garden of India" is an average of above 10 rupees per acre: that out of 33 men whom he examined, 29 paid money rents: of the 29, nineteen had had their rent raised - in some cases doubled - within the last 3 or 4 years; and the others were either men who had recently taken the lands or were under the Court of Wards.

The Superintendent of the Lucknow Central Jail informed him that 10 per cent. should be deducted from the weight of prisoners who "had been fattening from 3 weeks to a month" in his Jail. "Deducting only 5 per cent., the weight stands at 7 st. 3 lbs. That of an average British

"prisoner is 10 stone." "In nearly every case, the prisoners had been convicted of theft or of cognate offences." Condition of the Ryots in Oude 1871 Two or three years ago the Chief Commissioner of the Province circulated questions to all the Commissioners under him. "the reply to these inquiries", says the "India Economist", "was uniform & heart-breaking. The cultivator consumes nothing of the produce of his labour but the very coarsest grain. Everything goes into the hands of the bunniah, & deliverance seems hopeless. Having let down our plummet, & sounded the depths of this misery, are we to sit still & look wistfully "to time & general laws," and coldly take leave of it?

"In the name of God, no!

"If the British Government cannot alter it, it is no Government at all".

There can be but one echo, & that universal, to these words.

f100

p. 66 II II II

11

Godavery

~~Still~~, With reference to the Godavery Delta
Works:

Delta "there has not been the smallest fear of famine for
Works the 25 years since the works were begun, & it secures
a vast extent of the surrounding country. And these works
yet admit of a further improvement. Though there is water
in the canals all the year, yet they cannot nearly be
kept full in the dry season. If water were stored
in the Upper Godavery, not only would 500 miles of
that river & the Wurdah be kept in an effective state
for navigation in the dry season, but the water would
be of great value in the Delta, both for improved
navigation & for extension of the second crop cultivation -
This water could be supplied at a very moderate cost."
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margin.

~~Out of~~ Thus for Bengal: a district - what am I saying? - a kingdom, two

and a half times the size of Ireland, with more than five times Ireland's population - a kingdom including Patna & all the famine regions of this year.

These regions would have been by this time the "abomination of desolation" - but for the Christian heroism of British officials who have justified our Christianity to the earth, who will never themselves be known by name but who have created an almost new thing - official heroism in saving, not taking, life.

Out of this vast country considerably less than one sixth part - about two thirteenths - are all that will be saved from future famines by the only two great

irrigation schemes now in progress - viz. the Orissa & the Sone works.

Of the Patna division - about three fourths the size of Ireland - but with a population twice and a half that of Ireland - less than one third (that South of the Ganges) will be protected by the Sone scheme, leaving more than two thirds yet to be provided for - a small matter of upwards of 16,000 square miles, or half Ireland, but with a far larger population than all Ireland. Of this small matter, less than one third will be protected by the two Gunduck schemes, of which the High Level Canal is to be started.

Common roads are at present the only communications of this part (North Behar)

One of the great advantages of the Sone scheme is - not only that it protects a country which, tho' small, has a population more than that of all Ireland put together, from scarcity, so far as the rice-crop is concerned, although storage of the water of minor streams is wanted for the cold - weather crops, but - that it secures intercommunication by water. All the Sone Canals being connected with the Ganges, South Behar will become accessible to the river systems of Bengal, the North West Provinces & Oude.

But meanwhile, is anything being done, or proposed to be done, for poor Lower Tirhoot? In Durbhunga & North Bhaugulpoor - the centre this year of the severest

scarcity, ~~& a pretty~~ / & an intolerably large centre, too - is anything

being done to utilise a snow-fed river, with always a large volume of water, either for Irrigation or Navigation? - Are there any communications but common roads? What common roads ~~w~~ mean, we will shortly tell. Has not the first attempt at improving the communications been the railway for transporting Government grain from the Ganges ghat to Durhunga?

Though much has been done, is it not as little compared with what has to be done?

f103

{archivist: Carter}

p. 67 ++

14

Tinnevelly

is the only exception, we believe, where, though the "tank cess" was commuted into money, & the proceeds included in the general revenue (a process given at length on another page) a separate account of its amount has always been kept.

p. 67 ++

Trichinopoly

The gigantic Ponnairry tank, in the Trichinopoly district, has now been in

ruins for many years, ~~is on a gigantic scale.~~ The bund is 26 miles long, of great height, with two substantial masonry sluices, & still in good preservation.

Its water came from the Coleroon River by a channel 62 miles long, & by another from another river.

"The whole of the country once fertilized by this stupendous work is now waste, & in great part covered with thick jungle, except a few poor villages scattered here & there, with a limited extent of cultivation attached to each."

Bourdillon's, Balfour's & F. C. Cotton's Report : 1858

Has anything been done since to repair ~~this~~ the ~~gigant~~ 'stupendous' error & the tank at the same time?

f104

p. 67 h h

15

{there is a bracket around this paragraph with Burnell written in pencil in the margin}

"is only abstemious by compulsion; & when he is forced to be so, it is so much the worse for him. Our best policy (not only for reasons of revenue) is to encourage the growth of a middle class sufficiently wealthy & intelligent to possess influence & self- confidence, & owing its aggrandisement solely to industry & the arts of peace. Such a class has as yet never existed in the East, the occasional local prosperity of a few merchants being rather a proof that an exception to the rule."

f105

p. 67 * 16

after "destitute of it"

give description of Godavery Ryot {this paragraph has lines drawn through it}

Let us now turn to look at the Ryot in the same Presidency in land under Irrigation.

"Look on that picture & on this."

Turning to the more general part of the subject:

"The total expenditure on the (Godavery) works had been 12, 65, 361 rupees, & the total increase of revenue above the previous average was 19, 54, 803 rupees, leaving a net surplus gain of 6, 89, 391. rupees

"This striking fact deserves special notice. To what are we to ascribe the instant rise of revenue & the sudden spring of prosperity? It could not then be wholly the effect of irrigation; the increase of irrigation, large as it has been, is not sufficient to account for the whole gain in revenue. We believe it may be found in the condition of things: - viz - in the vast stimulus given to industry & production by the employment of labour & the circulation of capital involved in the expenditure of large sums in a depressed & poverty-stricken district."

f106

-2-

p. 67 : Z Insertion 17

The "Progress & Condition of India", 1873, tells us of Feroze Shah's Canal in the 14th Century, & of Akbar's restoration of it in

1568; & in 1626 of Shah Jehan's conveying water to Delhi by a branch from Feroze's Canal which traversed the Aravah hills *by a channel cut through the solid rock* 60 feet deep at the crest. For 150 years Shah Jehan's water flowed through the city in a masonry bed, with innumerable lesser streams. Since 1753 it has ceased to flow.

We quote again:

"This magnificent addition to the revenue is not to be gained by exaction, by trenching on the fair rights of property or industry: on the contrary, the noblest feature of all is, that vast gain to the Government is to be obtained by adding in a far higher degree to the wealth, comfort & happiness of the people. The value of the crop on an acre of dry land does not exceed 6 rupees; but that of an acre of rice is 20 rupees."

The Special Commission, consisting of J. D. Bourdillon, Esq., Collector of North Arcot, ~~Mag/Majors~~ Sir George Balfour, ~~&/Member~~

of the Military Board & Major F. C. Cotton, say: reporting in 1853:

Government "An examination of the list of (Government Irrigation)

~~Neglect~~

~~compared.~~

works suggests humiliating reflections. The ancient rulers of the country, with resources of science & skill immeasurably inferior to what we can command; raised those numberless,

"magnificent & valuable works, to the possession & the advantages of which our Government has succeeded.

"It is too evident that had the present powers ruled, the country would never have possessed these additions to its wealth, or the Government that large accession of revenue, both of which are due to the enlightened intelligence of princes whom we are accustomed to style barbarian."

Loss to

x x x

p. 67: 2
Insert Z

Ryots

from "In connection with the subject of loss of revenue from want neglect to repair works of irrigation, it must never

of water be forgotten that for every hundred rupees of is ruin

revenue so sacrificed, to the ryot the loss is of often total ruin.

For if the tank or channel on which the value of his land depends is permitted to fall to decay he has no resource: he cannot even, under the existing revenue arrangements, cultivate it with dry crops; for if he did so he would have to pay the full rent for irrigated land, & the ground is therefore left untilled.

Ignoring Rights
of Ryots
in Irrigation Works

"An order was passed by Government (Revenue Department, 6th September, 1857, No 905) directing the stoppage of the repair of two very large tanks in the Bellary district which were damaged. The expenditure necessary to repair the tanks, that is, to recover this amount of income now lost, is £9850, less than one year and a quarter's purchase; & this is withheld."

The Special Commission already referred to "points out how completely it (this order) ignores the rights of those ryots who have a property in the land watered by these tanks. They have been inherited through many generations, & have been purchased probably again & again in dependence on that right. If they are now left without irrigation,

"they become utterly valueless under the existing Revenue settlement; & even if the assessment is re-adjusted to suit them as dry land, still at least 3 fourths of their value will be annihilated.

"And yet the question of restoring the tanks is discussed, as far as appear, without any reference to these interests.

"In the case of existing works the Government is in a degree morally bound to maintain them in repair"

And this modestly styled 'degree' seems as if it ought to be a very high one/degree indeed!

"independently of & in addition to the consideration of revenue, for the sake of the capital which, on the faith of their virtual engagement to do so, has been invested in the land under such works.

{archivist: Leigh} p. 67 * 20
 "Tank Fees" The Special Commission proceeds to consider the
 paid expressly "Tank Fees": & says: "It has been usual to
 regard
 for Repairs the cost of maintaining the works of
 irrigation

as a charge on the revenue; & it has been represented
 as a part of the cost of collecting the revenue. It cannot
 be included in the latter without a perversion of language
 & confusion of ideas; & it is certain that it is not even
 a charge on the revenue to the extent commonly supposed;
 and it is doubtful whether it is so at all.

"The native princes who constructed the tanks & channels
 of Irrigation knew quite well that from their very nature
 they must stand in need of constant repair. They, there=
 =fore, made a special provision for this necessity, by
 subjecting every acre of land irrigated to a special cess
 for this particular purpose, which was in some instances
 contributed by the ryots, & in others in equal parts from the

"ryots' share & the Government share of the produce - the
 revenue being in those times received in kind"

x x x

After the assumption of the government by the English,
 it was determined to consolidate all the items,
 - making up the land revenue into a single demand,
 & for the most part this was a fixed sum in money
 for each acre - the revenue in kind being commuted"

This consolidation of payments for duties some of which were
 'assumptions' but performances ad libitum on the
 part of the Government seems to us very like:
 Heads, we win: Tails, you lose - very like
 improving the ryots' rights off the face of the land.

"In that operation the tank cess was included in the
 settlement, & was merged in the revenue, & the
 correlation duty of maintaining the works of irrigation

"in efficiency was fully recognised on the part of the Government."

'recognised', it seems, but not performed.

x x x

"These facts place the Government in a new position as to the works of irrigation."

Obligation "It thus appears that it is not simply a question

to be fulfilled of policy whether the Government shall keep the

in return works in repair, nor even that there is a merely for equivalent

received

implied engagement to do so, but that it is a positive & express obligation to be fulfilled in return for an equivalent received. It must be admitted that the duty has not

been performed, & private property has suffered great

damage in consequence; & it now remains therefore

to retrieve past neglect, & bring up the works into a state

of full efficiency as rapidly as possible. The fact that

"capital has been invested in the irrigated land on the faith of the irrigation involves a moral obligation to maintain it; and even if that obligation were disregarded, the motive of self-interest would still remain; for we have adduced many facts to show how intimately the prosperity of the revenue is connected with the efficient condition of the works of irrigation"

Might we not say *depends* upon them, as rice upon water?

"Indeed, in Indian finance in general, while there are stringent orders against the expenditure of hundreds, *no account whatever is kept of millions never realised, tho' well within our reach.* We economized a writer's

Economy penknife, & take no steps to guard against a famine. in pence, There are numberless tanks & channels too, the waters waste of of which, if carefully husbanded, would flow over tracts

millions

of land not irrigated now, adding to the revenue very greatly

more

than need be spent upon a better management."

"The price of rice in Orissa in last December, (1873) was £4 a ton, and in Nuddea, near Calcutta, it was £9 - a difference of £5 for a distance of 250 miles, over which it could be carried by canal for a few shillings. Thus the price of rice where they wanted to buy was nearly double the price it might have been bought at, or half what they might have got it for where they wanted to sell. Think of food being sold in a district at the famine price of /1d a lb., this year 1874, when it was selling within 250 miles at less the /½ d, for want of one link of canal of about 80 miles."

"The main canal to connect Calcutta with Cuttack

"is ordered to be stopped short of an effective temporary terminus at tide-water, near Balasore, instead of being pushed on with all possible vigour to Calcutta."

"With a system of canals, the cost of carriage from one end of India to the other would be under £1 per ton, making a most serious difference in the cost."

Our first business to connect
 "The first question of course is, as matters now are, how can the next money be expended so as to give the greatest results? In consequence all important of the wretched patchwork way in which, links. these works have hitherto been carried on, extensive systems of navigation are left unconnected for want of short lengths of canal.

"Thus the North & South Coast Canals at Madras are in a great measure paralysed for want of a connecting link of 3 miles. The Northern Canal & the Kistna Canals are separated by a line of 100 miles. The Southern Coast Canal is broken by two intervals, one of 60 and one of 20 miles. The Indus & Ganges navigations are separated by a line of 150 miles from the Sutley to the Ganges Canal; the lower Ganges & Calcutta by a line of 150 miles: the Burhampoota & ~~the~~ Calcutta by a few short lines of about 100 miles in all: ~~The~~ Orissa canals, & those of the Godavery West coast are in the same way divided by several short lines of a few miles each.

"One of the first things to be done is to execute those short connecting links, so strangely left uncut hitherto, & in which the money spent will produce such disproportionate results, by giving increased effect to so many thousand miles of navigation already in operation

"After this the next thing to do will be to cut all mines, forests &c & connect them with the present system of navigation"

Completion	"Think of these enormously productive works being left
of present	year after year unfinished for want of
	£100000 or £200000,
Irrigation	while millions have been spent in
	unremunerative
schemes	works, which have entailed irritating taxes
	on the country.

what is
wanted

"On the Godavery about £100000 is required to irrigate 300000 acres. Think of the Ganges Canal having been allowed to linger

f113

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p. 72

*

24

"on for 20 years, & not half the land yet watered, for want of the works necessary to correct its defects & complete the distribution. But not only this, think of those invaluable works upon which not only the populations of those districts themselves, but of all the neighbouring ones, depend for their lives, not being even kept in repair. The late Upper Godavery Commission state that the locks in the Delta were out of order, & that the main line of Canal had been closed for 9 months. x x x Many of the Canals were useless from want of necessary repairs; & land yielding £30,000 in revenue had been thrown up from the failure of the supply of water. Who could believe it possible that even in our day there could be such astonishing neglect of these vital works? The first thing therefore to be done on this point, is to repair, correct, complete &

"extend all the present projects. All money so expended, if laid out with ordinary engineering skill, will make immense returns, because all the heavy works connected with these projects having been already constructed, what remains to be done will be disproportionately productive."

But, if what 'remains to be done' is *not* done, it will be proportionately unproductive.

f114

p. 73

† † †

25

"can hardly be over-estimated, & when we find that cotton from Saharunpore, Jugadore, Kurnaul, Paniput, & even Delhi is now carted to Ferozepore to be boated down the Indus, rather than sending it by rail to Calcutta, it is self-evident that, in spite of the moderate charges on the E. I. Railway, a still lower rate is necessary to secure the cotton trade. A navigable canal secures this, while at the same time it can be constructed at about one-third the cost of doubling & maintaining the Railway line."

"Unmade roads in the rainy season are almost impassable" (as we know now from our Famine experience in Bengal: 1874.)

"Upon good roads, metalled & bridged, a native cart will carry half a ton (1200 lbs.); on a bad road, 600 lbs."

f115

Insert at p. 82 {archivist: Carter} *Indian Agriculture* [See
page 152 of 26

The Sun & the

The Zemindar,

Watering Pot]

Well may Sir G. Campbell say (in 1872) "that we know nothing about agriculture; we are children in that respect, & we cannot teach others till we are ourselves taught".

Mr. Robertson, the Superintendent of Government Farms, Madras, Live ~~says:~~ "I asserts without any hesitation that there is no country Stock

in which the livestock of the farmer is so wretched as in India. It is true that in a few favoured localities the stock is moderately

good: but taking the country as a whole the quality & condition of its livestock is a disgrace to the age"

Is it not rather that 'the age' is a disgrace to its predecessors, which had a 'live stock' that were their credit?

"There is unfortunately little or no attempt to improve matters.

The ryot deals with his stock as with his crops = leave all to fate.

With a stock of over 7 million head of cattle & over 6 million of sheep,

he provides neither pasture nor fodder crops for their use, but leaves them to preserve their wretched existence by such food as they can

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-2-

Ind: Agri:

27

"collect on unenclosed wastes, on the sides of tanks & water courses, on fallow lands &c. In some favoured, thinly populated localities, the position of agriculture livestock is much better; but by far the greater number of the livestock are kept, during two thirds of the year, just above the starvation point."

And in what is the ryot, their master, better off himself?

And is he scarcely more able to execute large Irrigation works himself, if the Government does them not, much than his own live-stock?

"The result of such management is: that disease is seldom absent from the herds & flocks of the ryot, producing at times frightful loss. I wish that we

had statistics of the annual loss by disease amongst

f117

-3-

Ind: Agri:

28

"Indian live-stock Facts such as these would rouse us to the actual state of our agriculture. Modern agriculture would revolutionise all this: it would provide proper food & pasturing for live-stock, while it would cultivate only the best of the indigenous breeds, & improve them by importing suitable varieties from other countries. *It is a mistake to suppose that India is deficient in fodder crops.*" x x x
"And yet fodder crops are entirely neglected by the ryot."

Insert 3a

Implements Mr. Robertson goes on to tell us that the "native plough is a most imperfect implement:" & "stirs | only a portion of soil, leaving a series of ribs untouched"

I annex a wood-cut of a native plough & ploughman:

"while the English plough turns over the *whole* body of the soil. The ryot who owns an English plough can by its means, with one man & one pair of cattle, do as much work as his brother ryot can perform with two native ploughs, two pairs of cattle, & two men. x x x

"The draught of an English plough, owing to its superior construction, is seldom greater than the draught of a country plough, doing only half the work: but, assuming that the ryot must give 65 rupees for his pair of cattle, the outlay, including the cost of the plough, will be only 80 rupees. The two pairs of cattle he now employs cannot be valued at less than 50 rupees per pair, so that to provide them & a plough he must incur an outlay of upwards of 100 rupees against the 80 rupees expended by the owner of an English plough: while he will spend twice as much for the manual

f118

Ind: Agri: Insert 3a

29

Another authority says: "My experience has satisfied me that the Indian farmer is most bountifully supplied with fodder crops: indeed in this respect he is much better off than our English farmers.

"labour expended in performing the same amount of work. The pair of cattle that work the English plough will need a better class of food than is now given to ordinary plough cattle: but then only two animals will require to be fed instead of four.

Conclusion Mr. Robertson's conclusion is one that we should do well to lay to heart for many things besides ploughs: & many "objections" besides the one he states: "Now it has been objected that the ryot has no inducement to buy a plough - at say 15 or 16 rupees - as long as the thing he calls a plough can be produced at a cost of 2 or 3 rupees. That a considerable number of our ryots cannot raise such a sum as 15 rupees I readily admit, for I know that a very large number cannot at certain seasons afford to feed,

"clothe & house themselves & families properly or even decently; but, *because such a condition exists, are we to stand idly by, and wait until ALL the ryots can afford to provide themselves with the means wherewith to cultivate their soil?*"

How many good things such an 'objection', so 'idly' spoken & so idly heard, has prevented in India!

"There are thousands of ryots able to provide these means; but they have neither the intelligence nor the enterprise to avail themselves of them; they hate all changes, & dislike everything that demands of them more exertion, or the exercise of a greater intelligence."

And what do we do, either for their bodies or their minds,

to give them the power of enterprise?

f120

Ind: Agri: 5

3b

31

In Sanitary things we make the same objection:

because we cannot attribute to want of drainage the whole of the Burdwan or other Fevers, therefore we 'stand idly by', & wait till we know *all* the causes of *all* the Fevers, before we do anything to remove any. And this, although there are "thousands of ryots" able & willing & eager to execute small drains, & as Col: Haig tells us to 'secure every drop of water', if we would but help them, & thus give them both health & wealth.

f121

Ind: Agri: * 6

32

Well may Lord William Bentinck say in 1835:

"It is impossible not to deplore the same defective state in the agricultural as in every other science in the country.

Look

where you will, & you find the same results - poverty, inferiority,

degradation, in every shape. For all these evils, knowledge, knowledge,

knowledge, is the universal cure. We must not forget that *the*

Government is the landlord of the country, possessing both the

means & knowledge of improvement, and, putting all obligations

of public duty aside, is the most interested in the advancement

of the wealth & comfort of its numerous tenantry."

What progress did we make in 35 years?

~~And~~ Well or better may Lord Mayo add in 1870:

"It cannot be denied that Indian agriculture is in a primitive & backward condition, & the Government has not done for its improvement all that it might have done.

When the light of science has been properly brought to bear

"upon Indian agriculture, the results will be as great as they have

been in Europe.

"The duties which in England are performed by a good landlord,

fall in India in a great measure upon the Government.

The only Indian landlord who can command the requisite knowledge & capital for the improvement of the land is: *the State.*

There is perhaps no country in the world in which the State has so immediate & direct an interest in such questions. The land revenue yields 20 millions of our annual income:

"The means of obtaining agricultural instruction in India are no better now than they were 15 years ago. The work that is performed by the great agricultural Societies of Europe must be performed in India by the Government or not at all."

And the Secretary of State for India/~~very~~ adds: very much to the purpose:

"It is certain that, with the exception of the permanently settled provinces of Bengal,"

and is that a reason why theyse should be left without help?

"the Government has a direct & immediate interest in the improvement of agriculture which is possessed by no Government in Europe."

Ask Sir B. Frere for remedies

f123

{archivist: Stracey}

Condition of the People

1 p.

83 *

* 34

Well may Sir G. Campbell say quoting a report made so late as 1869, on the

Madras Presidency, that very country famed for its past industry in Public Works: "The bulk of the people are paupers: They can just pay their cesses in a good year, & fail

altogether when the season is bad. Remissions have to be made perhaps

every third year in most districts. There is a bad year in some

one district; or group of districts, every year."

Well may Sir William Denison late Governor of Madras, add

"My feeling is that the people are deteriorating, & that we have to a certain extent been the cause of this.

We have destroyed their native manufactures, have put a stop to the development of native talent, & are fast bringing them down to the condition of producers of raw material. I do not like to see this."

We do not know Who can ?

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p. 83

2

* *

35

Well may Sir T. Bazley say that "the governing power of India "had not thought the first necessities of mankind worthy of their attention. They had thought of the native army: but they had not thought of the comforts of the people, & they

had neglected the first element of progress - they had not given them common sense education - nor the knowledge of civilization"

That is, we have not taught them *how to live*: we have not given them the simplest elements of this art in England: no, not even an English plough: unless they hunted it up for themselves. And where were they to ~~get the knowledge~~/hear of that unheard of instrument among themselves, unless we told them?

"We must not shield ourselves," Sir T. Bazley continues,

"by saying that we had an infirm intellect to deal with.

Perhaps the Hindoos are a more timid race than ourselves: but they are our equals in intellect; And we who had the development of India in our hands were bound to spread information among the great masses of the people."

[end 10:465]

f125

p. 90 * +

36

"the great rivers, which never fail.

"Still these native works have been of inestimable benefit, & especially are they now, in pointing out to us what to do with our vastly superior advantages of extent of sway, capital, science &c"

f126

{archivist: Stracey 22/4} p. 93 * [10:465-69]

37

In the Budget speech at Calcutta, it was said: "If any doubt has hitherto existed as to the expediency of engaging in great & extensive schemes of irrigation, that doubt has been completely dispelled. *There can be no deliberation in dealing with famine.* The issue forced upon the Government has been not whether it shall engage in speculation which may yield an uncertain profit, but whether whole districts of the country shall be exposed to a periodical depopulation for want of those preventive measures which human power can command. Irrigation in India is the great question of the day, as the repeal of the corn laws & unrestricted commerce were the great questions in England in days gone by."

It is not a fanatical engineer who says this: it is the Supreme Government & Governor General of India.

"But all that the repeal of the Corn laws & free trade have done for England, & much more than all, can be done for the people of India by works which will fertilise their fields, & place their means of subsistence beyond the reach of accidents."

[And so on thro' many paragraphs.

How noble ~~is~~ are these words! Of course the deeds were commensurate. Of course British capital, science, knowledge, as our Chancellor of the Exchequer would say, were set to work without a moment's delay.

No: these words were "left"

"To print a moral or adorn a tale."

And again & again: ~~We let the~~ famines "at which the world grew pale" 'depopulated' the land.

In other words than my own, Nor is there the sign of beginning upon such a general & effective system of works: not a sign of that being done in irrigation & navigation which has been done about railways.

"What can we ~~hope~~/look for to put an end to this fearful & ruinous system, this putting off from year to year these vital works, and to lead to an intelligent & effective prosecution of this essential enterprise, the irrigating & navigating India?"

Conclusion We can hardly sum up better than in the words of the triple Report so often quoted:

|| "The Government are in the position of landlord as regards the Government irrigation works: they, & they only, in general can India's undertake the construction of such works; and Landlord. there are vast numbers of undertakings, to a large amount, which would return not 10 per cent. but 20 & even more directly into the Treasury, besides a vast addition to the comfort & wealth of the community, in advancing whose prosperity the Government has an interest - not here to speak of the duty - which does not exist in the case of the English landlord.

"Again, at a very moderate computation, irrigation quadruples the produce & the value of land; & thus, though acre for acre somewhat more labour is required, yet food is raised at less cost of labour, & a large fund is left,

"after paying the cost of production, to be expended on other articles of comfort & convenience besides food. Then the comfort of the people at large increases, new wants spring up which were unknown before, & new branches of industry arise to minister to those wants. Thus a market is created for the surplus produce, & How a the producer & the consumer mutually profit market by each other's prosperity. And this process is created can go on to an unlimited extent. For the power unlimited.

of consumption is limited only by that of production - the necessary conditions being that the producers of all kinds shall be placed *within reach of the consumer* by good communications, & that *labour shall be free*. Thus capital accumulates, & with the accumulation of capital comes the love of peace & order, the cultivation & enlargement of the mind, & in a word civilization. go on to M.S. top of

p. 96

How famine & c "But, in & c p. 96

||

unsigned notes, ff129-36, pencil

f129

The Sonthal & Pubna Insurrections are not known in England to one of a thousand who were absorbed in the Fenian attempt to blow up Clerkenwell Jail, & in the Fenian success in murdering a policeman at Manchester & letting 2 Fenian prisoners out of a Police Van. Neither are these Insurrections ~~are not~~ interesting to one of a million who gloated over the Tichborne Trial.

Yet had the then Lt Governor of Bengal not been the man he was, each of those Insurrections might have become a Jacquerie, & the Jacquerie become a Rebellion

Sir G. Campbell was the first to estimate & admit that there were grounds of provocation - & to remove them

Three years ago there was the grossest & vilest oppression of the poor Sonthals.

The late Lieut: Governor of Bengal put it down: & made a new state of things.

Englishmen have little idea that in Bengal & Oude there is always a smouldering fire of discontent - discontent at too real grievances:

f130

-2-

that at any time the ashes may burst into a flame: & the flame into a blaze:

that had not a man with real insight into the Ryots' grievances been at the head of Bengal affairs at the time, the fire would have blazed up then - And as when an American Prairie takes fire, no man knows where it will stop.

Englishmen little think, not only that there is always a Rent league among the Mahometan Ryots against the Zemindars - even including Mahometan Zemindars - but that, although Mahometan Ryots have more energy & pluck, & self-reliance, yet Hindoo Ryots will combine with Mahometans for such a purpose as a Rent league -

In the Mutiny, the Ryots were with us: And, it was due to this circumstance that the Mutiny never became a rebellion -

In the Mutiny, the Mahrattas attempted to stir/tried to win over

f131

-3-

over/up the Ryots in Bombay Presidency against
us: but the Ryots answered that they/Mahrattas failed
because the Ryots knew
that they were better off under our rule:/the English &
would not be stirred up/won over -

How would it be if Bengal Ryots knew or thought that they were
not better off under our rule,/the English, as in
Eastern Bengal ~~or Oude~~ where Mahometan
Ryots are the strongest - or in Oude?

How would it be then?

The late Lt Governor of Bengal pacified the
Rent league?

How might it be another time?

The very progress of Education might make the
situation more dangerous.

The rent=league which was pacified might
at any time assume formidable tone & shape:
- so formidable that if it did ~~light~~ put on that
of a Jacquerie, the holders of property would
be nowhere -

[The successful opposition of the Ryot, assisted *then*

f132

-4-

by the Zemindars, a dozen years ago, against
Indigo planters - ~~for when~~ the Zemindar,
when it was not against himself, could
understand the Ryot's grievances - shows
that Ryots can do something † & that they can
combine.]

Of all this, English people have only the faintest
idea, if indeed they have any at all.

Nothing would move John Bull so much - except
humanity: for indeed he is a champion & a
patron of humanity - so much as the idea
that a Jacquerie is not so entirely impossible
in the future as he thinks: that the
'dumb animal may not be always dumb:
"the worm will turn again":

The Bengal Ryots have a grievance - a grievance approaching
starvation

The Mahometan Ryots of Eastern Bengal not only have this
grievance but they know
it:

The Ryots are capable of combination: even between
Hindoo & Mahometan -

These are 3 dangerous elements.

f133

It is more easy to show how with a people the
most industrious in the world on a soil the
most fertile in the world the Ryot is always
on the brink of starvation than to shew
what is to be done

& how to do it

In Oude Lord Canning's measures had made
the Ryots serfs.

Lord Lawrence by an Act of the Legislature tried
to give security of tenure to these Oude Ryots
against the powerful Talookdars

He had great difficulty in carrying this Act - -
it does much for the Ryots

but practically it ~~fail~~ can be made to fail in
many points.

And he wished to do much more.

What he thought necessary as remedies for the Oude Ryot's
condition/wants & evils

which some say ~~is~~/are worse if that be possible
in Oude than in Bengal. was much more

What is required to be done,
what it is proposed to do,
& the means of carrying it out
are to be seen at

f134

If it could be shown to Englishmen that the
peasantry have a right in the land in
Bengal & Oude, this would be a great point.

To talk of 'right of peasantry in the land' is,
in England, *revolution*.

But, if the peasantry had this right, & we
dispossessed them of it, that is a different
thing.

The Bengal Peasantry are little else than serfs.

The Russian Peasantry is now much better off than
the Bengali.

That is a disgrace to us.

Ours is a levelling centralizing influence.

f135

-7-

Even after all that has been done, & all that is written about our Reign of Justice, our Courts of Law are still all for the Zemindars -

_____ The longest purse carries the day. M. Mohl

England has Feudalism yet.

but she might be shown that Feudalism has nothing to do in India: that we have wronged the peasantry in the name of Feudalism.

It is said that the Feudal party in Russia, opposed to serf-emancipation, actually held us up as their authority, & said: "Would you have the peasantry freer than England's peasantry?"

Now we boast ourselves to be the Land of Freedom: & Property: above any thing else.

This is a terrible lesson when Russia, till lately the land of Serfdom, & the party of Serfdom in Russia, cites our example for Slavery & the Stand-still Policy.

There are peasant Magistrates in Russia:

there are peasant Magistrates in our own North West Provinces.

Must Bengal & Oude always remain behind?

[end 10:469]

f136

{archivist: F.N.

~~Notes on Ryots 1880~~

~~or 1872~~

		11689068	
		11507197	
Occupancy Ryots	6597		368
Tenants at Will		134	
		368	
Cultivating Ryots	1151940296		
Zemindars	153918		
Zemindars			
	115 794		
	37 224		
_____	153 018		

Add Mss 45834 is drafts of Indian reports

Add Mss 45836, India material, Adam Matthew microfilm reel 51

ff1-1v, unsigned, undated, {archivist: [1860s]} re officers in India

unsigned report, ff2-3, pen

f2 {archivist: [p.1859] [on Colonisation & settlement in India]}

The Committee having
had no previous know=
ledge of the subject
& not knowing where
to find the necessary
evidence & no such
evidence having
presented itself
are unanimously of
opinion that they
are not competent
to arrive at a decision

f2v

as to whether any
part of India
admits of being
colonized by
Europeans -
notwithstanding
the averment of
competent persons
that it contains
within its limits
nearly all the
climates of the
world, many of them

f3

even in the part
reputed to be
most unhealthy
being considered
as equal to any
in the South of
France -

unsigned report, ff4-5v, pen

f4

{archivist: [c. 1863]}

P. 12 Cholera Commission Report
Calcutta July 21 1862

17. The conservancy establishments at Meean Meer are maintained on the ordinary system & at the ordinary strength. Considerable local funds are also available. The Grazing Fund has an income of about Rs 3700 per annum. It has been administered by the Cantonment Joint Magistrate as Secretary to the Committee. The greater part of these funds appear to have been spent on the Public Garden & Band=stand in disregard of the positive standing orders on the subject, which prohibit expenditure on such "luxuries of the station" -

The filth is removed daily from the latrines, & thrown down upon the ground at two places some 100 yds distant.

No attempt is made to bury or otherwise dispose of it. Dead animals & every kind of refuse are accumulated in the same places, which thus become very offensive & dangerous.

Bad as was the conservancy of Meean Meer when we visited the Station, it was

f4v

far worse before the outbreak of the Epidemic, before attention had been specially called to these matters, & when the abominable cess = pools were poisoning the whole atmosphere of the place. There can be no doubt that the neglect of the commonest principles of sanitary science was such that Cholera or any other epidemic disease would find all the conditions most favourable to its progress. At the same time we do not wish it to be understood that the conservancy of the place had been neglected by the local Military authorities in any unusual degree. Bad as we consider the conservancy to have been, the Station was kept in better order than many that we have visited.

There are three public necessities for the use of the Native population. These are under the control of the Cantonment Joint Magistrate. We shall refer more particularly elsewhere to the disgusting & almost incredible fact, that the filth from these places has been sold for the purpose of

f5

feeding sheep & that a flock of sheep has been seen to be actually driven into a latrine.

f5v

Report of the Commissioners - Cholera of 1861 in Northern India - with Appendix - Calcutta

N.B. This Report is addressed to
Lt Col: H. w. Norman CB
Secy to the Govt of India
Mil: Dep:

ff6-6v, unsigned, undated { archivist: [?1863]}, Memoranda re people to be interviewed

unsigned report, ff7-14v, pen & pencil

f7

{a} {archivist: [early 1863]}

The Report of the R. Commission

proposes the formation

in each Presidency of a

local Commn of Health,

consisting of

1 Civilian

1 Mily Officer

1 Sanitary "

1 Engineer

1 Medl Officer

to be charged with ~~adapting~~

~~to Indian necessities~~

~~the knowledge & experience~~

~~acquired in the execution of Sanitary~~

~~works at home~~

~~This is all the Commn~~

~~can do.~~ But there is this

obvious deficiency that

there is no proof of the

men so appointed being

likely to possess either

the required sanitary

or Engineering knowledge.

Judging from the evidence,

the proof is that such

men are at present

non existent. And

the real administration

question is, how to

f7v

{b}
find them or how to
supplement their
absence -

The most likely way
was to make use of
the Bk & Hospl
Comm; which has had
ample experience on
all subjects likely to
come before the Indian
Commn.

The proposal was
made without knowledge
of the manner of the
Indian Govt. And
Lord de Grey has stated
strong objections against
it.

Can these objections
be overcome by
limiting the operation
of the B. & H. C.
simply to drawing
up & printing
Instructions to be
issued by the Indian
Govt?

{c}
Commn of Health would
if competent to give
advice, give it to both
authorities. But they
are not competent.

f7

{d}

A series of proposed standard plans ~~was~~ {illeg of?} sent by the I. O to the R. C. for opinion. They have been kept back, because so bad, to await the result of the enquiry.

Is it desirable to create a new consultative body in India, when there exists (a better) one at home?

f8

The R. C. is only empowered to ascertain Sanitary facts: but not to enquire as to existing executive authorities in India. It has enquired fully as to the facts &, after it reports, will come the question of the executive authorities. A practical Commn appointed in England would naturally enquire into the powers & recommend an administrative scheme for improvements. Could we get any information on this point?

{written in pencil in another hand, The following are the required ; there is a pencil line drawn in the left margin to the bottom of the page}

Sanitary powers?
to take outlets for drainage & to carry drains on particular directions - also to supply water - to pave & drain houses -

f8v

{a}

also to define boundaries within which improvement shall be carried out, together with the manner of paying of improvements. With Barracks this would not be necessary: because Govt would pay. But Barracks cannot be separated from the Civil population.

The executive authority in India would have to be vested with these & similar powers.

1. ~~The chief existing executive authorities~~ appears to be the Public Wks Dept.

2. Sir C. Trevelyan says there is an excellent Municipal Act, under which Municipalities ~~must~~ can be erected.

~~The proposed Presidency~~
3. local Magistrates

{b}

If the Indian Sanitary ordinances involving expenditure of money for drainage, water supply &c or the raising of money on loan or the levying of rates, have to be referred home for sanction, they might be referred to the proposed Commission to see that the works proposed were such as would meet the case.

Indeed it would be advisable that

all such proposals
should be referred
home for sanction.

f9

At Gibraltar, the same Commission have recommended Sanitary works of drainage & water supply which are to be carried out by an ordinance of the Governor, sanctioned by the Privy Council - this ordinance will come before the W. O. Commission to see that it contains all the powers requisite for improving the Garrison, before it is submitted to the Privy Council.

The ordinance of course does not refer to Barracks but to the Sanitary state of the Station at which the

Barracks are -

f9v

Bks & Hospl was

f10

If there were no administrative objections to the B. & H. Commn undertaking the work, it might have been done as follows:

1. to reconstitute it qua India with the addition of an Indian Sanitarian & Engineer
2. to enable it to call for any information from India
3. to recognize it as the advising Sanitary Commn of the Home &c India Govt.
4. to give it a direct communication with the Commissions in India that it might be consulted on all subjects
5. to enable it to draw up plans of Barracks, Hospitals, stables &c or to be consulted about them

f10v

6. for it to publish information & instructive matter on Sanitary subjects for the use of the Local Commns
7. to afford opportunities of training Engineers & Clerks of Works in Sanitary constructions ~~(illeg)~~ to supply officers for the local Commns

f11

The present ~~Cor~~ B. & H. Commn has acted in 3 different ways: -

1. it has controlled plans & Sanitary proceedings at Stations which it has never visited as e. g. Trinidad & Barbados, Hong Kong.
2. it has visited Stations & recommended improvements, the plans for which it has supervised.
3. (at Gibraltar) it has visited, reported & recommended a competent Clerk of Works to take charge of the details

f11v

To leave the Executive powers in India as they are - To have a Consultative Commn not at Calcutta (where there is no special advantage in having it) but in England with direct communication with a Consultative Commn of Health in each Presidency to assist the administrative authorities.

f12

The obvious objection to this is that instructing without the power of revising plans & procedure would not meet the case -

The difficulty has always been in the practical application of principles.

1. Another way would be to appoint competent persons to proceed to India - to make themselves personally acquainted with the local peculiarities of the principal Stations, to organize the Sanitary administration, to draw up such a code of Instructions as would guide the local Commns & then to leave them.

This, tho' apparently a better plan, would

f12v

still leave ~~the~~
(unchecked) practical
application of principles
in the hands of the
local Commissioners.

2. The most efficient
plan of all would be
to place such a
Commn, after its return
in the position of
advising & keeping up
a communication with
the local Commission
in India for a time.
3.Or better still if
practicable of
controlling their
proceedings

f13

The Report of the R.
Commission proposes
the formation in each
Presidency of a Commn
of Health, consisting of
the following elements:

Civilian
Military
Engineering
Sanitary
Medical: -

their function to be
consultative & advising;
partly by means of
Officers of Health.

They would give advice
to existing executive
authorities, which are,
as far as we know,

1. Dept. of Public Works
for Barracks, Stations,
Bazars
2. Municipal Councils
where such have
been formed under
the India Municipal
Act.

f13v

3. local Magistrates

The first defect in the Report is that it does not point out in what way these consultative functions are to help the executive. Next, the Indian enquiry holds out no hope of being able to find men for the Presidency Commissions with sufficient practical knowledge of Sanitary work to give advice. The Commission is bound to face this difficulty -

It is proposed to overcome this in the following manner: -
the War Office has a

f14

W. O. Commission for improving
the Sanitary condition of
Barrack & Stations
including foreign stations,
even more distant
than India.

This Commission has
obtained the largest
amount of experience
& has dealt with all
kinds of problems

Their advice & experience
might be made available
for India somewhat
in the following manner
It might become the
Sanitary adviser of the
Indian Government, in
the same way as it is

1. of the W. O. if an
Indian Engineer & an
Indian Sanitarian
were added to it for
Indian purposes -

2. It might call for
information

{in pencil in the left margin not in FN's hand: ?direct communication
with Presidency Ad}

3. It might draw up
or give advice about

f14v

plans of Barracks,
Hospitals &c

and it might be 4.
consulted & advise
on all subjects connected
with the improvement
of Stations & of towns,
including drainage,
water supply, improved
construction & Sanitary
procedure

it might draw 5.
up & furnish
information &
instructive matter
for the use of the local
Commissions

it might attend 6.
to the training of
Engineers & Clerks of
Works to supply
Officers for the local
Commissions

Its functions would {in the right margin in pencil: ?about money}
be simply advising
& consultative thereby
bringing European
experience to bear
upon Indian questions

unsigned report, ff15-20, pen

f15 {archivist: [Apparently about Oct: 1863]} **[9:460-61]**

The course of proceeding recommended by the R. Commission for carrying out the Sanitary improvement of Indian Stations & towns was as follows: -

1. to vest the executive in a local authority or Commission of Health for each Presidency
2. to give to these Indian authorities the advantage of home experience in the details of Sanitary improvement

Leaving to the Indian authorities the sole responsibility of accepting or rejecting any information or advice which might be sent to them.

3. As a Commission already existed at the War Office which was discharging the function of advising not only at home but at all foreign Stations, including Ceylon on the confines of India itself

f15v

it was considered by the R. Commission that, unless the Secretary of State for India thought it adviseable to appoint a special Commission should add to the W. O Commission officers of Indian experience - & that the joint Commission should discharge the function of advising, & transmitting information to the India authorities.

The latter course was followed.

And the joint Commission is now ready for action.

Some may think that this advising function of a home Commission was unnecessary. But, in the first place, it is found to be absolutely necessary for Ceylon, in which the defects of Stations are precisely the same as those in India.

f16

And, in the second place, it is perfectly well known to foreign Governments that nearly all existing practical experience of Sanitary works is to be found in England. And it frequently happens that commissions are sent to this country to obtain information, both as regards Civil & Military improvements.

There is surely no reason why India should not also benefit in this way.

There is of course a certain amount of jealousy between the Indian authorities in India & those at home. But surely this jealousy should disappear, ~~if~~ /as neither interference nor control is proposed in this case - but simply to offer to the India Commissions our own accumulated experience.

f16v

The R. Commission proposed that the Presidency Commissions should be constituted of the following elements: -:

1. an able Civilian to be
responsible administrative head
of the Commission - advised by
2. an Engineer of the Public Works
Department
a Medical Sanitary Officer
a Military Officer
an Army Medical Officer

This Board would proceed 1. to direct local enquiries, which would be best carried out by an
Engineering Officer and an
Officer of Health

- in concert
2. to receive reports; prepare plans,
direct & see to execution of works.
But this latter detail will be better

f17

settled in India.

Next would follow the question of local Stational & City authorities, which has already been discussed in India.

Sir H. Rose's Bill - Village Government system -

Each Presidency Commission should present a Report to the Government once a year -

According to present understanding, the connection between the Presidency Commissions & the W. O. Commission would be as follows: -

1. the home Commission has been already requested to prepare model plans of Barracks & Hospitals, which are now considerably advanced -

These plans, when completed, will be sent to the I. O. And, if sanctioned there, will be transmitted to India.

2. the Presidency Commissions are

f17v

I believe, to send home to the Secretary of State for India any plans or proposals of their own which, before being sanctioned, will be sent to the W. O. Commission for advice & information

Besides this, however, which is good, so far as it goes, we have been most desirous to help the Presidency Commissions by a direct statement & description of the kind of Sanitary works, improvements & appliances applicable to Indian Stations to meet the requirements described in the Stational Reports.

If the home Commission were authorized to draw up such a statement, it would clear away at once most of the presumed

f18

difficulty in applying improved Sanitary methods to the case of India.

I have already seen documents printed at Calcutta, since they received the R. Commission Report, in which difficulties have been raised which could never have occurred to the writers, if they had known what is being done at home -

It would be very adviseable to prevent a repetition of similar objections. **[end 9:461]**

Would it not be possible to avoid it by doing in India what the Indian Govt at home might have felt a reluctance to do - viz - to obtain from the home Commission all the information & suggestions that they can send as to the best

f18v

means of initiating & carrying out Sanitary improvements at the stations, together with the most improved appliances for Barracks & Hospitals.

If you could accomplish this for us, you would have done almost every thing that can be done in the way of laying a good foundation, on which the Presidency Commissions could afterwards build. The danger is that, if they get into a wrong groove at first, & commit themselves to an erroneous form of proceeding, they may not like to recede - and a great cost will then have been uselessly incurred.

It would seem a very natural thing for you in India to say; - tell us what you have done - and then we shall be able to know how to go about our work.

f19

I heard from Calcutta that the Municipality there had sent their Engineer to England to obtain advice with regard to water supply & drainage. The home Commission would be the natural source to which to apply in such a case as it commands the advice of men who have been engaged for years in these very questions & are the highest authorities on such -

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

The position up to the present moment, is therefore as follows: -

1. the Presidency Commissions are not yet constituted - and no form of proceeding has been agreed to.

f19v

2. the home Commission is preparing plans of Barracks & Hospitals at the request of the I. O.

3. the I. O will refer to the home Commission plans prepared & sent from India (according to Sir C. Wood's despatch of August 15 1862)

The points in which the proceedings are still defective are: -

1. that the home Commission has no power to draw up any information or suggestions on the general subject of the Sanitary improvement of Indian Stations.

2. it has no power to entertain applications for advice, such as the case of the Calcutta Municipality, alluded to above.

f20

{archivist: [1863]}

Proposed instructions for Barrack & Hospital Improvement Commission (for India)

to prepare model plans for Barracks & Hospitals for all Indian Stations

to examine & report on all plans for Sanitary improvement sent from India

to advise as to providing Officers of Health for India & on the ~~Sanitary~~ education of Cadets of Engineers in Sanitary principles adapted to Indian climates

ff21-21v, undated and unsigned notes on the Commission, not in FN's hand, maybe Dr. Sutherland

ff22-22v, recommendations for Barracks & Hospitals, not in FN's hand

unsigned notes, ff23-26, pen

f23 {archivist: [1864/ -1865]}

Note a relation which should exist between the powers of raising & spending taxes proposed to be granted to local authorities throughout India & the proper execution of Sanitary works & measures.

Taking for granted that the measures proposed in the Gazette of India of *Sept 14, 1864*, for the future Police administration of towns & districts are the best adapted to meet local circumstances, it is most desirable that every precaution be taken, that the money raised for conservancy purposes is spent in such manner as not only to do no harm to health but to benefit health.

These two principles flow from ascertained experience at home. Much of the work of Sanitary improvement in England has consisted in undoing, tearing up, destroying & reconstructing works already existing which had been planned & constructed by local authorities & paid for out of the rates.

f23v

Again; - it has happened even under the Public Health Act that works have been so imperfectly planned & executed by local authorities, from want of sufficient power of control by some better informed authority, that such works have had to be reconstructed.

It is obviously of the greatest importance [9:509-10] to derive all possible benefit from this experience in India & to provide for the following successive steps in the procedure: -

1. some competent Sanitary & Engineering authority must determine the drainage area & general limits within which sanitary works & improvements are to be carried out by every local authority -

The reason of this is obvious: - it relates to questions of out fall for drainage, the application of sewage to agricultural purposes, the deposit & ~~neutralizing~~/utilizing of solid refuse matters, the draining & reclaiming of unhealthy ground near towns, and the prevention or removal of distant sources of nuisance

2. the same authority should either

f24

prepare or sanction a general survey & map of the whole district, laying down the contours, levels, outfall, course of sewers & drains, streets, roads, houses, properties.

3. the same authority should prepare or sanction a general scheme of sanitary improvement, including works of drainage, water supply, paving, cleansing, opening up of streets, laying out new streets, & other sanitary measures - which are to be carried out in detail & for the execution of which the local authority is to raise the required sums of money.

4. the same authority or some similar authority should inspect works in course of execution to see that they will fulfill the required object

5. the same authority or some similar authority would have to see that the works were kept in proper & efficient repair & working order

The Royal Commission proposed the

f24v

appointment of the existing Presidency Sanitary Commissions for the express purpose of giving a beneficial direction to all expenditure for sanitary purposes, whether civil or military - and the question has now arrived at this point that it will be necessary to arrange the order in which the various authorities should act -

The following questions arise: - **[end 9:510]**

1. should not the Sanitary Commissions take the initiative & inspect by themselves or by officers acting under them?
2. where it is judged to be necessary, to improve a city or town, should not the Commissions either directly or through the Government have the necessary surveys & schemes of works prepared by the Public Works Department?
3. should not the Commissions sanction the scheme before it is sent to Government?
4. should not the scheme, when finally sanctioned by Government, be

f25

executed by the Public Works Department from money provided by the local authorities?

5. should not the certificate & sanction of the Commissions of Health be given as to the completeness & efficiency of all works executed?

6. would it be practicable for the local authorities to borrow money re-payable, (principle & interest,) in 30 years, as is done in England?

These points have been suggested [9:510] by what will apparently be the probable result of entrusting uncontrolled execution of works to such local authorities as India is likely to supply.

They are not put forward as affording a solution of the difficulty - but solely to shew what the difficulty is, & how apparently it might be met - in conformity with the inference drawn by

f25v

the Royal Commission from past practice in India, viz. that constructive works should be executed under the Public Works Dept; - but you have illustrations of another method of procedure in the cases of Calcutta & Bombay, in both of which places the Municipal authority has employed its own Engineer as is done in England. Such a course would be most in conformity with the extended introduction of Municipal authorities throughout India. But again it would be very difficult to find a sufficient number of competent Sanitary Engineers even to make a beginning. The way would be wonderfully smoothed if the Capitals were once put into a good Sanitary state. A number of Engineers would be trained in the process, who might be drafted to other cities. And possibly the chief Engineers of the

f26

Presidency capitals might act as consulting Engineers to other municipalities - There are difficulties any way - and the whole case has been stated above, so far as our knowledge here extends, in order that you may have an opportunity of considering in what manner the works (described in the "Suggestions" prepared by the W. O. Commission) may be carried out, so far as these works are applicable to Indian cities & towns. **[end 9:510]**

ff27-37v, {archivist: [bef. Nov 1867]} memorandum on Sanitary improvement in India, in Dr. Sutherland's hand

unsigned notes, f38, pencil

f38 {archivist: [c. 1868]}

As to the Services: - ?

There is a proposal now to have only one Staff for the whole Army British every where & native -
to detach the M.O.s for roster service, connecting them either with Stations or Regiments in India, the colonies or at home -

This has advantages -

It would lead to the abolition of the Regimental Medical Officer

Formerly it was considered advisable to keep the Army M. O attached to Regiments or to British Indian Staff duties, in order to keep up their Regimental position & feelings - & to prevent "the dissipation of useful knowledge" in attending native sick -

ff39-44v, printed proceedings of the Madras Government, Public Department, 30th March, 1874.

unsigned notes, ff45-45v, pencil

f45 {archivist: [c.1880]}

Madras } Nurses not professional or
Calcutta } duty-ful - two friends
insisted on going out together
not trained enough
∴ not obedient to M. O.'s
Rations a difficulty

Indian diseases so much more acute]
& rapid - if Nursing not applied
directly, too late.
no acute disease at Netley

{the following is written diagonally in very faint pencil, with a line drawn
through it}
get another maid
Spirit you can't
get that by machine
doubtless he must
have sympathy

Mrs. Fellowes

{the following is written the other way on the page, with a line drawn through
it}
force the hands of the authorities
to define Nurse's Work & other people's work
if Nurses were sent out
{printed address:} 10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.

highly paid servants
in Dispensary
not in Work
Nursing not mentioned
" goes to the root of everything

|

unsigned notes, f51, pencil

f51

Connection of Sanitation & Agriculture Oct 28/88

must give Govt posts to
educated agriculturists

Army San: Comm:	W. H. Smith & Ld Cross
Hewlett	Atkins
Panchayats	Ld Lansdowne's drive

Calcutta Health Socy	Ly Lansdowne's patroness
----------------------	-----------------------------

Cunningham x

3 parties in the market

{2 lines written in the left side margin}

qualified native doctors

jobbery as rare as among ourselves

Ahmedabad money hoard

Only thro' Village organizns can you work Village Sanitation

"	"	Local Bodies	"	"	"	Sanitation
---	---	--------------	---	---	---	------------

The great thing is to reform the

natives by themselves as you say/id

Advice not orders

Viceroy to show Municipalities in Bombay

x 1. Resn to go ahead - Provincial Commissions

with good men, official
& non official

2. Sany Commrs to be not a refuge but a career
particularly head

3. Return to money to be borrowed from Govt

4. Typhoid outbreaks to be examined as in England

5. Better instruction of C. S. in Sanitation - Mr. Jowett

6. Ly Lansdowne for native ladies Patroness Ld Lansdowne drive

unsigned notes, ff52-54, pencil

f52

Oct 30/88
{printed address:} 10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.

Village Executive agency
head men
village menial servants
Inspection
Link to Local & District Boards
how to let village taxes be spent
in village

Funds: Taxation
Panchayat

Objects: Water Supply
cleanliness
Villages over 500 inhabitants ?
only one third

Agricultural Deccan Debtors Relief
Act

f53

Urge Resn of Govt of India - a sort of new era -
Dwell on disadvantage of 2 years back - you are criticizing two
Annual Blue Book p.p. 104-7 years afterwards - you
Report in 1886 don't know what has
you are writing in 1888 been done better or worse
Dwell with joy on the Resn in the mean time
Time of action come if only carried out.

Surg. Maj Laing Madras
p.p. 103-7
note "Sanitary Works" none new
decline of revenue Mofussil
municipalities

Private filth - cesspools back yards
Necessity of private scavenging
p. 104 District Local Fund Boards
more hopes {illeg there/nort} facts of progress

p. 105 frequent change of San: Commrs
p.106 appeal of skilled Sanitary Engineering advice
expert

M Village Sanitation at bottom of effective sanitation
in Presidency

simple rules on Sanitation in vernaculars to all
M village school masters (to enlist people in

advised
Sanitary matters) Dy Insp - of Vaccination to
explain to people dangers of their habits. *advised*
visiting & reporting on Sanitation of all schools &
colleges (Govt local Board, Municipal & those
drawing grants in aid)

Foreshadowing
of Resn of India

sanctioned - sanitary defects brought to notice of
Director of Public Instruction

f54

-2-

p 106 hygiene to be taught in all girls schools
Female influence so great in ruling the mode
of life in India

p. 107 Periodical inspection of district medical & Sanitary
Offices but they don't know how far their Sanitary
Inspections/Suggestions? have been acted on - They are not

informed of

That is the steps taken on their suggestions
like us Reports from these Officers shd be forwarded to Govt
or at least & by Govt to Presidents of Districts Boards, as is done
not till a with reports on fairs & festivals

year afterwards

[W. O. weekly Reports
from Stations]

We criticize 2 years

afterwards - & ~~for a~~ Mem 2

year do not know the result

till 2 years more

p. 107 food supplies of people
systematic inspection now approved - Manual

"for guidance of food inspectors" compiled -
simple language adapted to custom & circumstances
of county & distributed to all collector & local bodies

This admirable Report & Abstracts for 1886-7 more
than ever valuable because containing fore -
shadowing of policy - viz 1 efficient central control
2 providance by Govt of necessary
loans

wh has culminated in Res of Govt of India

This Res. which we trust will begin a new era in
practical work is thus more likely to be vigorously carried
out from having been led up to by appeals from Sany Dept

e.g. Summary of San. Comm. (title page of Report
p.p.92-4

{f55 is blank}

unsigned notes, ff55v-59, pencil

f55v {archivist: [bef end of 1888]}

Army Sany Comm 1859

62

necessary to have 63
not a lining but regular permanent
body outside regular administration
consultative body does not take away
personal responsibility - fixes it
India cannot be left safely to her own
arrangements - has done nothing for
25 years for herself
has shown how many die
Let them die
Yet if she now gives life to Ld Dufferin
(& Bombay) she ought in a few years
not to want help - But now she does -
Sanitary things not real -
principles same every where -
but local conditions to be considered
You will have an Indian Sany
Commission, come home.
an expert wd not have the weight
a Committee of Sanitarians has
expert one-sided
It works thro' S. of S.

f56

ed

S. of S. Guide by A. S. C. in issuing
instructions to the various Govts
Sanitary authorities in India not
strong enough

Cholera Epidemics

f57

-2-

4 Village Sanitation Bill
Bombay
the great mortality is in villages
degeneration of race
Mahars & Mangs
revive the old village community
organization

I plead the cause of the villages
400 000 villages

Military administration
saving

{f58 is blank}

f58v

5a
Agricultural Education
Manure
Town Refuse paper
Sir G. Buck

f59

A.S.C.
5 educating European Officers
" Municipal Presidents
Cholera Epidemics spring up in
villages - spread -
6. S. of S. guided by A.S.C. -
in issuing instructions to the
various Govts.
Sanitary authorities in India
not strong enough

unsigned draft, ff60-62v, pen

f60

Draft
of the Bombay Village Sanitation Bill
1888

The procedure appears to be thus:

At first the Village is to show what it can do by itself. In the beginning, each Village shall subscribe ! & keep itself clean ! Patel [Headman] being its natural head 2. If the village does not, if it is found to be in a bad *Sanitary state* it is to have say 6 months' notice given by Collector - perhaps a second shorter notice - then, if still unrepentant, Part II is to be put in force by Collector - & ~~Panchayat~~ a † Sanitary Committee † appointed, of which Patel is always to be one, & generally Chairman, by Collector

[Qy It may be supposed that the first intermediate state, the Village subscribing & keeping itself clean, is only to give a 'raison

f60v

\d'être for the appointment of
the ~~Panchayat~~ Sanitary Committee

The ~~Panchayat~~/Sanitary Committee may raise rates:

i.e. the Collector may assess a
rate "in conference with" the Panchayat/Sanitary Committee

Part III which they will dislike
is to be held over their heads *in*
terrorem

3. If still the Village is not in a
Sanitary State, but neglectful,
then Part III, with proper notice
is to be put in force by the Govt
of Bombay & the Collector is
to appoint a Sanitary Board
over one, two or more villages.

The Collector may then name
a Sanitary (?native) Inspector
Inspectors, & Subordinates.

[These Inspectors may have
the right to go into the houses,
of which the people are afraid]

f61

Section 21. Appointment of Sanitary Inspector
& other Officers.

It is not stated whether the Sanitary
Inspector is to have any qualification
for the post. Is he to be a native
gentleman; is he to be a qualified native medical
man; or only a subordinate?

Ought not these Sanitary Inspectors
not only to be especially trained
for their work? [is there any better
School than the Public Health Dept
in Bombay?] but should not they also pass an
examination ~~before~~/by the Sanitary
Commissioner before *they* are
appointed - & should not they be required
to furnish Govt with a guarantee
for their good conduct?

With the ordinary native
would not the post be too
tempting - & the poor villagers
be fleeced - & the name of
sanitation become disliked?

{f62 is blank}

f62v

President whether he is a Magistrate
or an inhabitant of the Village?

But what Sanitary knowledge have
"magistrates"?

And what Sanitary knowledge does
the "highest rank" give them?

Sect. 20. The Sanitary Board may
make rules with the approval of
the Collector.

Again: the same absence of all
reference to the Sanitary Commissions
& the Sanitary Dept.

Have not Collectors with some
brilliant exceptions sometimes few
~~hazy hazy ideas regarding~~/not thought much of Sanitary
principles - sometimes altogether
contemning Sanitary Science & practice. {the following sentence has vertical
lines drawn through it}

And,

as is well known, there are some
~~instances~~ instances of ignorance.

It is hoped, we are told, that
ultimately there will be a complete
Sanitary Department in Bombay - but
this cannot be created with a stroke
of the pen, it is said. {the following is written in the right side margin}
Do the Mamlatdars or Magistrates know anything about Sanitation?
which in their eyes simply means, does it not? cleaning up the Streets
& thoroughfares thro' which the Collector or Assistant Collector is likely to
pass -
does it not? - Even the ordinary Collector - does he know where to look
for filth & disease causes?

unsigned notes, ff63-72, pencil

f63 {archivist: [c. 1888]}

notes on Recommendations in Mr. H. S. Cunningham's [10:210]
"Confidential Note" on "Sanitary Administration of India"

p.44

Mr. C. reverts to the recommendation of the R. Comm:
viz of a kind of Executive Board in each Presidency
consisting of Civil, Military, Engineering, Sanitary & Medical
members, apparently unaware that it was tried by
his father-in-law, Lord Lawrence, who if ever Viceroy
was, was intent to/on carrying out the Sanitary
recommendations of the R. C. - & that it was
abandoned because it failed -

Dr. Sutherland also, a member of this R. C. & of
all the other Sanitary Commns, has repeatedly complained
that the R. C. recommendation was not adopted &
recommended its adoption as the only panacea,
ignoring entirely that it had been adopted,
tried (certainly for 2 or 3 years - its Minutes were
always forwarded to me/us) & had to be abandoned -

[The Saxon is always said never to learn by
experience: but to try each new thing or old thing
over again, without enquiry -

Without hazarding any opinion as to this failure,
is it not imperative to enquire into its causes, whether
they are still existent, how they can be obviated, if the

f63v
{these notes are written in the bottom right corner, upside down}
Secretary
Medical = Sany
local taxation
~~loans~~—source of profit to Govt
~~explaining~~ fear is of taxing poor
~~Common action~~ no conciliation
Col Driest

moon
independence of Dept

f64
-2-
same machinery is to be tried again [end 10:210]

3. The creation of a DEPARTMENT appears to be the gist of Mr. Cunningham's recommendations. Now this is not less the horror of the Govt or Govts of India than it is of the educated natives who look upon it as a new reason for taxing the poor & consider a "Department" synonymous with great Sahibs moving about the country with 'camps' & elephants & expensive train -

While the Govts of India say, & with truth that they are overridden & their orders disregarded by a powerful Dept: & that actually e.g. while they, the Govt, were ordering assessments to be lowered, the 'Department' was ordering them to be raised.

3a. Mr. C. appears to wish the Sanitary Executive Dept, if we may call it so, to be "independent of Govt", - in what way is not exactly explained? - in order to avoid throwing the "odium" of its measures upon Govt. Should not this be gone into more fully? A powerful Dept will soon become more "odious" & really far more oppressive than Govt, which will have

f66

& has had -4-
to defend its own subjects against its own Dept.

3b.

f66v {written diagonally across page}

34 Danger of
Dept will defy Govt
see Poona Irrigation Dept

34
Reports going to Govt

69 per 1000 21 (causes
?
Ld Sandhurst

f67

-4a-

Note - **A** to pp. 3,4

A strange instance of a Govt being overridden by its own Dept, is one absolutely in point, for it is a Sanitary one - And it is one into which the effects of which we have recently been enquiring - viz - the Sanitary or insanitary effect of high manuring with water in the vicinity of large towns -

It has recently caused the death of the Senior Member of Council of the Bombay Govt Sir Maxwell Melvill -

Against the express orders of Govt , backing their Sanitary Commissioner, the Irrigation Dept insisted on carrying their Canal across a part of the City of Poona, & at a higher level than the poorest parts of the town - These became fever nests -

"There is no doubt that fields heavily "manured with night-soil" (this is the reply to me of the Sanitary Commissioner) "& deluged with water, as our sugar cane fields are, in the immediate neighbourhood of inhabited areas

f68

-4b-

B "are most unwholesome - Nothing has been done to drain the country which is saturated by our irrigation & leakings from the Canal to the East of Shupari"

f69

-5-

Loans most desirable that they should be renewed, under the conditions which Mr. C. approves But the difficulty in getting such a Despatch as Mr Cunningham would wish thro' the India Council is *not* that the India S. of S. & India Office would doubt that *loans* thus made would be a "source of profit" to the Govt of India & would 'cover the expence' of these so to speak Local Govt Boards - ~~to~~/or Sanitary Executive Boards - but that they, the I. O. here, would hesitate to sanction taxing the people locally for these works, & so incurring such unpopularity as to cause the fear that the thing might have to be ~~en~~ undone again.

And here comes in the all important question, the omnipotent factor of Conciliation, of taking the educated natives into the Govt's confidence, of explaining to them the cause of this or that retrenchment, of this or that local taxation, as has been victoriously done in one of the noblest provinces of India.

so that the response has actually been:

'Tax us as you please, but don't take away our' e.g. Education, or (as the case may be)

Altho' Mr. Cunningham deplores the want of conciliation of the ?Bengal Govt , he otherwise ignores the whole subject of how natives have been led to become even more anxious than the Local Govt itself for e. g. Sanitary measures, how Sanitary Bills which had been abandoned have been carried by taking the educated natives into the counsels of Govt, by letting them make their own enquiries, *introduce modifications* into what ~~they~~ at once THEY MUST KNOW BETTER THAN WE DO, & WHAT COULD NOT AT ALL EVENTS COME INTO PRACTICE WITHOUT THEM, but must remain a *dead letter without their co-operation* by thus inducing the *common* action of Govt & the educated natives, *indispensable* for any real administration at all.

As all this is in actual play in one great Governorship, ~~it~~ would it not be worth while

studying it? Have not Europeans been too apt to inveigh, doubtless with truth, against the conduct of natives in Municipal Councils (*not unlike* the conduct of English in Town Councils & Vestries, ~~at least~~ till a much later period after their creation than has elapsed in India? instead of studying the methods by which they have been & may be conciliated?

In parts of the Bengal Mofussil, the Brahmins are anxious to lay their hands to the plough in Sanitary reform, but the Govt will not help them.

If the proper members will not come forward for Municipal Councils, whom have they to blame but themselves that the proper work is not done?

But is not the way to get it done, *not* to abuse them, but to urge proper men to come forward? As already stated, there are Municipal Councils more European than Europeans

f71v

{a} {these notes are written diagonally across the page}

p. 45

Loans: Col Yate's letter

Irrigation Dept overriding

Govt Poona Hewlett's letter

What do you

mean by Science?

Lewis & Cunningham Sir B. Frere

p.38 causes ? of disease

p. 45

Don't multiply

Doctors

{the following notes are written the other way on the page}

Home Secy England

not Board of Health

p. 21

Muckerji's

24 Perquisites

Village Conservancy Bill

Water Supply

Removal of manure heaps

Bombay

{b}

Imperial Institute

Robertson Madras

W.H. Smith

p.7a

& the Govt is prepared to give pecuniary aid towards wholesome water-supply & for providing manure yards outside villages. But *without the S. of S.'s orders*, it is doubtful whether *daily scavenging* & removal of street-sweepings & ~~is~~ absolutely essential if Epidemics are to be prevented - will be enforced by 'Act' & by Executive

Whether this is to be done by the District Boards & village organizations, as would seem best - or by an establishment of petty officials - the people's dread - [what they were afraid of was: launching a multitude of corrupt petty native sub-officials upon them] is a subject for the S. of S. & the Bombay Govt. The proposed Executive body or Commission would look after its execution. The Bombay Village Police Act 1867 & Bombay District Police Act 1867 would have to be consolidated & made efficient

unsigned notes, f73, pen & pencil

f73

PRIVATE Sanitary Executive Boards in India

July 18/89

Bombay has done or reported nothing: Village Sanitation Bill
still pending

Punjab not yet reported.

Madras won't have a Board - but will have
the Sanitary Commissioner (present man) good
special Sanitary Engineer: for Sanction to whose
appointment Govt of India now addressing S. of S.
[to work in concert with Collectors of Districts].

Bengal will have
the Sanitary Commissioner
sanitary expert Sanitary Engineer - IF Govt of Bengal
desires that the Engineer be whole-time
officer, Govt of India will favourably
consider it

[Junior Bd of Revenue man: President]

Central Provinces wished merely to give Sanitary
Commissioner the headship of an Executive Dept
Govt of India remonstrated: said C. P. might
associate Sanitary Commissioner with F.N. [perhaps
Superintendt Engineer } worst of all

Divisional Commissioners being added to Board Special Sanitary
Legislation
{ like Bombay

N.W.P. & Oude: Strong Board appointed
administrative & technical Board
officers

Burma Financial Commr: Sanitary Commr: Engineer Rangoon Mica

(Shore

&c

&c

Hyderabad - no Provincial Board

Village Sanitary Board: Headman - Accountant - one influential

Sanitary/village man

District " " Sanitary Commissioner Dr. Comms Executive
Engineer

unsigned notes, ff74-80, pencil

f74

p. 7 registration

p. 8 This was not done ?

p. 9 ? refer all questions

I asked Ld Lansdowne for x

p. 10 Suggestions principally

for Civil popn

Executive for Army

p. 16 lending funds of Resolution

take notice

DON'T say A. San. Comm:

p.p. 16, 26, 35, they say: O he says so himself

17 San: Comm: himself

wants reforming

x question to be referred from India

power to ~~call for~~ ask questions &

information in return cf p 29

24 rural areas ?

29 should there not be a Civilian?

There is no A. M. D. Sanitarian Sir T. Crawford

{f75 is blank}

f75v

p. 32 include Civil pop (India

which has no Local Govt Board

AS ENGLAND has

p. 35 x Sir T. Crawford & W.H. Smith

said, reconstitute it to do the work

& give it the work to do

x show it even the secret Minutes

{written at the bottom vertical}

{illeg Mrn?} Hawthorn

p.p. 11 & beginning

f76

want of capital of cultivators
Agricultural education
Land Banks? experiment

2. Bengal Tenancy Act
how answers?

Land Tenure

a against periodical re-settlement

N. W. P. for

b. for security to ryots as far as
financially possible

Depts perennial

Viceroy's quinquennial

3. Sanitation "one minor point"
not treated of

f76v

Ahmedabad

water supply practically inexhaustible
sewerage scheme to be carried out

{f77 is blank}

f77v

-5b-

Bombay Sanitary 'proof'
disgusting state Bombay villages
one wonders any body left alive
no clothes their safety
Infant Mortality: some places
600 odd per mille

-excrete wanted as manure

all in the houses & cesspools &
compounds corrupting the Water
Supply

Bombay Village Draft Bill

Shorn down

desirable if possible

country Health Officer

to be a native qualified Dr

& Sanitary Estt in country

short & graphic but life &

death reading - ? too much detail

f78

-2-

6 continued

All Sanitary Work stopped in every financial crisis - And there is always a financial crisis Is it possible that this is the

reason for abolishing A. S. C. - that they may not have this spent?

7 Unhealthy Barracks

Shd be standing order to refer plans home to A. S. C.

8 Thro' S. of S. has exerted a most beneficial influence

9 Rations - cocoa & biscuit Sir J. Fergusson failed

10 all matters affecting health of soldier shd be referred to A. S. C.

keep up by independent board (A. S. C.)

intelligent supervision not leaving to Govts
(to apply to experts

f79

sufficient land being provided for a thorough practical application of the teaching given

& classes being established for corresponding instruction in the several sciences & arts subsidiary to agriculture

the discovery of the age, as far as women are concerned it is: service of the sick the highest ~~service~~ service of the noblest love

We all consider that

Why should not women have the same advantages as men?

life is the thing - earnest, quiet/modest, practical life - not sermons, not curricula, except as sufficient provision is made for a thorough practical application of the teaching given - This is so in every thing - in agriculture,

f80

in all arts & science

It is the ground for the present cry for all Technical
Education

for all practical training - for women -

It used to be supposed women needed no training

except for ~~an~~ music & drawing

Consequently they did nothing well

Practical training for women is the discovery of the last 30 years
in this country

We might be lectured on Music for a century

If We never practice how can we play or sing?

⊖ Medical Work is not an exception but
the strongest example -

education is not instead of, but *for* the development
of independent, & responsible action, initiative progress, industry
learning to make progress, from not the cradle to the grave
but from the education to the end

This is life - Otherwise education is dead. Let the

Medical student who has carried off honours

say what he is

after 10 years if he

has not had
posts

f81, {archivist: [May 1889 - April 1890]}, List of Sanitary Commissioners,
unsigned

unsigned notes, ff82-84v, pencil

f82

Dr. Bahadurji Parsee ?

Bombay

quarrel with Lord Harris

Lord Reay

To throw the Medical Service

open to the educated Medl

natives - who are now

taught & teach in Colleges

his own large practice

he may conduct Examns

but cannot teach in Grant

Medical College

reserved all appointments

for the Army Medl Service

f83

{printed address:} Guardian Fire & Life Assurance Co. Limited,
11, Lombard Street. E. C.

Presidency Govt Hospl

Calcutta

Supt Major Pilgrim

4 Sisters

2 European Nurses

27 Eurasian "

Average No of Beds

occupied

158

Admission free

No of Private Rooms -

Presidency

make a charge

Gnl Hospl

{f84 is blank}

f84v

Madras Genl Hospital

Miss Dent

Mrs. Nisbet

Miss Dent

unsigned notes, f85, pencil

f85

India {archivist: [c.1868]}

causes of our unpopularity

the inflexible justice of our Courts

whereas every native likes to bribe &
be bribed

the giftless nature of our Govt

i.e. that no presents & pretty pickings
are to be had

whereas the natives look upon Govt
as the source not only of rule & dignity
but of sudden & fortuitous wealth

& the excitement of this sort of
arrangement they miss under our
imperturbable & not particularly
gracious sway

unsigned notes, ff86-87, pencil

f86 {this f is written on a printed sheet entitled "Opinions of Public Men on Irrigation and Navigation in India}

Lord Lawrence

that resting one's argument upon who is the oldest why it's as if you were to say that the oldest man shd be S. of S. or that the best Nurse must be the oldest. it's like drawing out two threads to see which was the longest.

Sir C. Wood the man who cared most who would have 2 or 3 opponents to talk out the subject in his own room

Bright should have talked it out with an opponent of Cotton's

Balfour was only I have confidence in the man If he knew nothing but what Cotton had told him what does that go for?

If your wife says she has confidence in you that's very nice but what does Balfour mean?

Govt ought to do Canals which would not pay a Private Co: because if it will only just pay, the prosperity of the people is the payment.

In Oude water just below the surface:

for 2 or 3 years a well with a bucket will irrigate the land: did not want the Canal.

S. of S.s cram, or get up their speeches

Sir } C. Wood
 } & those with

him

f86v

there had been unhealthiness from percolation
where (in N. W.) people not taking the
water Engineers had ~~strengthened~~/raised
Embankments in order to carry water
farther on water had percolated & made
marshes. 2 villages entirely swept
by death from Fever

Inundation Canals cheapest to make,
dearest to keep up
Other Canals the reverse dearest to make
&c
People with pasturage wd not take
the water

Godavery: high up. Irrigation & Navigation
Col Hay £200 000 spent/estimate
£400 000 spent: Sir S. Northcote
said: Stop - Ld Lawrence begged to go on
£700 000 spent; still not successful
Ganges: Sir A. Cotton said it had neither
head nor tail, i.e. not a weir at top
wh. wd cost half a million more: nor
was it continued at bottom
We called in a Madras Engineer, a Bengal, a

f87

{these notes are written in the top margin of a printed page}
N. Engineer (Canal had already cost 2 or 3
millions) They differed as to estimate with Sir
A. C. - And he said he had 50 years' , they
25 experience
{these notes are written in the bottom margin of the page}
Estimates cannot be exact. [School - London
School Board - foundations: on Thames Embankment]
but Engineers should if they find they are doubling
cost estimated or find greater difficulties
announce this in time

{f87v-91v are printed pages - no notes}

unsigned note, f92, pencil

f92

[10:481-82]

With heart sick dismay Mr. Bright's speech at Manchester [Dec 11, 77]

its reckless or vague assertions e. g. about Land Tenure

when the very thing to which we want to draw attention

- the disastrous effect upon the ryot of the Zemindars'

Land Tenure in Bengal - is exactly the reverse of his wild

assertion.

Then the unwisdom of mixing up

political views - & political views not worked at

& peculiar to himself - with the subject of the

ryot's misery - pressing & undeniable - just at the

time & place which were the very last to produce them

at & & &

Bad as it was his speech did not deserve tho' it was

sure to provoke the savage attacks of Sir J. Stephen:

Sir J.S. - a great legal administrator, with no

intimate knowledge of the peoples whose affairs he

has administered - while Mr. Bright is no administrator

with no intimate knowledge of the peoples whose

affairs he has never administered

Of course to the English public with no knowledge

at all intimate or superficial of these Indian peoples

Sir J. Stephen Seems an oracle: & Mr. Bright's truths

are floored with his ignorance

Both leave entirely untouched the reasons in the

universal corruption of the minor native officials (corruption

rivalling that of the Russian major officials) why the

people will not take the Irrigation water, why the people

will not take the Government loans, why the universal

indebtedness to money lenders -

The statesmen, of my day 15-20 years ago, were as careful, & had

as great a grasp of their facts & conditions as those of the present **[end 10:482]**

day are reckless & without any ~~at~~ large view or clear insight into facts &

conditions.

unsigned notes, f93, pencil

f93 {archivist: [Feb 9 1878]}

river deltas

each work to be taken on its own merits

these men are gentlemen

it is not a party question

S. of Punjab & Sind

you might as well try to grow anything

without land as without water

Water will pay: because a water=tax

is the land tax

they bribe the police: but look at the

Detective Trial

Engineers are only Engineers & don't

know the people

Administrative Engineers;

Shd be a Commission

Campbell worth 10 Balfours

Public Meetings only irritate

must enlist the people

Talookdars of Oudh were told they would have

to pay for what they didn't use

Lord Lawrence

Feb 9/78

{f94 is blank}

unsigned notes, ff94v-95v, pencil

f94v

My father's an ass: child of 10

explaining his father's cause to {illeg Sir Lawrence?}

N.W.P. cutcherry near Delhi

Cotton is not going to execute the {illeg}

Nursing the men necessary to {illeg} the
scheme

D. of Argyll ~~abandoned~~ /{illeg discontinued?} Irrigation Cess

at instance of Lord Lawrence

a counsel & not a statesman

Bright Strachey

raise the Devil

Sir A. C.'s Meetings do

f95

agricultural improvement, sanitation, irrigation, land tenure,
courts & laws as they affect the *silent millions* who till the
soil with pain & pass away into the gloom with, often,
so little cause to bless their rulers for any gleam of comfort
or happiness

some 200 millions of people, as near as possible to
pauperism at all times, living wholly off the soil, very
improvident, & not particularly careful for life or inclined
to make vehement efforts for its preservation, & then to have
them by 30 & 40 millions at a time deprived of their normal
food & *quite content to die* if you do not stretch out a strong
hand at once to save them - x x x

One must conceive all the millions of English paupers multiplied
10 or 20 times, & all the subordinate machinery consisting of men
who will cheat both you & their fellow country men at every
opportunity & this thrown on an already hard worked European
staff to

D. of B habit of not answering an inconvenient letter &
fibbing slightly in his struggles to avoid a reply being extracted
from him - an inconvenience of the very gravest order

f95v

complete failure of the summer rains in N. W. P. last year
- resulting in failure of the *great PULSE crops* on which the
most of the population live

inability of Govt to save life when once famine has arrived
awaiting with anxiety result of *next few weeks* which
will make the difference of prosperity or *death* to so
many *millions*

sensational phrases in England speedily wafted to 200
million eager pairs of ears

H.C.C

Simla - July 1

unsigned notes, f96, pencil

f96

- Genl Fife {archivist: [1878]}
- 1 Revise Map
 - 2 Bombay Telegram
Suspension of works
 - 3 Bombay bill for indebted
agriculturists
 - 4 appointment
 - 5 revise article XIX Centy
 - 6 famine Deaths
 - 7 Irrigation Rate Bill Bombay
Merriman
 - 8 ask him about his competitive
native Engineer lecture
 - 9 Ahmedabad
 - 10 Shotapore water supply
& Neera
 - 11 Sukkur Municipal Transit dues
 - 12 Fawcett ½ p.c. Bengal Irrn
 - 13 Area not irrigated - yet to be surveyed
in Sind
 - 14 Famine Relief work Hathmed
Neera
Joyner
 - 15 Poona to Pundipore -
Famine relief work

unsigned notes, ff97-127v, pen & pencil

f97

Chap 1 - Para 9 d
"hoarding" (private, not Government
remedies:)

1. To what extent could combinations of native gentlemen in a kind of co-operative Bank or private Associations - or British enterprise establish Monts de Piété - in large villages supported by British capital & taking a rate of interest to cover working expences & give a return of say 5 per cent. with any probability of success?

taking silver ornaments as pledges ?

[It was stated in Parliament that £30 millions would be a fair estimate of the yearly wear & tear of the silver ornaments worn by the women & children of India.

To what extent would these be used as security for advances whether from Government or private Monts de Piété ?]

Or what else could be suggested in this way?

State *facts* for & against each project.

2. Could Municipalities, & to what extent, start Monts de Piété, as in France, where they not only benefit the people but the municipalities?
To what extent are the Indian peasantry a hoarding people like the French?

f98

-4-

Chap I Para 9 11

What corruption or bribery may prevent the people taking Irrigation water?

What bribes or fees do native (Public Works) overseers exact?

Describe process of cultivator taking water from Canal: To whom must he apply? how does he get his manure?

f99

-2-

Village Communities

State how far Village Communities still exist in your district?

[Questions - p. 19. Par. 23]

State how far *Irrigation* Communities could be introduced? how they would work?

And how far the taking of bribes by native Public Works overseers could be superseded? whether by *Irrigation* Communities? or what other means you would propose ?

Irrigation

p. 19 - Para. 23

how far is the cultivator's willingness or unwillingness to take the water in proportion to his freedom from the money lender ? or otherwise?

if the cultivator is in the money lenders's clutches what use is the water to him personally?

how far do the Zemindars encourage or discourage the cultivators from taking the water?

in what parts do ~~the~~ cultivators follow the water where Irrigation works have been introduced in a rainless desert as in Sind?

where have they been eager to take *too much* water?

& for what reasons?

where has the exacting of bribes by the native Public Works overseers been a reason for unwillingness to take the water?

where the money lenders's taking all the profits ? of produce increased by Irrigation?

where the Zemindar's fear that the cultivators will not pay his dues if they pay water rate?

how far is the cultivator in the power of the native Public Works overseers to withdraw the water from him, after it has been laid on his land, on any pretext in order to exact fresh bribes from him?

State particularly what is *known* on these points:
What redress has the cultivator against any injustice

f101

-4-

of the native Public Works overseers?
Or how far would any complaint ruin the cultivator?
how far would if his complaint were entertained
by the British authority other native P.W.O.s
unite against complainant? - that is how far
if one Public Works overseer were punished
would his comrades unite to ruin the complainant?

If the case that corruption exists to any
extent among the native P. W. overseers
what remedy would you propose to touch
the evil?

- (a) by what means could the nature, modes &
extent of its existence be best enquired into?
whether by taking the facts from native Judges
native experts
or Panchayàts?
- (b) by what means could it best } or otherwise?
be put a stop to? whether }
among the P. W. overseers? or
other petty native officials?
Take the sense of native Judges about this:
as also about:
- (c) how would you propose to create a native
public opinion, a native tribunal of their own
against or on corruption?
- (d) how far would Irrigating 'Co-operative'
Communities be possible? & what stage
of Irrigation works?
And how far would they prevent corruption?

Chap 1. Para 25 what proportion of the whole of the probable Famine Mortality ~~how far~~ of Registered Deaths include?

~~wh~~ among infants & particularly infants at the breast among children going with their mothers to homes of relatives

what proportion ~~of the~~ children deserted by their parents in search of work ? ~~of the~~ /among the old people in deserted villages

what proportion ~~of the people who wandered out/~~among wandering & stragglers & wanderers in search of food & of those who died in jungles, in ditches or by the road side?

How are these Deaths registered?

what is the proportion of *registered* Deaths to the disappearance of population where both are known?

what omissions of deaths in the villages? what omissions of the ~~large~~ numbers who perished outside and on the roads?

The "decrease in population" of Mysore is given in the papers presented to Parliament (Minute signed by G. G. in Council) "as one and a quarter millions"

~~what is~~ the population of Mysore? may be taken at 5,200,000 is stated by the Chief Commissioner of Mysore. & ~~what~~ the percentage to population ?is therefore almost a fourth or 24 percent

what is the proportion of *registered* Deaths to the decrease in population in Mysore?

The deaths *registered* from January 1877 to the end of year, when last census was taken

What does the "decrease in population" { *include* besides registered Deaths were 224,813: Mr. Elliott emigration & migration takes 1050000 as representing the actual number of Deaths in the famine year as "not including the & diminished birth-rate? Diminished Births

how far is this a ~~does the~~ decrease in *births* ~~mean~~ or p.2 ~~decrease~~ in *registered* births?

what is the presumed proportion of *registered* births to births? if any difference at all?

and is this proportion if at all supposed to be less
~~if at all~~ during the confusion of a Famine?

State the above figures for all other districts
~~besides~~/as has been done for Mysore:

how is the estimate of excess of mortality
due to late famine made up?

if by deducting the ordinary Mortality
from the registered deaths for the year,
what ~~deduction~~/addition is made for the deaths
which are not registered?

p.1

what addition is made for the Deaths
among those who "fled the scarcity"?

what proportion of those who have disappeared have "returned
to their homes" (end of year 1878)? It is stated
by Mr. Elliott that more than one half are not expected to return 5a

The Parly papers (Minute signed by Viceroy
in Council) state "comparatively few (Births)
"were registered in the Famine year" -

- what presumed proportion do the *registered*
Births bear to the total Births?

is it also presumed that "comparatively few"
Deaths were REGISTERED in the Famine year"?

22 per cent of total Deaths the supposed rates in
Mysore

"more than half will not live to return home.

f104

Mysore

1a

The deaths *registered* from January 1877 up to end of year when test-census was taken were 224,813, according to the Chief Commissioner Mr. Elliott takes 1 050 000 as representing the actual number of Deaths in the Famine year not including the diminished Births to be expected, & on the other hand *allowing* for the expected return hereafter of half the emigrants, half of whom are supposed to have died.

This would make the *registered* Deaths only 22 per cent of the total Deaths.

It is stated that in the average 20 days between the preliminary & final census in December 1877 & January 1878, when "there was hardly any famine in the country , there was a Death rate of 127.8 & a birth rate of only 7 per 1000. The persons who were dead had actually been seen alive by the European Officers - "Such a rate of mortality, if continued for 8 ½ year would have exterminated the whole population.

Give the Death rate & Birth rate which must have been absolutely correct in your District between preliminary & final Census.

f105*Panchayàts*

how far are Panchayàts still existing in
your district?
how far are they made use of by the magistrate
or judge to assist him without
leaving the Court?
how far do native judges fill the place of
Panchayàts?
what means should you propose to create
a public opinion against native giving &
taking of bribes? whether by Panchayàts? or
by what other means?
how far do or could Cheap Courts bring
justice within reach of the people?

Take the sense of our native Judges on
these subjects:

how to prevent the giving & taking of bribes
to & by native petty officials?
how would it work if law recognized no
greater accumulation of interest than equals
the original debt?

f106*Collection*

how far does the TIME of the demand for
Government revenue press hardly or the
reverse on the cultivator?
if he has to pay in coin what means
has he, besides the Sowkar or other money
lender, of getting coin?
if a ~~man~~the/cultivator cannot pay a small rent punctually
without a money lender, what interest does
he pay that money lender?
if the cultivator cannot pay rent without, how can
he pay rent with that money -lender & that
interest?

f107

Education

how far advanced is education generally in your district?
what proportion (beside the Sowkars & village dealers) can read & write & do/keep simple accounts?
how far do the Ryots know in signing bonds what they are putting their hands to?
how far are they *forced* to execute bonds?
by threats? by their own ignorance ?
how far can they protect their own interests?
what instances are there of decrees being given to sell up debtors (so-called) who have never received the money set down in the bond?

f108

-3-

It is stated in the Parly papers that "throughout almost "whole of Tangore" "the crops were saved by "irrigation from the Canvery river":
that "in parts of" "Kistna, Trichinopoly & Tinnevelly" " the crops were saved by Irrigation"
what practical deduction has been made from this?

It is stated in the Parly papers, ~~that~~ as an instance of the "emigration which took place from the Deccan" that "in the Indapore talook of Poona, out of 66000, 40000 had migrated ~~in~~ by November 1876, i.e. at the very beginning of the scarcity, to the hill ranges of Poona, to Khandeish, & the Nizam's territory" -

how ~~were these 40000~~ /were/are the starving immigrants received? in your district

how supported when ~~there~~/arrived?

do these new arrivals settle in the vacant places?

do these wanderers take possession of deserted houses?

(or is difference of caste a bar to this?)

and of land thrown out of cultivation ?

4a

f109

-5- {illeg}

In the same Parly papers the 15 famine Taluqs, to wit 9 Taluqs of Lalem, & 6 other famine Taluqs, apparently one in each of the following Districts - Bellary, Kurnvol, Cuddapah, Nellore, Coimbalore, Chingteput x - in which the partial Census was taken, the soil is stated to be poor, the agriculture rude, food grains scantily produced only enough for bare subsistence of laborious "wringers" from the soil.

What would be the possibilities, & what if possible the results of Irrigation in these poor tracts?

see Irrigation paper

x viz. Taluqs Gooly, Nandikotkur, Madanapalli,
Gudur, Palladam, Ponneri:

f110

-4-

It is stated in the Parly papers that "the accuracy of the registration is too open to doubt" - speaking *generally*.

what is supposed to be the *increase* of doubt as regards the accuracy of the registration in the FAMINE years?

-4a-

The increase of emigration by sea is ~~suppose~~ known to have only doubled in ~~the~~/the years 1876-77 - this is very little:

was the increased migration by land in your district supposed to be only in like proportion?

f111

-5-

How far is estimate of increase or decrease of population based on increase or decrease in number of houses reliable?

how far would increase of population bring about enlargement in family house, not increase in number of separate houses?

In the general Census of 1872 & the partial Census of 1878, the "condition of people as judged from *the style of house dwelt in*" is one of the classifications but different standards of quality have been taken

Define a "house of the better sort" -

a "house of the inferior sort":

What number of deserted & ruinous houses in village as in Mysore has Test census brought to light? What number of houses deserted thro' famine?

For the 15 Taluqs under notice the total number of migrants is roughly estimated at 350,000:

"most of whom" it is stated, " may return"?

- how many *have* returned? (end of year 1878)

In Mysore the emigrants in excess of the usual number are stated at 230000 (of whom about 130000 are likely to come back alive -) the number on Relief works

- Relief works 42000 in relief camps 6000

What are the respective proportions in your District

The proportion of women was great as compared

with men on the relief works & in the relief camps

How was it in your District?

f112

-6-

p. 14 Para. 38

what instances have there been in Mysore
or elsewhere of any active struggle at the
beginning of the Famine on the part of the
cultivators?

& how?

what instances of wise energy to help themselves
or others?

¶

p. 15. Para 43

what instances have there been of co-operation
in schemes of organization between native
gentlemen & British in giving food &
alms during the famine?

in Madras?

elsewhere?

in schemes of organization (other than food giving
or alms giving) for benefiting the cultivators?

what enlisting of native gentlemen in plans of

Economic improvement for their people?

f113

-7-

what are the opinions of native experts &
agriculturists regarding the facts concerning
the relations of money-lender & debtor?

what regarding the best remedies for improving these
relations - legal?

private?

in what ways would *they* propose to simplify
in point of procedure 'the complex (legal)
arrangements which mystify the Ryot'?

how do *they* people argue it "under the village Fig-tree"?

viz. 'the operation of the Civil Law which
consigns them into money-lenders' hands'?

& what remedies do they propose?

f114

Chap 1. Para 23

how far could there be a plantation of Forest Trees
in every village?

what wastes are there available for planting trees?
instead of interfering with any vested rights of the
people, how far could ~~not~~ their co-operation be obtained? how far could grants
in aid be given to

holders of land engaging to plant beltings of trees
of their own? ~~or a~~ how far are such grants in
aid given?

what moisture is provided by trees in your District?

how far is leaf manure available? what are its
manurial qualities? what inorganic matter
does it supply?

what manure is generally used?

how far is cow-dung or matter valuable for
manure used as fuel?

f115

Chap 1. Para 6

~~how f what manurial qualities~~

what manurial qualities are possessed by the silt of water used for irrigating?

what is the analysis of the silt of the river?

what of the Tank water?

what food for plants does the well water contain, if any?

what mineral matters injurious for drinking water, if any?

how far are the people supplied with pure & plentiful drinking water? from rivers? from tanks/ from wells?

at what season of the year, if any, must they collect their water out of puddles?

how are the Tanks kept as to excluding pollution?

how are the Wells kept as to pollution filtering in?

how far does the deposit from the river water restore the soil, so that grain crops may be grown on the same land without other manure or diminution of crop?

what ~~unnecessary~~/surplus water does a want of proper cultivating & manure ~~use up~~ render necessary per acre? i.e. by using what equivalent of manure per acre what amount of water & silt could be saved?

what percentage of Government land is unwatered?

what increase of area if any might be treated with water with equal result, supposing proper manure & cultivation employed to save the silt?

what is the food & pasturage for live stock?

what fodder crops? including Sorghum ?

f116

-8-

what is the annual loss by starvation & disease from chronic starvation among livestock for want of pasture or fodder crops?

what improvement in breeds in the last 10 years?

what improvement in ploughs?

what in plough cattle?

what portion of soil do native ploughs stir?

what is the cost of an English plough?

what of a pair of cattle to draw it?

what is the proportion of work done by an English plough with a pair of proper cattle ~~in~~ compared with that of the native plough & native plough's cattle?

Chap IV Para 26

how far do Village Communities where they exist keep up their tanks & wells themselves?

[It was not the old native *Governments* which kept the tanks in repair.]

how far have old tanks gone out of repair so as to become useless?

f117

Chap III. Sect. 3 para. 40

"have your native subordinates shewn "honesty, or extortion & the taking of bribes, as well as "energy" "in carrying out relief measures"?

What instances of "energy" in taking of bribes have come to your knowledge, or to that of your other subordinates?

what of this being the cause of "disinclination to seek relief"?

Sect. 1 para 15

what instances of such & such a system being organized, & not being carried out, owing

to some such action of the native subordinates?

or of such & such an intention being held by the head & frustrated by the hands ?

f118

-2-

Irrigation p. 19 23
from p. 1

2 how far could this evil of the corruption of native
P. W. overseers & other petty native officials be touched if it
exists, 1 & how far could ~~it be enquired into~~ whether
it does exist be enquired into
by taking the opinion of native experts & Panchayats
Or how would you propose to create a native public opinion
a native tribunal of their own about it?

Famine p. 14 38

what instances have there been in Mysore or
elsewhere of any ~~admirable~~/active struggle at the
beginning of the Famine on the part of the cultivators?

& how?

what evidences have there been of wise energy to help
themselves or others?

p.15 - 43

what instances have there been of co-operation
in & schemes of organization between native gentlemen
& British in giving food & alms during the
Famine?

in Madras?

elsewhere?

in schemes of organization ~~not~~ /other than food giving or alms
giving - for benefiting the cultivators?

what enlisting of native gentlemen in plans of *Economic*
redemption for their people?

{f119 is blank}

{f119v seems to essentially the same as f113}

f120

-100-

Give names of districts where the land assessments
are no higher than they were under native rule
tho' the value of the produce has greatly increased,
& instances of the reverse -

Give rates of both

p. 2

x names of places where this happens

Give value of grass growing without labour during monsoons

Give rate of assessment in these places

Give instances of the reverse

~~Is a~~ When did borrowing from money -lenders at present
rates begin?

With ryotwari system?

With giving ryots rights in the land?

With new laws for debt?

In Madras does law recognize a greater accumulation
of interest than = original debt?

How does this work?

Is it evaded by the money-lenders?

Should it be introduced in other Presidencies?

Take the sense of our Native Judges on these subjects

If the law refused to recognize all Ryot debt, ~~should you~~/would this
prevent the ryot from getting any money whatever?

Are stock & implements everywhere removed from the
list of property that can be seized for debt?

f121

7 1

-100-

~~Are there~~ Where if anywhere under Govt management /British rule is no more than a certain interest allowed to creditors, at whatever rate of interest the original loan was contracted? x

And where if anywhere under British rule if the money-lender has already realized more than double the principal in interest is no interest allowed at all? How does this work?

~~Could~~ /Where has this been done for small cultivators as well as large land-owners? Or could it be done?

Is there political danger in large ancestral properties being alienated & none in small?

Where if anywhere in native states is there the law that servants of the State ~~money is~~ lend money

at the lender's own risk & it is not necessarily recoverable in a Court of justice?

x ~~Is there~~ Where if anywhere under Brit. rule is no Court of Justice allowed to decree the whole of the interest but only a reasonable portion?

What means would you recommend to create a public opinion against corruption of native officials, their taking of bribes &c, of P. W. native overseers } where Village Communities do not exist? & Panchayats

~~Could the~~ Obtain the opinion of Panchayats or intelligent natives upon this. What means to induce the natives to co-operate with us in measure of this kind for their relief & improvement?

5 To Lord Nelson

{f122 is blank}

f122v

{this appears to be essentially the same as f100, with some minor differences}

f123

12 How far has the settlement of the land revenue in your district by giving ~~well-defined~~ rights in the land of money value as security which land holder could mortgage been taken advantage of to mortgage the land to small bankers ?

How far have they become hopelessly involved?

Does our system of Civil Law give an advantage to the rich over the poor man & act against the small landholders?

Could the procedure be simplified?

[Is there much fraud & what kind of fraud by the peons or native Officers of Courts being bribed not to serve notice? Is any acknowledgement required for a notice served? Or receipts for money payments? or annual statements this being taken advantage of by Money lenders ~~either~~ to put in executions of account ~~by~~ required by the borrower?

or to sell the labour of debtors?

does the complication of procedure facilitate corrupt action of Vahuls?] Would Public Notaries be of use?

Should there be any check describe & what check upon the sale of rights in land?

Are contracts *written* in your district?

Does the cultivator understand what he has put his name to?

Are contracts REGISTERED?

~~Is there~~ What sort of amount of silver ornaments?

[Annual wear & tear stated at £30 000 000]

how much used as pledges - {written in the corner} p. 3 M. S

p. 2 Para 9

{f124 is blank}

f124v

Is there anything of a Mont de Piété actual or possible?

Insolvency Law? how would it act?

Abolition of Imprisonment for debt?

Will the new Law endanger the credit of the landholders with their Bankers?

Would a permanent settlement cause the people still more to mortgage & sacrifice their own rights in the land?

What is the average income of a ~~Madras~~/the ryot in your district ~~will~~ what a/his family ~~of~~ ~~persons~~?

What is taken of it for Government purposes?

~~What of a~~

Bengal: what the difference where the *Zemindar* has an interest in the land between Govt & cultivator had the Ryot anything to pledge?

acknowledgement
for notices served
see Rules for
Panchayats

How should the Government become a money lender on a large scale? whether by Monts de Piété advances to cultivators

see letter to
Sir L. Mallet

whether by Registration of debts or bonds or by Municipal Loan Funds
Pawnbroker Acts or private Associations for
Monts de Piété
Acts Limiting rate of interest or combinations of native gentlemen

An Act limiting rate of usury recoverable by law in a kind of co-operative Bank?

Practically in force in Oude - See Ld Northbrook &c

Does the land lie fallow every third year?

Are the rates of interest recoverable by law limited in Bengal & Madras?

f125

P. 2

Does the ryot keep open a general credit account with the money lender? he feeding & clothing the ryot & his family till the crops are ripe, advancing seed & means of cultivation & paying the Govt its land revenue -

What proportion of the ~~small~~ agricultural ryots now mere labourers on their own land?

What is the proportion of the Govt share of the produce to the whole yield of the land?

Famine year

Where there was no food, was it because the people had no money to pay for it or no roads by which it could come?

_____ 1 of the lowest class of labourer
2 the well to do man?

What is the actual cost per week of what a man eats & drinks or ought to eat & drink?

What is the annual cost of dress, food, &c for a well to do man & family of/say of 5 persons? native dress 5 rupees a head a year -

f126 {f126 appears to be the same as f97 with the following additions at the end}

... 3. Could Govt loans be made exceedingly easier & more extensively acceptable? And how?

Why do the cultivators refuse Govt loans at low interest & prefer paying exorbitant rates to moneylenders?

And what is the remedy for this?

4. To what extent if any have the Registration Acts or is it probable to what extent in all probab {the preceding 2 lines have a diagonal line through them}

has forgery of documents been prevented by Acts providing that all debts & bonds shall be registered before they can be enforced by law?

To what extent will Acts now in contemplation prevent it in all proby?

And can you suggest any other remedies that wd prevent it? And what?

{f127 is blank}

f127v

17. p.8

What private enterprise is there in factories? or manufactures?
in trade or commerce? what new industries recently introduced?

~~Does all~~ What proportion of private capital runs to
money lending? To what extent? ~~Are the/Do~~ the profits guaranteed/x x to
money lending
by our Courts prevent ~~more~~ private capital from being
embarked in other enterprises?

What is the respective average interest on money
embarked in money lending & in commercial or industrial
manufacturing ~~enterprises~~/undertakings - specifying which undertakings
you are acquainted with: as sugar mills, jute mills, cotton mills,
&c public works if any -

In other words

Is private capital tied up in usurious money lending?
x t what instances are there of borrowing t t money for trade or
profitable small manufacturing? ~~small~~ weaving ~~enterp~~ looms & the like?
or for improved farming, as in Scotland?

In what way if any

x x Do our Courts guarantee & encourage money lending?

Who are the best & most improving landlords landlords, money lenders or ~~the best~~
Zemindars

or Government?

~~What~~/Give instances if any ~~are there~~ of borrowers being sold up as virtual
slaves as to their labour? of payment being enforced by
taking possession of person & property of ~~their~~ debtors?

t t

Do borrowers make any "agreement" as to interest &c that
can in any reasonable sense be called an "agreement"
with their money-lenders in borrowing money?

p.27

Have you any Agricultural Societies, ~~Gov~~ /official or private, for getting
& selling at cost price improved seeds, giving prizes for
improved breeds &c?

x t ~~Do the~~ what proportion of money lenders spend their gains in
commerce & industries, & what in improving their acquired estates?

{ff128-41 are notes written in the margins of a letter and a printed report}

unsigned notes, ff142-48, pen & pencil

f142

Indian Irrigation Enquiry

{archivist: [1878]}

A. *General facts:*

Questions:

1. What, on an average of years, & stated in acres, & in round numbers, is the extent of cultivated land under your charge?
2. How much of this is usually irrigated?
note separately
 - (a) by wells?
 - (b) by Tanks?
 - (c) by diversion of streams?
3. Note, under each of these heads, what is the usual cost of irrigation per acre in
 - (d) original works?
 - (e) annual & current repairs?
 - (f) cost of cultivation as regards labour, stock, manure &c?

f144

-2-

4. Note in similar manner
under each head what
are the general results
distinguishing as to
(g) amount of produce?
(h) kind & character " " ?
(i) total value per acre " " ?

5. Are there any drawbacks
from the advantages of
irrigation in the shape of
(j) exhaustion of land?
or its deterioration by
efflorescence?
& to what extent?
(k) increased unhealthiness
of climate?
or otherwise
& what in each case
are the remedies
ascertained or
proposed?

6. What is the general
feeling of the cultivators
regarding Irrigation?
Do they covet it &
desire its extension &
their own participation
in it or not?

f145

-3-

& for what reasons in
either case?

What are its effects on
the cultivator's means,
& relative position in his
own sphere?
or his comforts?
or on the stability &
extent of his general
cultivation?

7. How does irrigation
affect the Govt
revenue?

either directly by swelling
the amount or adding
to its permanence &
steadiness?

or indirectly by
improving the means
of the cultivators &
increasing trade &
consumption of exciseable
& dutiable articles &c

{f143 seems to be out of order & there appears to be a page missing}

f143

4. by the majority of cultivators
& of Govt revenue Officers?
& with what limitations &
safe guards if any?

If capital is required, to
what extent well it be
furnished by the cultivators,
by middlemen,
Zemindars &c

or must it be found by
Govt or capitalists
outside the local community?

[**N.B.** Where the Land Revenue
is collected thro' Zemindars,
or middlemen of any kind,
the answers should note
the effects on the Zemindars
or middlemen's interests
as the representative of
Govt.]

9. How long has
irrigation been known
in your district, & to
what extent has it
fluctuated within the
memory of man?

f146

-5-

{large x}

To these questions I should add

α questions on the *indebtedness* of the cultivators?

to what extent they are in the hands of money lenders?

why they ~~decline~~/do not take advantage of the Govt loans? offered at a moderate rate of interest?

β questions as to how far the cultivators' unwillingness to take water (where such exists) is due to the dread of putting themselves into the power of the *petty native officials*?

& to the exacting of bribes & douceurs by these men from

{large x}

the cultivators?

percolation

does it produce fever?

Silt?

in Moota Moola Works?

in Skrook (rain) nil?

in Krishna?

Water power: mills?

what mills?

f147

-6-

B. *Special facts* relating to great works, which affect more than one village -
[Note: works which are incomplete should either not be included, or special care should be taken to note the extent & effects of incompleteness.

Old works repaired or extended should be so noted.]

1. State culturable acreage of area affected by each work:
2. Description of work as to locality, construction, extent of channels, main or subsidiary, &c &c date of construction & time occupied.
3. Cost of construction - showing separately, interest, if any has been charged for borrowed money
4. Cost of (α) maintenance
(β) management
(γ) repairs
actual or estimated

f148

This Draft Bill seems intended to make a show of granting local self

unsigned notes, ff149-52, pencil

f149

Draft Bill? {archivist: [1878?]}

proposed by D. C. Comm

1. a system of compulsory registration
2. enforcing delivery of receipts & accounts
3. appointment of public notaries
4. abolition of imprisonment for debt
5. exemption of certain property from sale in execution -
as clothes, stock, implements, house
6. to prevent unnecessary sales of land & to secure full value of such as may be sold
7. to enable debtor to avoid being forced, under pressure of court process, to double & treble even of what he owed
8. to make a decree the *finis litis* {the end of the action -GW} & not merely a basis for a new bond & a new decree *ad infinitum*
9. to prevent decrees running on to an unlimited extent against after-acquired property of debtor

f150

recommended

Remedies

1844

Evasion of Sales Law provisions p.64

no bidders appear

nominal value put upon property by creditor

in majority of cases property bought in by him
at that nominal price

Pawnbroking recommended

where ryots might obtain money on same security
as now, in general the coming crops on their land
or jewels but at the lowest rate of interest
say 9 or 12 per cent.

*Limit proposed to term during which decree should
remain in force*

the holder of a decree exacts every year all he
can find (little tho' that be) in the possession of
his victim. who is scarcely in a condition of
solvency - at the end of a few years the poor debtor
is shown a large account for interest, & to escape
being put in jail, persuaded to sign a new
bond for the balance of the old debt with
interest therein since the decree, so that the
debt is never cancelled & goes on ad libitum
unless the patience of the debtor becomes exhausted
& he absconds forsaking the country for ever

{at will-GW}

The Hindu law favoured credit by making
debts payable from generation to generation but it

{f151 is blank}

f151v

was a part of that law that the interest demanded should not exceed the principal

Registry of loans

But to enable courts to determine the amount of principal actually paid in loan establish district registers for the registry of all loans of money *to be paid before the District Registering Officer, & for the Civil Courts only* to allow the recovery by judicial process of such sums as can be clearly proved to be principal paid & not the accumulated principal & interest of a debt *previously* adjudicated upon -

Takavi & advance of seed by Govt

prevent them from having recourse to Bania by either advancing *takavi* or by supplying them on loan from Governmt granaries between cold weather & harvest, with the common grain of the country to half the value of annual rental paid by borrower to Govt.

Monts de Piété

to protect the ryot from being plundered by irresponsible individuals like our village Bania

by granting loans on moderate terms or pledges
Govt shd require the payment of an amount
of interest sufficient to cover its own rate of
borrowing & the payment of the necessary
establishment

I wd look To estt of a M. de P. in all our large towns,
to a legal enactment fixing rate of interest
on money advd on pledges which traffic shd
only be permitted ~~by~~ to licensed pawnbrokers

Usury Law recommended

p 66-7

no reason why rates of interest
should not be fixed upon a firm basis
? 9 Rs per cent per annum

Syed Ali

1. unless interest within a certain limit fixed by law
no action to lie: Sir Salar Jung's law that money lent
not necessarily recoverable in Court of Justice
- or 2 no Court of Justice to decree as now
whole of interest but only say 6 per cent
as in Oude Talookdars' property not saleable
Estate taken under Govt management
Govt never allows more than 6 per cent to creditors
altho' original loan contracted at 60 per cent
& if moneylender had had more than double principal, no interest
allowed

at all

unsigned notes, ff153-61, pen

f153

p.25 Note 29

It is understood that the whole question of legislation for ~~money lending~~ this disastrous indebtedness is now under the consideration of the Secretary of State in Council.

In the Legislative Council at Simla, ~~leav~~ on June 20, leave was given to bring in a Bill for the relief of indebted agriculturists in certain districts in the Presidency of Bombay: The object of the Bill is: 1. to empower the Courts to adjudicate insolvency on the debtor's own petition: 2. to limit the power of the Civil Court as to the sale of land in satisfaction of money claims to cases where a specific pledge of land has been given in security: 3. to render obligatory the placing in writing of all contracts for the mortgage of immovable property, & the registration of all such documents . *Foot note
next page

The measure is of course only tentative & may lead to more. Nothing is said of the abolition of imprisonment for debt. As it ~~is~~ stands - in reference to so colossal an evil, it will be seen that it is like ~~putting~~ clapping a postage stamp on the yawning gap

{f154 is blank}

f154v

-2-

~~in the König Wilhem's~~/in the German iron-clad's damaged prow produced crushed by her collision with her unfortunate consort iron clad who sank:

& hoping that the postage stamp will keep out the water from the damaged vessel & raise the sunken one -

And this while we are ~~repressing~~/trying to gag the Vernacular Press by an Act.

* See Telegram in "Times" of July 8, 1878 dated Calcutta July 7.

Note

I have been favoured with ~~the following~~ a letter from a native Indian gentleman, now in England: of which I give Extracts:

'on the subject of usury in India, the only remedy which it appears to me can at all meet the evil in the present state of our Society where little or nothing can be expected from private beneficence, is an Act of the Legislature which may take either of 2 forms:

'1. it may be an Enactment to the effect that unless the interest was within a certain limit fixed by law, no action should lie. This would have the effect of not only bringing the interest within reasonable bounds, but it would likewise prevent the money lenders from enticing the poor Ryot into debt, a thing by no means uncommon. It would moreover entirely shut out the more enterprising & insatiable class of money-lenders.

'A law of this kind, tho' somewhat different & seemingly arbitrary is in force in Hyderabad Some years back it was a very common practice among the Arab Jamadars,

{f156 is blank}

(a class of military grandees holding immense jaigirs) to lend money at enormous interests, & in default of payment after a certain time, not only to double & treble the interest, but enforce its payment by taking possession of the person & property of their debtors: but to the great relief of the community Sir Salar Jung has made it a law that any Arab Jamadar lending money should do so at his own risk, & that the money should not necessarily be recoverable in a Court of Justice. This law has put an end to the Arab usury in Hyderabad.

'I quote this one case only to shew how even a measure, which to all appearance is but arbitrary, can be effective in putting a stop to an evil of no small magnitude. In the case of the Arab jamadars however, this much is to be said that they, being servants of the State, should naturally expect to be dealt with more severely in matters of this kind.

'2. Another form which the Law might take & which I consider to be more practicable is: that no Court of Justice should be allowed to decree, as it does now,

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`the *whole* of the interest but only a reasonable portion of it - this portion being either fixed by law, say at 6 per cent, or determined according to the peculiar requirements of each case.

`This law is, practically, in force at this moment in Oude. The property of the Talookdars of Oude, as you are aware, is not saleable in any case, not even in default of payment of the Government revenue; and what is done in cases of accumulation of debt is: that the Estate is taken under Government management (practically a Court of Wards) - the Talookdar receiving a fixed salary & the debts as well as the regular Government demands being paid out of the proceeds of the Estate. Now, in all instances of this kind, as far as I am aware, Government never allows more than 6 per cent to the creditors, altho' the original loan has always been contracted at 24 per cent, & not rarely at 60 per cent. I have even known cases in which no interest whatever was allowed, it being shown

{f158 is blank}

`that the money-lender had already realized more than double the principal in interest.

`The justice of such a measure may be questioned by some on the principle that *every man has a right to cheat his neighbour provided* the latter allows himself to be imposed upon. But then we all know how very different are the wants of India, & now they have to be met by special provisions. In India the Government of the country has not only to discharge the duties of a police, but has in addition to take upon itself those functions which in other countries appertain to private beneficence, to public opinion & above all to that moral courage which is among the highest results of Education.

`The question of usury in India is one of the deepest interest not only in its immediate consequences, the inconveniences, the strange transfer of property, the misery, starvation & ruin which it brings on its victims, but also in its reactionary, its reflex action (if I may use such a term) on the money-lenders themselves & on the country at large. The common rate of

f159

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'interest in India is 24 per cent., and cases are by no means rare in which it rises so high as 60 per cent. Now it appears to me that the tacit encouragement which the existing law gives to such high rates of interest has a most injurious tendency. For it not only tends to transfer all property into the hands of the moneyed classes - a transfer by which, as you have shewn, the property does not gain - but by keeping the capital within a limited circle, it prevents that large circulation of money which must sooner or later result in commerce. And what is more instead of enriching the country, the best function of capital, it is employed in reducing to utter misery at least a certain class, & a well-to-do & hard working class, of people. And it thus becomes the source of positive evil by creating pauperism. It is true that the capitalists flourish & prosper, but their prosperity only means so much addition to their power of absorbing other people's property.

{f160 is blank)

f160v

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'Now, if this usury could be prevented by law - an unreasonable, arbitrary, tyrannical law if you please - one of *three* things must happen: Either the capitalist must cease to lend & keep all his hoards to himself - a thing by no means probable -: or he must lend on terms more advantageous to his debtors & thus enlarge the circle of those who would wish to profit by his capital: or lastly he may change his tactics & employ his capital in trade or manufactures, enterprises on which, from the ready manner in which he could secure with {written in pencil in the margin: text} little or no risk an enormous interest for his money, he would not formerly embark. It is clear that in the last two cases there is a positive gain to the county while, in the first alternative, we have at any rate the *negative* gain of the capital being prevented from impoverishing the people.

'Thus in India by a strange combination of circumstances, we have a capital, & in a certain sense a circulating capital, producing the most unlooked-for result of misery & pauperism: & when

f161

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this is taken in conjunction with other causes, it is no wonder that the poor Ryot is every day being reduced to beggary -

unsigned notes, f162, pencil

f162

Bombay Famine

Dr. Hewlett's Conversation

Feb 1878

Feb 1879

Sir R. Temple

Francis Fox: Nat. Land Banks

Sir L. Mallet

unsigned notes, ff 163-66, pencil

f163

Land Revenue {archivist: [1878-1879]}

Sindh: 42 Lacs

35 Lacs Rupees x Canal Revenue
in a favourable year:

? does this include Beloochistan
42 Lacs include all Well cultivation
all Rain " (Bayami
all direct overflow (Saylabi
from river

"Land Revenue" is = Water Reve

10 p.c.

90 p. c. due to water

3 1/2 lacs

[you can as soon grow anything without the water
as without the land]

Land not really worth anything - {average rate
[the rain pays revenue] per acre 2 1/2 rupees

Punjab has rain
Sind " not

{Upper Sind
Kura^hchee
{ Hyderabad

Rainfall
2,3, or 4 inch
~~3 or 4~~ 10
6

Total Unirrigated Area

? 1200000

? 1123105 (see little book)

x

Upper Sind

x Shikarpore (chief Quarters Collector) 17 lacs
Jacobabad

~~Annual Admini~~

f164

-2-

Total Irrigated Area minus Kurachee & Hyderabad
but these make the 300000 acres
into at least 1000000 acres irrigated
including Kurrachee & Hyderabad
6 lacs Reve 12 lacs Re {the preceding
lines have three vertical

lines beside in the left margin}

Total Culturable Area x
15,500,000 acres instead of
2, 000 000

Of these

Total Cultivated Area is 3000000
instead of 23000000 [see other page
x Culturable Area = flat land farmed by the Indus deposits
during ages & excluding the patches of soil in the
hilly parts & in the great sandy desert East of the
Eastern Narra = 15500000

In culturable area vast quantity of land principally
in Delta - near sea too salt to at once yield good crops
This can only be gradually improved by an abundant
supply of water. Salt land will grow rice only.

Also a vast quantity principally on left bank
above Rohree annually flooded & covered with dense
jungle. Floods not always of same extent & duration
& it constantly happens that some of the land is either
too much or too little flooded for people to cultivate
before succeeding Inundation. When not cultivated
jungle & weeds spring up & it cannot be again
cultivated with profit till floods cease at that
spot for 3 consecutive years, during which weeds
die & fertility of soil restored. Thus a large area of land
always for a time unculturable.

{f165 is blank}

f165v

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Sind 1. Does *Total Culturable Area* exclude
all land *for a time unculturable*?

see next page

2. Does total Cultivated x Area ~~ex~~/include
fallows?

[x Annual Admn Report would tell Area *actively*
cultivated in the year:

(area which *might be* cultivated: ~~is it~~/not taken out ~~or not~~?

3. Do *Grazing Lands* include *Desert*?

come under 15, 500 000

x x for 1 million cultivated

1 " fallow

2 then there would be more than 300000 for
Bayrami & Saylabi & Well Cultivation

(2,300 000)

from next page

Population being small, *plenty* of room for
cultivators to select most promising parts of inundated
land. They won't cut down jungle & plough up
weeds when they can avoid it.

Occasionally an unusually extensive flood
occurs & then there is actually *more land suddenly*
(on subsidence of water) rendered available for
cultivation *than* the limited popn can manage.

The portions of plain of Sind affording best field
for extension of irrigation are commanded by two of the new
Candts Col Fife has been recommending for years 1. Rahrea - Hyderabad Cen

2. Jurruck -

Kurrachee

f166

What the details are for Hyderabad & Kurrachee?

Sind without " "

Year of figures

put in Col 14 the surplus culturable land as might be culturable

hereafter

from what Reports?

quote the Report

WW to Col Fife

Mr. Prinsep

unsigned notes, ff167-83, pencil & pen

f167 {archivist: [1878-79]}

Famine of 1876-7: greatest since 1770

includes 9 revenue divisions of Bombay {written on a slant in pen }price of food

14 ~~Districts~~ (out of 21) of Madras
nearly all Mysore
S. & E. of Nizam's dominions

Dr. Cornish's
letter

Defective

Registration

No connection between famine & excessive population corrupt headmen

Godavery Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Tinnevelly &c &c saved by irrigation & sparse popn

Nellore Cuddapah Bellary Kurnoot with sparse populations
suffered severely

p.7 famine area registered births decreased from 19.7/20 to 14.4 per 1000
deaths increased 19.7 to 70.2

relative value not absolute value of registered Births & Deaths
in country - village accountant is ex officio registrar: registration not
compulsory. Peculiarly defective in famine: causes p. 6
50000 villages

Famine of 1833-4 practically arrested all development of
population for 4 years after famine ended.

Area now included in Godavery, Kistna (before irrigation)

Nellore, Cuddapah, Chingleput, N. Arcot, Madura & Salem
the population of 1838 was less by 1153000 souls than the
ascertained population of 1822

not precluded these numbers are accurate
ascertained numbers only given

from 1857 to Census of 1871 pop increased 35.8 per cent.
in 20 years

in 1856-7 Revenue £4,880,093 in 15 years revenue
71-2 " £7,125,581 increased by 58 per cent.

no material check to increase & prosperity of people during these years
except scarcity in 1853 & 1866 [none at all between 1871 & 1876

f170

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p.17 Table of Causes of Mortality

1876		{written on as slant in pen}	3 fourths in
1877			relief camps
Jan to June 1878			Deaths direct result
			of innutrition
Cholera	Fever	Bowel Complaints	All other Causes
	Famine	result of Famine	principally famine
	fever		

facts *ascertained* do not account for more than 100000
of the missing people by emigration

Famine cuts away population at both ends -

Census of 1881 will show the loss to be greater than
here estimated

f171

Col Fife Chief Engineer for the whole of the Irrigation Works
in Western India {archivist: [1878]}
& Under Sec to Govt of Bombay

like all Flood levels of Indus higher than level of country
alluvial river channel rests between crests of 2 glacis
countries sloping down on each side about 6 to 7 inches a mile
country to the eye flat
inundation period summer period rises in May
4 months maximum in August
subsides by October

Sukkur
Jarrah near Hyderabad two rocky places
of Indus {written on a slant} heavily

charged with

silt during
land in Sind bakes hard until inundation comes in Inundation
no weeds too dry fallow complete one month
in Dekkan land excessively fertile out of

{illeg}

following process as follows

during low

bakes into cracks

season

then rises like bread on surface becoming fertile dust one part is
I have seen it carried off in a storm (the cream of the land) in 500
floating on surface of water

{illeg}

Process of preparing his land by ryot for cultivation & irrigation

he has to have a channel made often very inconvenient to
his neighbours a path of traffic crossing it will
convert a channel 2 ft wide to 30 ft then a
temporary bridge has to be made

then in Sind ground perfectly flat
but in Dekkan a plot half the size of this room may be
6 inch deep in water on one side & half not on other
that wastes the water

he has to level his ground he has to terrace it
that greatly improves his land & deepens his soil see
he has to make a little bank round it to hold the water above

f172 [check spacing, indent problems]

In Sind no sluices, no means of measuring the water
people help themselves if by Persian wheels that is
hard labour & they won't waste the water
when the river is level they flood the whole land
wasting the water & none left for those farther down
In a course of 90 miles 40 miles is all the way it
will go

At first we let them take all the water
they liked. that encouraged ryots

Now we make them pay so much per acre for what they
wet that is the only plan to make it their interest

to cultivate as well as they can {written on a slant} x the use
but then they made a settlement/ new assessment from Bombay they actually of
say they wetted 30 acres x then they only had to pay for irrigated water
that each year

but now they have to pay the same for 100 acres only paid
& no more the rate of

they wet the whole they waste water on land which 2 ½ rupees
will not bear it, which is exhausted, which ought to be an acre
fallow: they say why not if we have to pay no more 5/ (or 5 rupees
for it? for every {illeg})

thus they have to go to the money lenders to pay their This was the right plan
assessment & so comes on the indebtedness But without 15 a year

Sir W. Merryweather a good soldier but quite mistaken assessment by which
people

about this cannot pay fixed annual sum

P. Works of Gt & cultivate as much
of the
{illeg} land assessed
best way as they think
Sir B Frere? proper
used to this bad plan
say
{illeg}
he forgot

In Dekkan quite different there every year's of native use
measured bribery of native petty officials

I wish not to treat with individual as you must
at first but with Irrigation Commissions

Let them manage it among themselves then there is {illeg not?}
room for the oppression of the petty native officials

f173

Sind clearance of canal each year very serious operation
 before Statute labour abolished, clearance of Canals
 = £12500 per diem - now payment for labour
 = £70000 work better done but more costly
 Less of Govt revenue in bad inundation £20000 or £30000
 in £200000 loss to people 3 times as much

Payment of Cultivator under head of Consolidation of Land Revenue
 5 to 10 per cent due to land
 90 to 95 " due to water
 Desert Canal 50 ft/miles long 50 ft./wide when complete will be 80 miles
 Bigari original 60 40
 100 miles long 70 feet wide
 Sukkur 70 " 40
 Ghari 100 " 70
 Fuliski{?} 100 " 150 carries nearly as much
 as large Canal for 4 months
 Eastern Narra 150 - twice as much as Ganges Canal
 12 miles to
 150 " excavated old forgotten abandoned of {illeg
 Indus?}
 dams to clear branches letting water run
 to waste in Eastern Deccan
 embankments
 one 90 " 50 ft wide
 capital outlay since British occupation of Sind
 £667 704
 value of works taken over when we took the canals
 £2 000 000
 Consolidated Revenue not of what produced but of what
 was actually due to Canals £240 000 in 1855
 works taken over several years
 of {illeg} took the
 in 1876 £340 000 canals

world be expected
for by this new
rest outlet
of
season

f175

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Sind

no sickness from Canal Irrigation
fever from heavy floods subsiding

Reh N. W. P. only on unirrigated/uncultivated land

no injury ever done to the cultivated land from efflorescence in Sind
called shor

soil closer

than in N.W.P. lightness of soil favours evaporation & reh

Sind

expenche to cultivate great

raising water by Persian wheels = assessment paid to Govt

digging out full channels

by constructing works with heads when river does not change

all this might be saved

& water last for 2 crops instead of one

& about one half of water from inundating Canals raised by
Persian wheels

f176

-6-

Bombay Irrigation all on Eastern side of Ghants
except one or two works In Guzerat
population large in Guzerat rainfall 25 inches
South of Bombay - rainfall from 70 to 90 inches
no Irrigation wanted
crest of Ghants rainfall 200 inch
Poona 25 miles inland only 25
Indapore 50 14
Sholapore 100 28
district between Poona & Sholapore
rainfall insufficient, interior of Bombay, E. of Ghats
country rough & rocky
full of deep valleys - many rivers
soil thin
formation trap
Dharwar gentle undulating country
Irrigation in Deccan few as works are cultivation of finest
kind
triennial rotation sugar rice & wheat
cane
rate of assessment 18 rupees per acre
16 due to water
2 to land that being the
assessment to land if not
irrigated
A few old ruined tanks failed from uncertain supply
we trust to be sure of our supply
except Skrook tank dependent on local rainfall but always
all our new work supplied from large catchment
supplied by streams basin - even during late
fed from W. Ghants drought & famine

{upside down 24}

£177

-7-

Dekkan: our new works

Hathmath Canal	20 miles long	
Hastate Tank	14 000 000 cu ft capacity	
Mukti Tank		what the tank will hold & does hold

368 000 000

get full every year if possible

Jamdi Canals	27 miles long	
Palkher "	18 "	" "
Wadali "	-11 "	" "
Ojhar "	8 ½ "	" "
Lakh "	10 "	" "

Bhaladi Tank 149 000 000 cu ft

only in partial operation about 2 ½ years Multea Canals 99 miles

14

Tank waste weir nearly 1 mile long

99 ft

high

5226 000 000 c. ft

Kasard Tank small

Koragaum " dam badly {Illeg maintained ?}

in financial failure at present Ekron Tank - dam 1½ miles long 76 ft high

3 350 000 cu ft

3 canals 26

18 miles long

4

Magni Tank 1 900 000 cu ft

Krishna Canal 32 miles

Madaj Tank old work utilized

capital outlay in 13 years £1 080 438

some have only been partially paid for 2 years

a little more than cover working expences about ½ per cent

Dekkan

has distinct water rates

Two charges debited to work open to question

1 Public Works Establishment

5 or 6 or 7 years ago sudden check on costs of construction
of new Irrigation Works Estt not fully employed

& cost debited against works in operation

Consequently repairs of Canal may cost £55

Estt for looking after that Canal £200

nothing for Est to do

large number of new works now begun as relief works

during famine Estt fully employed

but fund at disposal of Bombay Govt for new work

must be increased

2 Charge for Collecting Revenue excessive

20 p.c. of revenue from water generally

but 80 p.c. it has been

charge debitable to works 3 to 5 p. c. to village

officials for collecting the revenue

but remainder of charge is for permanent revenue establishmt

an estt wh. existed previous to construction of works

& required for general admin: purposes

the 15 per cent is a rateable portion of permanent

estt charged against each item of revenue

80 p. c debited against one of the works because

land revenue of District had failed because of drought

- consequently percentage on collection enormously increased

canal scape goat, tho' expence of collecting revenue on that

Canal no more that year than any other (orders of Govt of India

(that a proportion of cost

(of permanent Land Revenue Est

See Revenue Report (shd be debited against each work

Bombay

Sattarn Collectionate: people best off: better rainfalls
 land lighter
 soil deeper

Sholapore {illeg good?}

Ahmedanggur " poor

Indapore

E. of Poona

Irrigation requires a small amount of capital to be successful
 people in poorer districts completely in money-lenders' hands
 expect nothing for themselves of profit
 slower to take the water than where better off

Famine Relief Works

best to employ large gangs upon large works during famine
 under P. W. Officers x than smaller gangs under Civil
 supervision

much easier for supervisors to lay out & apportion each man's task
 on long lengths of embankment or excavating x
 civilians have no special training for employment of large bodies
 x still famine work always expensive

In 15 years Return of Deccan Works will reach 5 per cent

Working expences do not increase in Canal Work in
 proportion to work done

repairs & maintenance estt much the same whether

100 or 1000 c. f. per second Sind down a {illeg}

more men used to distribute water

but chief expence repairs clearance of canal & her quarters
 estt unaffected

Dekkan works will for first year or two not pay working expences

average - first 15 years - will pay 2 ½ p. c.

[but then there are so many advantages wh cannot be estimated
 by money] see p 11

in 15 years will yield 5 p.c. & ultimately 10 p.c.

f180

-10-

Supreme Govt for financial reasons curtails x sum to carry on works

& Bombay Govt is left with an Estt much in excess of what it wants

"We applied for R. Gs & they were sent out by S. of S. after passing an Examn on our application"

X Loans Local Govt Legislative Council

Bombay spends £{illeg 100 000?} a year on Irrigation

X At present Govt of India responsible for all outlay responsy sh be thrown more on local Govt

any possibility of mismanagement provided by requiring all loan questions to be considered in Legislative Councils

& passing an Act like a railway Act in this country

if local Govt had the responsy of ~~to~~ raising money & paying its annual interest, they wd study economy instead of wasting the money

f181

-11-

Dekkan

present water rates only half of those on the old works
people themselves sink & raise water from wells at a cost of £3 per acre
per annum for triennial rotation
they take canal water in preference to wells {written on the diagonal} X so far

valuable

crops

our rate

of 18 r

not too

high X

they pay garden irrigated rate under land revenue
& pay water rate in addition

Advantage conferred by Irrigation upon country near

1 security to ordinary unirrigated crop

2 increase of valuable crops receiving good rainfall wh can be irrigated when
little rain

ground nut (probably) increased near canals

3 Irrigation keeps down price of grain & fodder near work X

Grain can be carried not so easy to bring fodder

people have actually paid sugar-cane rate for water & grown fodder
on land during drought e.g. -

4 Water brought to villages for domestic purposes & for cattle

cattle otherwise ({illeg Khandush?}) had to be driven 4 miles every
day to drink

In Sind X

highest rate 5 rupees per acre for best kind of irrigation

Indus more silt than Nile

Indus always shifting I have stuck for 2 or 3 days in steamer

with small draught running aground: all sorts of poling in vain

water itself releases you makes an island behind

& then digs you out & floats you

Irrigation Works irrigate 23000 sq miles

35 miles wide on each side Indus

Sind rocky & almost uninhabitable W. & N.

great E. desert on E.

f182

-12-

Sind

Exportation of food
under Irrigation much increased

in 1869 - 70 £129, 092

1876 - 77 £204,445

about half the grain comes from Punjab

Sind: people move about & immigrate X

Deccan: permanent villages

Price of labour much gone up in Sind

Increase of popn owing to Immigration
& to better Govt

formerly, no security of life or property on frontier of Upper Sind

hill tribes carried off cattle & everything else

put an end to by Genl Jacob

people who lived by plunder came into Sind & settled

the irrigated land

Immigration in Sind - people follow the water X

Sugar cane small in Sind ~~raised~~/grown by well water

- Dekkan

whenever nation not at mercy of money lenders take to sugar cane

over 1000 acres sugar cane on Kistna Canal (Khandush)

(water rate for sugar cane on old works in Khandush

36 rupees per acre)

in Khandush consolidated rate of 18 r. per acre for triennial rotation

16 r. due to water

[Calculn of Pedder, Settlement Officer, if rate of 16 r distributed over
the 3 years' crops in proportion to value or water used

36 r for Sugar cane

8 r Rice

whole of Irrigation area
in

4 Wheat

Khandush 15000

acres

48 for the three crops

f183

-13-

{in the top margin} galloped
about Ekroot
fixed on
Tank place
as the best
place for a
tank by eye

Navigation

Roree Canal 185 miles long would have to have all
the Traffic now goes by Indus 250 miles
Indus only inland navigation in W. India other Canals cross the land
traffic
cost {there is a symbol like a large open P before the fractions}
 $\frac{3}{4}$ a ton per mile
1 a ton per mile by steamer plying on Indus for goods

3000 miles total Mileage by Canals including powerful
branch Canals in Sind

very large boat traffic on Indus growing enormously
rate per ton per mile by boat will be reduced
by competition

Progress Report said: canals deteriorating
on the contrary
area of irrigation has largely increased
no remissions have had to be made for want of water
cotton grown in Sind interior climate too dry
{written diagonally in bottom margin}

Collectors
man goes to him with a
low salam: May I make a
channel? Yes
& so the supply of water may be
cut off from his neighbours
Now they must take
Engineers into consultation
Revenue Officers
& engineer Officers
always at daggers drawn
In Dekkan
Engineer Officers deal
directly with people
Zemindars have
sometimes in Begari
put intentional
obstacles in Canal
to increase own supply of water

unsigned report, ff184-90, pen & pencil {f184 archivist: (1878-1879) is blank}
[see spacing, indent problems]

f184v

-2-

Sind Details are not given of what area has been irrigated by State, what by Individuals. But more has been done here. It is a dry strip of country along the Indus Rainfall only 6 inches. Production next to impossible without water from the Indus by canals, or from wells.

Of 30 millions of Total area,
only 2 1/3 " cultivated, {in pencil} this does not
comprise
the fallows? or 8
per
cent

Of this 1 p. c. is irrigated by the people ??
& perhaps 1 1/3 million or say nearly 1/2 the area cultivated
has been protected by Canal Irrigation supported
or constructed by the State.

This is a fair effort so far. Yes. but much more
could be done by utilizing the monsoon supply
of the Indus . & thousands of channels x could be
cut to encourage the people to take water out of
these channels by wells or by lifts x

Could another 2 millions of acres be added {in pencil} it can't
be economically done

in this inexpensive way - which would perhaps
give 1/3rd of a million more to the State in Reve
& as much in profits to the people -

{the preceding paragraph has beside it in the margin:} ask Col Fife
{written in the bottom margin in pencil:}

X {there is a line connecting 'No' to 'inexpensive way' above}

x Canal No
50 ~~70~~ is to 100 200 that would be
miles in length trebling the Irrign of Sind
100 miles to reach Native Chiefs Canals at right angles
Hyderabad engineering absurd in alignment forced labour
land lies far from absurdities Canals side by side
river which All native Govts must have land
is still uncultivated out on those old Inundation Canals what wd
cost now 2 million £ Sterling (when Alexander the
Inundation Canals Great was there
as only a {illeg third?} work of the high level
Canals

are really ?

more expensive

f185

Bengal

Of these Bengal is altogether wanting we have no details & nothing that will serve us. sufficient details but scarcely needed as Rainfall is 129 inches in Burmah & 96 in Assam, so that Drainage instead of Irrign schemes are required

Burmah

Assam

Coorg

So also Coong has a Rainfall of 96 inch - is a small domain of only 114,000 acres cultivated, yielding only 3½ lacs Revenue of which only 500 acres are irrigated, or perhaps needing irrign.

Berars

of 11 millions Total Area, 7 millions are cultivated, 2 millions culturable, say 2 millions (remaining) waste Here only 74250 acres are irrigated, of which only 250 acres have been done by the State! 6 millions cultivated are not irrigated
2 " culturable
8 " need water

So nothing has been done here, altho' they have 40 inches Rainfall, & the Monsoon supply could a great deal be arrested & made use of

Mysore

19 millions Total Area
5 " or 26 p. c. only cultivated
3 " 16 p.c. culturable
leaves more than half Total area lying waste & useless Here only 300000 acres are irrigated altogether, which is only ? p. c. of Total Area: but of this 220 000 acres are said to be due to State Irrign.
It is a very small figure while there are at least 4 millions of acres needing water more or less.

Bombay 50 millions Total Area
of wh. 22 " or 44 p.c. cultivated
2 " or 4 p.c. culturable
leaves more than half the area still lying waste
or not fiscally used
Here too only 500,000 acres are shown as the whole
are irrigated, which gives only 1 p.c. on Total area
{italicized (underlined) notes written in the margin in pencil}
excludes The details are not given: but I can find
all from wells trace only of 170 000 acres having been irrigated
& all from water by state works, which is altogether inadequate
courses for so flourishing a province & one which
made by has been so long under our immediate care.
people themselves Here under the 'Ryotwari' tenure the State
no Irrign is said to be the real owner: takes 4 $\frac{1}{3}$ Millions
in Deccan sterling out of the Ryots as Land Revenue,
{outside of marginal notes, in pencil, written vertically:} Ask Col Fife
Over a million & has spent what (?) for the paltry area of
will be protected 170000 acres protected against Famines ?
by works now The Rainfall averages ~~only~~ 47 inch
completed while 30 inch are enough to produce rice in
or commenced *unirrigated* lands. What would not be added
ask Col Fife to power of production of the 21 millions acres
cultivated which are *not* irrigated, & 2 million
culturable (in all 23 millions) could be supplied
with water.
2 millions £ sterling more of food could be
produced - with increased profits to the
producer in same proportion.
Does the Ryotwari tenure, the absence of
full ownership, & only 30 years' periods for lease,
prevent it?

f187

Madras

There remains this most advanced & paying Province. Here we find real progress - because of the efforts of Sir Arthur Cotton & those who have sustained him.

Of 89 millions Total Area
18 " or 21 p.c. is cultivated
2 " or 3 p.c. culturable
showing that still 3/4ths of the land is lying waste or not fiscally utilized.

Still of the 18 millions cultivated,
4 " are irrigated.
or 5 p.c. of Total Area.

Of this half done by the people, & perhaps half by the state.

so far as I can gather from the District or detailed Statement for this Province supplied

In that Statement we have these figures (see Col 30 to 47) viz. the *Irrigated Results* in all the Districts from various sources, the Absts of wh stand thus:

Irrigated from Anicuts		Area		Revenue	
		640,000		38	Lacs
"	Hill Channels (4 Dists)	15 600		3/4	"
"	Rivers (8 ")	1,070,000		62	"
"	Colais Lake (1 ")	2000		1/5	"
"	1369 Tanks (4 ")	415 000		19	"
	Total	2,142,000		120	Lacs

a little more than 2 millions acres are thus watered under special works: We may assume that ye Anicuts, Hill Channels, Colais Lake, & Village Tanks are either *old works* done by former Govts or by the people

f187v

{written in pencil on a slant}

would necessitate 2 long canals 50 to 200 miles X

se old Canals were there

f188

lately given out that all these old works have been allowed to go to ruin or to be neglected & the English Govt has done but little to maintain them:

deducting these as done by the people, there remains only 1000000 acres, & a little more shown as irrigated from Rivers, which may be the sum of all that has been done in Madras.

If this inference is correct, out of the 4 millions acres irrigated, only 1 million are due to State works even here in Madras, where everything was done by the energy of Sir. A. Cotton & his fellow workers. Still to have protected so large an area, & to have contributed 62 Lacs out of the $4\frac{3}{4}$ millions of Land Reve in this Province is no small matter.

If this has been done so far, & nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ million new Reve been raised on the 14 millions of cultivated acres remaining *not* irrigated, and 2 millions *culturable*, there is still a margin of 16 millions acres, of which could we bring only half under water protection in all the different ways hitherto successful in Madras, the State might raise by 'water' another £2000000 of which 1 million could go to support the Finances and 1 to support the people by extra food & profits.

What then is the conclusion?

f188v

I That in Coorg, Berars & Mysore, in 3 Provinces, the result of Govt Irrigation is positively 'nil'.

II That in *Bombay* the result as to State Irrigation is very unsatisfactory amounting only to 170000 acres or not ½ per cent on Total Area. This in the Province we have held the longest & where the British Govt having assumed the State ownership in land was under every obligation to fulfil its duty as an improving landlord!

III that in *Sind* & Madras only have active measures been undertaken by the State, but even here a great deal more could be done under greater encouragement *by the people* themselves, if the real need of India had ever been properly appreciated by the authorities.

IV That in *Sind*, *Bombay*, *Madras*, even at the lowest calculation the following advantages would accrue:

Province	Increase of Reve to State	Increase of Food & Profits to People
<i>Sind</i>	£1/3 million	£1/3 million
<i>Bombay</i>	2 "	2 "
<i>Madras</i>	1 "	1 "

as a safeguard against future famines

{f189 is blank}

f190

Figures taken
from Printed
Statements received
from India Office

Statistics & Commerce {there are 11 columns; as there is not room to copy
all across, the 11th,
Departmt I. O. headed "Remarks", follows}
July 16 1878

"Reliable"

Statistics of Indian Irrigation

Synopsis of 9 Remaining Provinces: 4 having been considered =

Total 13 Provinces

Provinces	Total		Irrigated Area		Total	Irrigated	Total Area		Rainfal Land Revenue
	in order	area	By	By private			Area not	Average	
of importance	in acres		Govt Cultivated	Individuals	Total Culturable	in inches	in Rupees		
Bengal	100,000,000					No information		64 345 Lacs	
British Burmah	56,000,000	100 22000000	4200	52	4,300	2700000	3000000		
Assam	24,000,000	13000000	96	29	38000	38,000	4300000	6000000	
Coorg	1,300,000	74000	500	not stated	500	114000	115000		
{in margin beside next five provinces:} with Percentages on Total Area									
Madras	89,000,000	no detail 2000000	45		4,000,000 487 Lacs	14000000	18000000	5 p.c. 16 p.c. 3 p.c.	
Bombay	50,000,000	no detail	2000000		500,000 47	21500000 300 Lacs	22000000	1 p.c. 43 p.c. 44 p.c. 4 p.c.	
Mysore	19,000,000	220000 78000 3,000,000	21		?300,000 74 Lacs	1,600,000	#5,000,000	?2 p.c. 8 p.c.	
Sindh	30,000,000	no detail			300,000 2,000,000 10,000,000 1 p.c.	6	1,200,000 #2,300,000 42 Lacs 1123105	4 p.c. 8 p.c. 7 p.c. 8 p.c.	
Berars	11,000,000	250	74000		74250	6,000,000	7,000,000		

		2,000,000	40	64 Lacs		
64 p.c.	19 p.c.			$\frac{3}{4}$ p.c.		55 p.c.
<hr/>						
Total of	200,000,000	220,250	152,000	5,176,000	44,300,000	52,300,000
5 Last	11,000,000	967 Lacs				
	(say)	1 p.c.			2½ p.c.	22
						p.c.
						26
						p.c.
						5 p.c.

Note # Difference (large) between this sum
of 2 areas irrigated & not irrigated.
I find it stated because large area
not irrigated has yet to be surveyed (Revenue

Settlement)

in Mysore & Sindh

ay if this is
correct

E. H. P.

Province	Remarks
Bengal	
British Burmah	The Rainfall in these 3 being about or
Assam	above 100 inches, Drainage rather than
Coorg	Irrigation schemes are required
Madras	of which *25 Lacs are State Water Revenue
Bombay	of which *5 Lacs are Do
Mysore	of which *23 Lacs are Do
Sindh	
Berars	
Total of	of which 79 Lacs are Do
5 Last	

Note * Some doubt as to whether these figures indicate *new* Revenue derived from State Irrign: I rather think it is the ordinary Land Reve assessed on *old Irrigated* areas.

see p. 1

{f191 is blank}

unsigned notes, ff191v-93, pen [see spacing, indent problems]

f191v

Mr. Prinsep View of Irrigation in India

I.O. filled up Forms

Analysis of 4 Provinces in which information appears to be given with tolerable completeness

{because of width I have divided the table in two}

Total Province	Area	Total By Government	By Private Individuals	Irrigated	
				Total Irrigated	Unirrigated
					46000
N.W. Provinces	52,000,000		1,000,000	8,646,000	967000
Oudh	15,300,000		nil	3,000,000	1730000
3000000	5300000				
Punjab		67,000,000	1,600,000	5000000	6600000
				20,200,000	
Central		72000000	96	775000	
Provinces } Total of } the 4 }	206300000	2,600 096	12 500 000	17421000	20045096 55,300,000

? I per cent 9 per cent 10 per cent 27 per cent

27 Result: as the Total Area ? 1/3rd is cultivated

In other words out of 200 millions acres of land

or
a
littl
e
more

less than 1/3rd is culturable
Remaining 1/3rd may be assumed to be waste or not fit

unless watered

Of the total Area only 10 per cent is irrigated of which 9/10ths has been done by the people themselves:

& little more than 1 per cent = 2 ½ million acres has been irrigated under State help!! while in 2 out of the 4 Provinces nothing has been done at all: viz. Oude

& Central Provinces
Over

f191v (cont'd)

Province	Total Area Cultivated	Total Culturable	?above what is cultivated	Rain	Total fall:
Inches	Lacs				<u>Revenue</u>
N.W. Provinces	27000000	7700000		44	425
Oudh	8200000	340000		33	138
Punjab	26900000	20000000		27	192
Central Provinces	13240000	23000000		49	62
	3580000				
	<u>17/6820000</u>				
Total of the 4	789/8920000 78920000	54100000			817 Lacs Rupees
	% 38/9 per cent	26 per cent			=£8,000,000

f193

So far for the back view:

Now for the *future* view what is unfolded? even in 4 divisions out of 13? this - that there are 100 millions of acres that can yet be irrigated, if measures are only taken by the State to do so. & this area represents half the area of these {written in the top margin:}

this must be

shown 4 divisions.

Again 78 millions of acres now cultivated can bear to pay 8 millions of present Land Revenue

It may be assumed that the 50 millions more, not yet cultivated but culturable, were it supplied with irrigation could bring in another 5 millions of Revenue. or even say 4 millions -

also that 50 millions say of acres now irrigated could give us another 5 millions

but let us even assume 4 millions here

In other words if the public in England could only make the Govt in India do its duty

in the matter of irrigation, in 4 Provinces alone could the Land Revenue be doubled, raising

it from 8 to 16 millions!!

& so improving the status of the people to an extent certainly of 10 millions as well,

that they too will be richer by 10 millions!!

If these are the anticipations from the existing Statistics of 4 out of 13 Provinces,

what will it not amount to in the whole of India, when we can get the reliable Statistics of the other Provinces?

E.A.P.

unsigned notes, f194, pencil

f194

Madras
Registration
not 50 per cent

Mysore
not 22 per cent
according to Mr. more
Elliott's Test Census
saw the people &c

-1-

Bombay
better than usual
more accurate
than in preceding
years owing
to increased
supervision
village he came
under village inspection
under native District officer
under European " "
Small pox
worst in least
famine districts
Cholera
real Cholera

Small pox
result of
relief camps
Cholera
anything against result
of *Famine*

What were Famine
Deaths then registered
under?

Village Accountants
thought that at all
events Famine
Deaths were not to
be registered

Headmen thought
their English masters
wanted Deaths

peculation immense
unchecked

no peculation
possible European
supervisors saw the
money (daily pay)
served out

Famine from Nov./76 in Jan/78
to March/78 still
intense

Mysore
Famine from Jan
1877 over in Nov/77

Increase of pop
at 1 per cent

Increase of pop
forbidden to be
by S. of S.

unsigned notes, ff195-99, pencil

f195

1846-9 Mr. Lawrence Commissioner of Jullundhur Doab
just annexed, detached from Sikh kingdom
& in charge of the newly acquired trans-Sutlej
territory

relief to people of 15 to

30 p.

1 reformed payment of land tax: fixed & moderate assessment
of soil: no

longer

2 " administration of justice dependent on caprice
simple code translated into Punjarbee of collectors or
wh every man could understand {illeg

assessors?}

abolition of Govt {illeg}
police
roads & bridges

twice sent for to Lahore just occupied by British troops to assist Sir Henry in
reforming thro' Sikh

Durbar fiscal system
end of 1847

On Sir Henry's leaving for Europe, Sir F. Currie made Resident of Lahore
Sikh Durbar plots against us

Moultun Sir F. Currie sends Agnew & Anderson as a Representation to
against Sir Mr. John Lawrence's opinion

They are murdered by
Moulraj who encouraged by Sikh Durbar raises insurrection
which spreads

No troops being sent in spite of Mr. Lawrence's urging

Jullundhur full of disbanded soldiers mischief making fanatics
2 local corps military police (Sikhs) under Mr.

Lawrence's orders

May 1848 insurrection headed by a priest dispersed
by a chief, supporter of the British by Mr. Lawrence's means

August insurrection headed by Rajpoot, Rem Singh
Mr. Lawrence directs operations himself, 2 Rajahs themselves sending
retainers to assist him drives away rebels, recovers property,
releases British subjects

Sept & Oct & Nov Pathankoh attacked by insurgents with guns

{f196 is blank}

f196v Mr. Lawrence hastens after them
by his personal influence keeps Jullundhur quiet
clears district with 300 Sikhs
"tho' knowing they were going against Sikhs
raised in villages of Jullundhur Doab

difficulties increase
from every village of Punjab except Jullundhur
all soldiers flooded to Chutter Singh
to rouse the Jullundhur Doab Sikhs 3/ 4 Hill Rajahs rose in revolt -
Lawrence pushes resolutely on himself

makes enemy evacuate forts
captures son of a Rajah
makes father surrender
hill people join him
Dec 2 his men all Punjarbees attack forts
Sikh high priest {illeg one?} head of rebellion flees
one Rajah surrenders
another defeated

Dec 4 1848 tranquillity reigns in every corner
{written on a slant in the right margin}

His administration of the Jullundhur
Doab had done all this
by freeing the people from injustice !
& from the exactions of the
middlemen

{?native officers
how will it be {end of insertion}
Mr. Lawrence civilian with only a handful of native troops
General
commissary

has to raise & organize Sikhs
to inspire confidence in all the chiefs
{illeg Moulton?} was holding out
Lahore threatened by the two Rajahs with all the victories of the Sikh army
Peshawar occupied by Chutter & Shere Singh
Affghans ~~hav~~ Is he living?

The British Govt was saved by the presence of one man - & his Assistant Mr.
Barnes

In 10/13 days as he wrote himself in the absence of the General
"peace & order have been restored throughout the territory by the capture
or dispersion of the insurgents. This result has been effected with little
loss of life & hardly any expence to Govt"

f197

Sone

Collector reigns supreme without a Parlt but responsible to his
Commr & the Lt Govnor over his small kingdom 6000 sq miles

2 millions

people

from {illeg Moulton?} to Calcutta

under

his charge

& splendid plain of magnificent land

for 1600 miles unequalled in the world

Parrots Palmtrees alligators

Sone Canal Col Haig

Mr. Levinge

3 millions to cost

1 " acre

cultivation admirably intelligent

{written in margin on a slant}

Opinion

every villager & every ox his

or her special work to do

Revenue of £7 to 9 millions

1/6 of whole annual

do all the various operations themselves

Revenue of India

steam launch

gives employment to well paid

natives

?Salt tax

Bombay

Ahmedabad 12 0000 pop seat of the Kings of Guzerat

Ahmed's mosque vies with the exquisite work at Agra

much discontent growing feeding hatred by Mussulmans disliked by Hindoos

but they have no

leader

& no experience

before Mutiny we did away with taxes & duties of native Govts

now we lay on new cesses

Surat ancient city on Teplan within 12 miles of sea 70,000 pop
earliest seat of our Indian possessions

we ousted Dutch factory 250 yrs ago by helping Mahomedan monarch

we are still strangers among the people tho' for 300 years they have known no
other ruler

Revenue & Judicial Elements of our Govt very differently looked upon

Civil Servts/Collectors looked upon as desiring to get more for

the Govt out of the land

{in the margin}

consider Govt as their first duty

ever & ever Judicial as men who protect natives' rights

your loving (Judges usually Civilians i.e. members of covenanted
Service)

Govt rather lean to Revenue side

see over

p.2

{f198 is blank}

f198v

-p.2 -

Collector desired to raise assessmt of village from 1000 rupees fixed by a former ruler Collector thought native owners had no such title & he increased it to 4000 rs Sued at law, Courts found illegal Govt directed that in future all such cases affecting Reve not to be dealt with by Court of Law but by Reve officials! seems incredible but assured of it by an European judge

Native Judges ({illeg Maronsifs?} for Small Courts before whom $\frac{3}{4}$ of all law cases come decide on cases as placed before them by Pleaders don't take trouble to see that an ignorant man has no case {illeg all told by a?} Pleader distrusted by Ryots

Maronsif shd be held responsible for giving his judgement after full investigation Native Judge immensely} highly paid Govt should demand from him a thoro' examination without the help of interested pleaders

Native Judges of High Courts paid on same scale as English judges - waste

{illeg Daman illeg Portingmore?} settlement for distressed fleeing from the law at Poona

Bombay most picturesque city in India

Godavery

every body admits to the full the {illeg picture?} of our authority it presents

f199

wide roads with beautiful
shade (mango trees) feeding
Rajah Benares' the native travellers
splendid Tamarind trees
fine cultivation (Oudh) Goomtre river x
rich deposits from floods in July &
Augt leave an annual increase of vigour
wells water raised by oxen) x flows into Ganges
{illeg towing?} it among the crops
Oudh
green mustard plant chopped up with
chopped {illeg Naulm } from Ba'rio or coarse
corn excellent provender for stock

The work is of a higher character than
can be got in England - the wise Govt of men

hopeless contest with Govt

Stick to Beaconsfield Gladstone, Bright &
such really big men (not Sir B. Frere or Sir J.
Stephen)

It is Bosnian news I want - not home
news
hagepore one of 2 great Opium Stations
Opium gives a larger return than anything
else they grow except sugar

f199v

{seems to be a kitchen list - not in FN's hand. Upside down, at the bottom, the
following}

Watered by Sone Canal Works
Beheea
8/ an acre for land 3/ for
cultivator (small farmers)
better off than our collier farmers
of 40 or 50 acres
Messrs Thompson & Milne
reclaimed the land
out of the jungle

unsigned notes, ff200-02, pen & pencil

f200

Questions

why Model Farms impossible

in Bengal: dispersed patches
of land

Mr. Sens pamphlet

p.

the raising the rent the one

thing the ryot won't bear

Dutton

May not "increased value" of land

signify merely increased

competition for land

{the following is written on a slant}

discontent

as great for

native ryot because

indebtedness all over India

frugal man buys the land

Cost very low but {illeg}

{illeg illeg } If a man has

{the next two lines are illeg}

Govt makes advances

can recover them as it

does {illeg payment?} without

law - seizes upon

property

{the bottom left corner is illeg}

{f201 is blank}

f202

stoppage of public works in India

our best market is home but foreign markets if closed

to us are a great inconvenience

but stoppage of Irrigation works takes nothing from

us

Is it possible that Railways in India as opening

markets for our coal & iron are more readily pushed

on that account?

unsigned notes, ff203-08v, pencil & pen

f203

Famine Mortality Mysore
Registered Deaths 22 per cent. Mysore
v. Mr. Elliott's Report on Mysore Test Census putting
2/3rds of Deaths never recorded
in ordinary years p.16
actual No of Deaths
1 050 000 p.12
v. Commissioner's Remarks on same:
same {illeg conclusion} p.1
Madras
Deaths a little over 2 millions
Diminished Births 1 "

Loss 3 millions
v. Dr. Cornish's paper for Statistical Socy
Registration: not compulsory
Famine Deaths registered under 'All other Causes'
v. Dr. Cornish's Annual Report
p. 146
p. 74
10000 only accounted for by Famine Emigrants ? when
v. Dr. Cornish's two letters
Qy make summary of defects on Registration
p. 74 Report

Sir W./ Mark Cubbon's Rules/ Orders in 1838 regarding Panchayats in

Mysore

(for the selection & conduct of Panchayats
in the several District Courts of the Supt Moonsiff & Amildar)

Panchayats 1. In every District Court there shall be kept
Civil & a list of the respectable & intelligent inhabitants
Criminal of the vicinity competent (to be) a Panchayatdar
June 12, 1838 both in Criminal & Civil Causes -

2. This list will be framed by the assistance of the
several public Officers who may have charge of the
District, & they shall furnish the Head of the Court
with all necessary information on the subject.

4 When a cause is ready for hearing i.e. when all the pleadings,
plaint, answer, reply, &c have been taken by the Court, then & not
before shall a Panchayat of 5 persons be appointed to try the
p. 7 The Commissioner being of opinion that as much
as possible of the *administration of justice* should
be left to the *natives* & that in distinguishing between
true & false evidence, the whole lire of an European
devoted to that object would not place him on a
level with an intelligent Panchayat- excepting
in cases of the most glaring injustice or when
corruption or gross partiality can be proved when
a new trial might be granted but that in no
instance should the opinion of the minority form
the basis of the decree nor should a new trial on
any account be granted in ordinary cases merely
because the Panchayat may appear to have decided
erroneously

1.(the Presiding Judge: the head of the Court)

f205 {written in the top left corner}

Caird

? Assn Work cultural
Peacock Societies
all over India
4why do not native
gentlemen

Syed Ali

4 The native gentlemen feel & reciprocate
our want of sympathy They would like to
ape us

to ape Sepoys attendants in ridiculous uniforms
magnificent sums to build Instns

Why can't Englishmen try to interest & cooperate with
& draw native gentlemen into schemes of organization
not alms giving for benefiting the poor peasants

They won't do it without our impulse -

We try to Christianize by *religious* redemption in Tinnevelly &
Why don't we try to enlist native gentlemen in plans
of *Economic* redemption for their people?

A man not a bureaucracy must start this kind
of thing.

To Lord Napier

5 In all the Bombay Presy Reports, the
willingness of the

Ryot to take the (Irrign) water seems in direct

propn

to the degree he was out of the usurer's clutches

3. E. Mysoreans

behaved so admirably

But in private infn from officials the exacting of
bribes & corruption of the P.W. overseers (natives)
seems

at beginning of Famine
how?

the real reason of the slowness of the cultivator
(where it existed it did not exist in Sind) to take
the water [In Sind the people help themselves to the

water]

This seems a thing almost impossible for us to touch,
(except we had village communities in Irrign - Irrigating

Co-operative Stores for if the biggest villain of the P. W.

overseers

is punished, the smaller villains, his comrades, unite to ruin the unfortunate
complainant.

Should you think it possible that this
enormous evil of the corruption of native P. W. overseers & other petty
native officials could be enquired into & touched by some scheme of
taking the opinion of Panchayats of native experts in various districts

It seems as if we could not get near the evil. We *must* create a public
opinion

{the following sentence is written along the right edge of the page}

Native tribute of their {illeg} {illeg} giving about it

f206

suit - These five persons shall not be nominated either by the Siskar authorities or the parties in the cause but shall be taken by rotation from the aggregate list of Panchayatdars wh. is kept in the Court & should any person whose name stands next on the list for employment be sick or engaged on another trial in any other Court or be objected to & rejected for reasons hereafter set down - then the next on the list shall be taken & so on

& & &

f207

{there are notes written in various directions on the sheet}
{vertically in the right margin}

Adm report of '72
Agrarian Riots at Pubna

~~Polish peasant~~

for

killing Ld Lister

corrupt upper class

100 landlords or their agents Trepoff Sunday lectures on

killed a year in Russia

the Scriptures

Indian peasant

or a landlord locked up & word

like saying the

sent to Czar for taking their property themselves

European peasant

& then

Bengal Ryots have found out how to murder their he's sent

Zemindars: murderers can't be found

to Siberia

Russian peasant much better off than Bengal ryots

Russian peasant

If they get representation

cucumber & salt black bread

then Russia need not be feared

Bengal peasant

for there will be a peace party

rice & salt fish & vegetables

They want internal reform & not conquest

"We want our Govt to go to war

& to be defeated

then we shall

have reform

(over)

f207v

Polish peasant (emancipated serf) much better off
under Russian than under their own landlords

Tcherkasski

Men in the Dekkan So of Mahableschwur, said
to the Marathi chiefs who were exciting them to
revolt We know ~~what~~ how we were off under

you And we know how we are off now.
{written at right angles to the above}

over
Crimean War gave us
reform & killed

Nicolas

f208

low assessment on rich land } Mr. Caird
 3 rupees an acre } June 21

high assessment on poor land
 2 rupees an acre ~~ma~~

no comparison expendence as great for cultivating
 { poor as rich land

freight of wheat coming down to
sea from Punjab = rent of land
 in England

from sea home = another rent
 yet there is a profit
at 1d. per ton: very cheap
(but canals are at 1/20 per ton)

Berars

taken from

 Sir Salar Jung's master

most fertile land

 Sir George Yule

 won't join the Council

 India
natives so teachable
 Mr. Campbell brother of Sir
 Geo
 introduction of jute
 followed every where

{upside down at the bottom}

Inland Customs (Sugar) abolished

 Mr. Stanhope June 19

f208v

factories for sugar & for other things
this is the way to make them get money on the
Spot & get relief of the money lenders.
Sugar machines manufactured in India
don't extract 50 per cent of the sugar
but people won't give more than say £3
they can't afford a perfect instrument
Salt hedge 2300 miles
soda imported from England
we give a Settlement of 30 years to
the intermediate man & we think
it a great favour to the ryot to compel
10 years to be given to him to cultivate
- he pays rent to the intermediate
man who pays assessment to the Government

Strachey
Caird
Cunningham
Peel (illeg Ketiwur?)
Ballard (Madras)
2 Natives Hyderabad
Bolton (Wolapore)
Elliot

unsigned notation, f209, pen

f209

Mr. Schrottky's Rational Agriculture in India
(as to the diminution of the productiveness
of the soil of India)
recently published at Bombay.

f211v

What's the G.G. to ~~hav~~ consider?
how to keep down the aggressiveness
of the Governors

{the following notes are written diagonally across the page}

If there is a judgement
the j. on those who enter on
a war without counting
the lives lost - no one does
Sir R. Rawlinson says **[9:934]**
a million of lives lost in
Crimean War

F.N. - a million of lives lost
every year from fever & Epidemics
in India **[end 9:934]**

Sir S. Canning & Ld Palmerston
made Crimean War
Sir S. Canning on fleet
entering Baltic "And I am
avenged" {diagonal notes end}

Cr. Pr. of Germany present Emperor -
Montenegrin Sword
handing it to Mr. Gladstone
I hate War

Salisbury & Lytton made the ~~Burmese~~/ Affghan
War
Gladstone & Granville the Soudan War
&
bombard Alexandria
Religion & without
a declaration of War

unsigned lists, ff212-13, pencil

f212

Ld Lansdowne What say to him? {archivist: [1888]}

Ld Dufferin ? ask him about
the linking village
community to larger
territorial area

Mr. Cunningham

Sir D. Galton

Mr. Hewlett

f213

To see {archivist: [1888 bef. Nov]}

 Sir Redvers Buller

 Col Ardagh

 going out with Ld Lansdowne

how to keep personal responsibility
& give it the weight that a
few good men of knowledge
& experience would give it

 poor human nature
jealousy there's a great deal
 of that

unsigned notes, f214, pencil

f214

 Indian Reform Socy 9/6/89

If it would be possible it ought to be carried
out by a combined body of proper men, friends of the
Indian Reformers & by friends of the Govt
 take the opinion of independent men in/from India
 not officials but either Civil or
 Military

Ld Randolph not men looking to
 be employed again
 the 6 men of the ~~Sub~~/Working Committee the important men
Sir Neville Chamberlain

unsigned notes, ff215-16v, pencil

f215

Causes of the Mutiny in Oude, Rohiliund (Budäon)

- 1 estates sold harshly, by Civil courts decree, during 12 or 15 years
by fraud or chicanery
2. our revenue system, destroying gentry & breaking up
village communities

These causes disorganized districts

1. ancient proprietary, families of rank or influence - displaced
for new men (Govt officials or traders), absentee - became tenantry
on lands once theirs but maintained their hereditary hold on cultivators
New proprietary body instead of helping our Govt, came for help
in Mutiny

Great abuse of power in the Civil Courts: reckless decreeing
sale of rights & interests in soil for petty debts
old families thro' whom alone we could control rural millions

f216

against us with their hereditary retainers

rural Socy in N.W.P. thus inflammable

chupalties (fiery Cross) passed with amazing rapidity

? from Barrackpore

old proprietors murdered the auction purchasers &

resumed possession = thews & sinews of country

hated our Govt

Civil Courts: real cause of mutiny in Oude

rural classes hated sepoys - no sympathy about

cartridges &c - all a question of soil rights

Edwards - Collector of Budaon

"Personal Adventures Indian Rebellion in Rohilund Futtihphur & Oude

Smith & Elder 1858

65 Cornhill

Native Mulahs (Civil Revenue Offrs of Govt) employed in
Oude after annexation - curse of country

English Collectors & Officials treated native Chiefs &
Rajpoots as Gentlemen, made them sit, conversed affably

f216v

"However our own frames may change or our power of
comprehension vary, He remains the same, yesterday,
today & for ever"

"repeated subject of prayer for guidance as to what
course we should pursue -

"I went into my room & prayed
earnestly that God wd protect & Edwards
guide me & enable me to do my duty
I then summoned my koliwah & arranged
with him as best we could for the peace
& safety of the town"

unsigned notes, ff217-19, pencil

f217

Bengal ~~Rent Law Bill~~/ Tenancy Act
how succeeds?

Central Provinces Tenancy Act
tenants' rights to waste lands
main lands for village duties
can't be transferred or sold
not under contract of partnership
with landlord, can't be ejected but his tenant
might at close of partnership

f218 {archivist: [late 1890s]}

- 1 Occupancy rights or Fixity of Tenure
every resident ryot to have occupancy rights
3 years' cultivation to make a resident ryot
- 2 Fair Rents: here where ryots' payments fixed by
authority of Govt ? Right of Enhancement
- 3 Complete public record of holdings of ryots
- 4 Free sale - if sale be to another cultivator
- 5 Take from Ryot power of contracting himself
out of his rights: e.g. his occupancy rights
- 6 Effective penalties for illegal exacting
- 7 Regular survey - re-establishment of public
accountants
- 8 Behars - compensation for disturbance: accurate,
public register: more active administration
Illegal distraint
Amalgamating holdings, so as to destroy
evidence of continuous holdings
Rents in kind

f219

Present Bill

Fixity of Tenure, Fair rent Free sale
notwithstanding any contract to the contrary

- 1. Ryot may use the land any way not unfitting it
- 2 " may make improvements
- 3. must pay rent at fair rates
- 4 can't be ejected except under decree
- 5 may sublet
- 6 interest transferable
- 7 " to descent like land

unsigned notes, ff220-22, pencil

f220

Louis

Urith Tuesday Feb /99
who Viceroy? {printed address:} 10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.

Ld Mayo

sent circular to all/every District
Officers to know what was
to be had in his District
that we might not be
sending to England for it

Ld Curzon
no Advertisements } in India
no competitions }

Secy conservative
~~Sir~~ Ld George Hamilton

present Viceroy?

Curzon son of a Lord

Ld Under Secretary Onslow?

who the S. of S? Ld G. Hamilton

{f221 is blank}

f221v

Urith - to an Engineer at
Ihansi
Ld Rosebery

dancing

f222

Irrigation Wells 90 000

famine Chingleput - Cuddapah

Govt loan

will not go on when water

comes dripping on them

{the previous lines have a diagonal line drawn through them}

Sir W. Hunter Civil Service a judge -

on Council of 5 successive Viceroys

?Dalhousie Lawrence

100 Vols Mayo Ripon

Stat -survey Northbrook Dufferin

Lytton - did

not approve

& got leave for 7 years

unsigned report, ff223-24, typewritten

f223 {archivist: [c.1888-1889]}

[10:836]

The Viceroy of India is the representative of the Queen and people of England. He is not a figure of a bureaucracy. It is obviously impossible for him to get up the details of a number of measures necessarily new to him but of which, the Civil servants, who have been there in India for 10 or 20 years, are thoroughly conversant, from top to bottom.

The only thing that a Viceroy can possibly do to master these subjects is to hear both sides. Let him learn who are the liberal ones of the high officials about him and then through these, let him keep in touch with the native leaders. Let him hear what the native leaders have to say and let him have communication through these with the leaders of the National Congress along others. The native leaders have always something to say of importance to the Viceroy to know upon every measure which the high officials, however experienced, cannot possibly see the drift of without native information and the Anglo-Indian officials despise the Viceroys, however much they may flatter him, who is entirely in their hands; while they reverence him, however much they may cry down the natives, if they find that ~~the~~ he impartially seeks information from both sides, - liberal and non-liberal - Anglo-Indian officials European on-officials and native leaders and is no puppet in the hands of any

f224

II

It is stated, and I believe truly, that a very few of the Mahamedans are really enemies of the National Congress. These are they, who still believe in the return of the ascendancy of their own rule and who are the ones, who are really hostile to the English rule, while the National Congress and those who are supporting it, are really supporters and strong holds of the English rule and who wish to make it stronger and more popular by their Resolutions and information.

The Mohamedans are, it is said - one-fifth or one-sixth of the whole population of India about 200 millions, but from this one-fifth or one-sixth you must take away quite two-thirds, who are the Mahomedans of hostile Bengal and who are not of the conquering Mohamedan race, but are akin to the Hindus and who do not - in the least, share the fanatical and domineering prepossessions of the Mohamedans of whom we have been speaking, who are generally of the Wahabee faction and belonging to the frontier or to Patua. [ed: Pabna] **[end 856]**

unsigned lists, ff225-25v, pencil

f225

1897 Whitaker's Almanach p. 150

Secy of State

Lord Stanley	1858
Sir C. Wood	} - 59
Earl de Grey & Ripon	} 6056
(Ld Salisbury) V. Cranbourne	- 66
S. Northcote	- 68
D. Argyll	- 68
Salisbury }	- {74
Cranbrook }	to {
Hartington }	{ - 80
Kimberley }	to {
Churchill	{ 85
Kimberley	- 85
Cross	- 86
Kimberley	- 86
Ld. Geo. Hamilton	- 92
	- 95

f225v

<i>Viceroy</i> s	appointed
Canning	1857 or 8
Elgin	1862
Lawrence	1864
Mayo	1869
Northbrook	1872
Lytton	1876
Ripon	1880
Dufferin	1884
Lansdowne	1888
Elgin	1894

Whitakers Almanach 1897
p. 447.

T.O.

unsigned notes, ff226-34, pencil

f226**[10:887-90]**

What ~~so much of~~/constitutes my responsibility in India?

*Viceroy*s

'57 Mutiny

1. *Lord Canning* India passed under the Crown?
Nothing Sanitary was done then '59-'60
Lady Canning was the first who did Nurses
[I had had the advantage of knowing her as the
active one of Committee when I (August '53- Oct '54)
had the Hospl for poor Gentlewomen
in Harley St]
- 2 *Lord Elgin died on the Himalayan pass*
'63 ~~almost suddenly~~
Lord Stanley succeeded to our 2nd (Indian)
R. Commission when Sidney Herbert took
'59 Office as S. of S. for War in
'61 & died in
'57 He Ld Stanley was S. of S. for India in '57 -
that introduced me to him
& I got the 2nd R. C. from him personally
1859-63 (4 years) Dr. Sutherland & I were abstract
-ing the 3 Sanitary reports from each of the
Stations in India, called for by S. Herbert
This induced Ld Stanley to think me an authority

Viceroy

'63 He (Ld Stanley) came to me on Ld Elgin's sudden prostration to consult whether he should name Sir John Lawrence as his successor [Sir C. Wood was then S. of S. for India]
 Sir J. Lawrence was examined on S. Herbert's 2nd R. Commn - [S. Herbert made me privately examine all the men I knew ~~to find~~ in the Crimean War to find out what they knew, to be examined in his first R. Comm: he did it also, but less on his (2nd) R. Comm (Indian)
 S. Herbert always said: we don't want to 'catch out' these men - we want to find what they know
 And I did it (at 30 Old Burlington St which was sometimes called the little W.O.

Hence I had a great knowledge of Sir J. Lawrence
 I gave Ld Stanley all the information I could, showed how he had saved India to us in Mutiny
 Sir J. Lawrence was, I believe, the first instance of an Indian Service man taking high Office from England - he was to go out in 10 days' time, taking temporary Office if Ld Elgin was better, permanent if Ld Elgin was dead
 Ld Elgin was dead when Sir J. Lawrence arrived

Viceroy

Ld Stanley said: would I see Sir John Lawrence? He (Ld S.) would send him And Ld Stanley actually came like a footman to the door afterwards to ask if I had seen him. I had -

3 Sir John Lawrence

'63 to Jany '69 Dr. Sutherland & I constructed the whole of the Sanitary administration arrangements for all India, adopted by Sir J. Lawrence X

[Sir Bartle Frere came on the tapis, I think, during Sir J. Lawrence's Vice-royalty -

He became Senior Member or head of the India Council (I.O.) He always helped me with all his might. Sir J. Lawrence's first Private Secy (a Doctor) was a goose]

X These arrangements were ultimately altered (with our consent) by subsequent Viceroy x to give them Executive power But it did not answer - They could not get any money - I don't know how they are doing now. Sanitary Commissioners seem doing the work

x I think Ld Dufferin

f229

-4-

Viceroy

4 Lord Mayo

Jan 69 Sir B. Frere it was, I think, who introduced
to Feb 72 me to him, & I saw him more than once before
he started - & he corresponded with me all
the time of his (too brief) Vice-royalty.

Ld Mayo was principally guided by Sir B.
Frere & me in Sanitation & Agriculture -

I say nothing of his splendid services in
foreign policy, in his feudatory States &
native Chiefs policy, in which doubtless Sir B.

Frere helped him -

I think he was the most open man, except
Sidney Herbert, I ever knew -

I think Lord Stanley said of *him*: he
did these things not from calculation but
from the nature of his mind

Ld Mayo said himself: his Irish
experience with a "subject race" was
so useful to him in India -

he said he was certainly the only Viceroy
who ever sold his own cattle in market

f230

Viceroy V -5-

Lord Mayo was murdered by a Mahometan
convict in the Andaman Islands

Feb. '72- It was a tremendous blow to us -
but it is said the Native Chiefs were
entirely heart stricken

my father died Jan '74

5 Lord Northbrook wrote to me

Here follows a certain gap
owing to my having been ordered off
in the height of the session to Norwood
or to Lea Hurst to take care of my
dear mother -

more of this under Lord Salisbury's
head

6 Lord Lytton no communication at all

tho' he had employed me ~~as~~/when Col: Secy

I was very glad not to be employed
by him.

f231

Viceroy -6-

'80 Lord Ripon's

very decided policy inaugurated quite a
new policy/era in India -

It was to take the actual administration ~~wh~~ in
the rural districts from the hands of the low
paid, corrupt, extortionate, petty native officials who
alone represent the British raj in Indian eyes
& put it into the hands of the respectable
villagers - villages having been self-governing
republics with a headman as Mayor from
time immemorial -

His policy was also - the India Govt being the
largest customer in the world - to take
everything that can be got in India as
good or better - as cheap or cheaper - not
from England but from India - A Circular
was sent to all District Officers to report
upon what was made in their District
And the discoveries were astonishing

old woman enemy

Land Tenures va sans dire

f232

Viceroy -7-

Lord Ripon

I cannot remember when I was first
referred to about Land Tenures - especially in
But the thing is to remember the Bengal
Blue Books, Bills, Acts there have been

I wrote a paper which was read by Sir
Bartle Frere before an Indian Association
which gives information about these X & the
whole gist of them

The Indian Tenancy ~~Bill~~/Act does not
seem to have been very successful -

I was able to give information to Lord
Ripon about what was doing at home -
to see Lord Dufferin about it before
he went out & to communicate with
Lord Ripon

Ld R. also helped us much about
Sanitation

X I have still printed copies of this paper -

f233

Viceroy

-8-

Lord Dufferin endeavoured without much
success to put Sanitary Committees
on an official footing

Lady Dufferin: female

Doctors

Lord Lansdowne did much for us in every
way

Lord Elgin started a Village Sanitary
Record Book to help the scheme
of Health

which will be most useful Missioners

Unfortunately everything has been stopped
by Famine with which the Govt of India
is nobly coping but all not like the Govt men they
might have had from every
& by Plague District

What are the causes by which the Raiyats
fall so quickly during the first dry season
One is: the Civil Courts interfering between
raiayats & money lenders
{illeg milled ? illeg illeg}

blackening the Queen's stature
Great charity of the people to one another
even the money lenders Sir W. Wedderburn
8 or 10 Good people to be found in every large village [end 10:890]

f234

Ld Ripon

Sketch of Viceroy

Policy

Pamphlet

Sketch

√

"The Dumb shall Speak"

{the following is enclosed in a box, not in FN's hand

Note by Sir E. Cook 1897

This is of great interest -
for several reasons, the only
expressly auto biographical note - gives
a few new facts.}

{in the left margin: found with papers of 1898-99}

Viceroy &
Secretaries of State
for India

Since the Mutiny
& Sanitary Commissioners

old BL21 correspondence on India, miscellaneous, India: 50036, 50134, 50210, 51277, 51278

Add Mss 50036, paper copies, 2 letters

signed letter, ff283-89v, pen

f283

Private London July 25 1867 **[9:582-84]**
Rt. Honble
Sir Stafford Northcote M. P.
Sir

I should be afraid
of thus venturing to
address you but that
I believe Lord Stanley
has already kindly
spoken with you
about the matter -

Capt. Galton also
promised his co-operation.

My apology for writing
to you on a matter
intimately affecting
the health of H. M.'s
British troops in India
is - that I took part
in the R. Commission
for enquiry into the
"Sanitary state of the
Indian Army",
appointed in 1859
by Lord Stanley

f253v

when he was Secretary
of State for India
and presided over
first by Sidney Herbert
& then by Lord Stanley

Ever since that time
I have been lending
what little aid I can
to the improvement
of Indian Stations,
Sanitary service,
Hospitals & the like.

On these subjects I
have been in frequent
communication with
Sir John Lawrence
& the authorities both
in India & here -
& have received papers
both from India direct
& from Government offices
here -

A short time ago I
thus saw a paper
entitled: -
"Public Works Department,
"Letter 1 April (No 61) 1867 -
"As to the relative merits
"of doors & windows for

"Barracks & Hospitals
"for European troops in
"India,"
in which the different
constructive arrangements
on this point are
entered into.

X My present object
in venturing to trouble
you is - not to
discuss this matter
but rather to ask
your consideration
of the *means* by which
the decision of the
India Government was
arrived at.

And these I will
state in as few words
as possible. but, in
doing so, it will be
necessary to go back
to the history of the
matter.

The R. Commission
which, after 4 years'
hard work, reported
in 1863, recommended
the appointment of

f284v

three Commissions of Health in India - one for each Presidency - to advise the local Government on all questions referring to the health of the country.

These Commissions were appointed by Sir John Lawrence (Feb. 2, 1864) immediately after he went out, in accordance with a Despatch from Sir Charles Wood (Mily No 297. Aug 15, 1863) which however was not acted upon till Sir J. Lawrence became Governor Genl, (in the following January.)

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

X They have not adopted any organized system of procedure by Health Officers, as was recommended by Lord Stanley's R. Commission - & such as we have in this country.

√ [There are Officers of Health connected with the Municipalities of Bombay & Calcutta. - but no *Government* Health Officers.]

There is, in fact, no Sanitary organization properly so called.

And, at last, two at least of the Presidency Commissions have been broken up (to save cost) retaining however the Heads & Secretaries -
- and the name, tho' without the constitution and organization in detail, recommended by the R. Commission - and without substituting

f235v

any other constitution,
which increasing local
experience might have
pointed out as more
efficient.

In a Minute by the
Governor Genl & the
other members of
Council, (Jany 9, 1866) January 9, 1866
it was finally proposed
to make the duty of
Inspector of Health a
part of the duty of
Inspectors of Prisons.

[This Minute was,
unfortunately, mislaid
in the India Office here,
& could not be found
for Lord de Grey, till
he found it himself
on May 5, 1866.]

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

June 1866

a Minute embodying his views as to the necessity of re-considering the future organization of the Health Service in India.

We are not aware, whether, during subsequent Ministerial changes, any action has been taken, with regard to this organization of a more efficient Health Service.

But recent papers have shewn that the whole matter has gone to ruin - & that, if any good is to come of the Royal Commission, over which Lord Herbert & Lord Stanley successively presided, some immediate action is necessary at home.

f286v

This particular case
may be put (as an
illustration of the whole)
in a few propositions -

1. the R. Commission
recommended certain
principles for ventilating x
Barracks & Hospitals

2. these principles were
approved & sent to
India in a detailed x
form for local application
to suit local circumstances.

- by the India Office -
as "Suggestions in regard
"to Sanitary works
"required for improving
"Indian Stations." July 15,
1864.

[These "Suggestions" were
prepared at the request
of the S. of S. for India
in Council, conveyed
in letters dated Dec. 8,
1863 & May 20, 1864 -
which again were
written at the request
of the Indian authorities.]

3. The Government in India, instead of proceeding to apply the principles, by the assistance of their three Health Commissions, sent the whole subject abroad all over India to the following authorities: -

√

- I. Local Governments & administrators
- II. Local Sanitary Commissions
- III. Local Medical authorities
- IV. Local Military authorities
- V. Local Public Works Officers
- VI. Local Committees.
All over Bombay - Madras,
Bengal - N. W. Provinces,
Punjab, - Straits, -
British Burmah, -
Central Provinces, -
Oudh, - Mysore, -
Hyderabad, - Rajpootana, -
Central India,
the foolscap wanders
collecting opinions on

f287v

the universal suffrage principle.

As already mentioned, the effective constitution, such as it was, of two of the Presidency Sanitary Commissions had been broken up, so that they no longer represented the recommendation of the R. Commissioners; -

- nor indeed do they responsibly represent anything now, except a new element of discord & disunion, a new element of uncertainty.

And none of the other authorities to whom the question was sent, have any knowledge of it, except the Medical authorities.

It is the nature of

this procedure which has alarmed all who take an interest in the future health, Civil & Military, of India.

We feel that it is impossible, with such a course of proceeding, that good can ever come.

[It is not only that "too many cooks spoil the broth." It is that actually many of the "cooks", invited to make the "broth", are not "cooks" at all - no more "cooks" than are Railway clerks or Boards of Guardians.]

As it is, all Sanitary progress in India is impossible. And the great question now is: - how to put

f288v

the India health Service
once for all on a
satisfactory footing.
this would indeed be
a noble service
for a Secretary of State
to render to India.

This was the point
raised by Lord de
Grey. Might I
venture to suggest
that reference be
made to his Minute
again? -

The Character of the
organization required
can only be decided
after thorough
consideration of the
problems to be met.

These last papers
have merely shown
that those who feared
the prospective
destruction of the

Health question in
India, from the
delay in working out
any Public Health
Service at all -
as also in working
out any efficient
responsible constitution
for the Sanitary
Commissions in India
- had but too much
reason for their
fears.

And these papers
afford the best
possible ground
for taking up the
whole question
again - & for
giving to the Secretary
of State some effective
control, & the means
of knowing what is
being done to protect
the health of India.
It is in the hope

f289v

of being able to aid
in this that I have
taken the courage to
address you.

I had already written
to Lord Stanley as the
surviving President
of his own R.
Commission..And
he kindly said that
he would speak
with you on the
subject.

Pray believe me

Sir

ever your faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

[end 9:585]

ff293-93v, July 30, 1887, copy of a letter to FN in response to her letter
re sanitary problems in India

signed letter, ff295-301, pen

f295

Private July 31/67
{printed address:} 35 South Street,
Park Lane,
London. W.

Dear Sir Stafford Northcote

I am very much alive to [9:589-91]
the great kindness of your
note of July 30.

And it would be most
ungrateful to/of me to press
for a decision now at
such a moment of pressure
of business.

But I do not.

What I venture to say now
is suggested by a passage
in your very kind note -
And it is only written (now)
in the hope that it will
be taken into consideration

f295v

when the time comes for your
taking the whole subject
into consideration (of the
India Public Health Service)

In carrying out any measures
for protecting Public Health
in India, you most truly
say that due regard should
be had to local information
& local peculiarities - &
even to local "habits &
prejudices."

It is just because we had
this principle so intensely
in view that we have
been so confounded by
the turn that things have

f296

lately taken.

The principle, it is needless to
say, applies rather to details
than to great leading Sanitary
works.

The immediate question
which occasioned my writing
to trouble you was precisely
one of this nature.

It regarded the application
of a great general principle
to suit local circumstances -
and the gist of the whole
out-cry I am making
(against the method pursued
by the Government in India)
is this: - that, instead of
proceeding to apply the
principle to suit local

f296v

circumstances, they threw the question broad=cast over all India to all classes of persons - And after having received opinions from all manner of persons (including Medical Officers who understand the point -) - the Government in India passed a Minute in the teeth of the advice they had asked for - and determined to apply an iron rule to the almost infinite variety of circumstances to which ventilation has to be applied. But, more than this: - we venture to object to the method of application

f297

-2-

of principles which the Government of India has adopted in this case, because it is known to be intrinsically mischievous, & because we have a decision of a R. Commission, presided over by Lord Herbert & Lord Stanley, which points out what the administrative principle ought to be.

Three (Presidency) Health Commissions were recommended & appointed And, connected with these, there were to have been Officers of Health & Executive authorities. Health questions in India

f297v

comprise two classes: -

1. those of Military stations
& the populations about
them

2. those of groups of
population where there
are no Military stations.

Both have to be provided
for.

Both require authorities to
administer under the
advice of the Commissions
on all special questions
- & also laws & regulations
to be administered.

Both require inspection.

Both require funds.

And, what is of great
importance, the India
Office here should keep its

f298

hand so over the work in
India that it should know,
almost by every mail,
what is being done to
improve Stations & people.
And it ought to be able to
check the work and to
report annually to Parliament.
[Even in France this is done
as regards Algeria. And
the Reports are published
annually to show the
progress in well = being &
health of the whole
community, civil & military;
Almost every case of disease
is reported, at least of
special diseases. These are
noble Reports - (I
wish I might
venture to send you some)
I take the liberty of sending you the Algerian
Report by a Commission sent out from our War Office.

f298v

& might well excite our
ambition to "go & do
likewise" for India.]

The practice now in India
has been little more than
playing with one of the
greatest questions of our
foreign Empire.

Because people must live,
in order to work.

And a Secretary of State for
India who really set about
this great question might
save as many lives as
the first Napoleon destroyed
lives.

[It is a melancholy fact
that we English die out {printed address, upside down:}
35 South Street, everywhere, because
Park Lane, we will not learn
London. W.

what the natural laws are

f299

-3-

which we must obey in
order to live.

e.g. in Bermuda, in
Demarara, Mauritius -
and in India itself.

It is a miserable thing which
constantly comes before me
in my small way, when
called upon to send out
Trained Nurses to our
foreign possessions.

We can't depend upon the
offspring of Europeans
living, the girls to be trained (say as
Nurses - no, not even the boys to
supply our drummer-boys.

We must be always
importing from England -
& this only to die.]

Recurring epidemics are the

f299v

result of want of
civilization - of neglect
in applying preventive
agencies, ready to our
hand.

It is not as if the questions
were *new*.

Everything is known.

There is one thing only wanting: -
viz. "intelligent doing."

There is no question of the
land so great as this
Indian health question.

I know from educated
natives themselves that
we have made the natives
think more about it
than we have been able
to induce Government to
act.

And now is the time to
begin.

Great hopes have been
entertained since you have
assumed the Secretary ship
of State.

[But, above all, I would
not be understood to be
worrying just now for
action this minute.]

If I might venture to suggest,
it would be that the
subject should be
considered here before
Sir John Lawrence is
written to.

Sir John Lawrence's great
kindness to me has
enabled & encouraged
me to write to him

(privately) on all these
Sanitary affairs - and
I have written to him
on this very point - (this
famous "doors & windows"
paper.)

But what we really want
is not so much to deal
with the present case
as to enter on a new
phase altogether - & to
organize a Health Service
once for all.

What we really want is
re=consideration &
re=organization - {printed address, upside down:}
35 South Street, re=consideration on the
Park Lane, part of the
London. W. Secretary of State,
of course in conjunction with the

f300

-4-

Governor- Genl - & the
Presidency Governors afterwards
It is not a difficult matter
to do -
only it requires to be done.
And it ought to be
considered just as
much in the Estimates.
- and, (if I might
take the great liberty of
saying so) be considered
also just as much a part
of the current work of
the Secretary of State for
India In Council as
any other part of the
Public service.

At this moment there is
a member of Council

f300v

- just come home from
India - & of large Indian
experience - who
thoroughly understands
the whole subject.

I am afraid that it will
require a very large
measure of your indulgence
to enable you to pardon,
if you do pardon, this long
letter.

I scarcely venture to say
that, having had this
work well '*grimed in*' to
me from the beginning,
I should esteem it the
greatest favour to be

f301

allowed to communicate
with you on the subject,
at any time or in any
way least inconvenient
to yourself - [end 9:591]

Pray believe me
ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

Rt. Honble
Sir Stafford H. Northcote Bart.
&c &c M.P.

Add Mss 50134, microfilm, correspondence with Balfour, copies in 45772 ff230-83, with his letters to FN, Adam Matthew reel 85

signed letter, f1, pen

f1

My dear Sir

I find to my great regret that I shall not have time to come & see the little Military tradesmen on Monday as you so kindly invited me, but will come any other day in the week that you are likely to be at home. I write this for fear you should stay at home on my account. Believe me

ever faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale

22 Albemarle St W

Feb 22/57

signed letter, ff2-6v, pen

f2 {archivist: [25 Apr] 1857?

My dear Sir

[15:263]

I send you the rough notes, from which Mr. Herbert compiled his letter to Lord Panmure, upon the subject of the "Instructions" - I subsequently put into Lord Panmure's hands "Form No II" because I was afraid that such subjects as Barrack accommodation, Dietetic matters of Army

f2v

condition of wives &c far more important than mere Hospital matters to health of Army, as you have shewn (in point of clothing, dieting & lodging in the Asylum would not come under Form No 1.

With regard to condition of wives, it is impossible that, in a civilized country, with an Army where the soldier does not serve by conscription for a comparatively

f3

short term of years, the question which affects so largely the moral & sanitary state of our Army can be much longer blinked

Lord Panmure has written to me to say that he will bring me the Draft Instruction to shew on Monday at 12 o'clock - I intended to have waited to send you these till I could

f3v

really shew you those
which are to be. But
on second thoughts, I
send them, such as they
are

Mr. Herbert is
committed in honor to
the thing. Dr. Alexander
is burning for the fight
And I hope we shall
do well.

I must ask you not
to shew any of this to
any one - & I will send
you the Instructions as
soon as I get them in
private, - I know Lord

{from the top of f2}

Panmure has some trickery
in his head, tho' I do not
see exactly what

faithfully yours

F. Nightingale

[end]

f4

(1.) To review the existing regulations of the War Department relating to Army Hospitals at home, abroad & in the field -

To direct particular attention to the distribution of duties especially as to the organization of improvements, & the introduction of measures calculated to make these establishments keep pace with the medical science of the day.

To examine the organization of the Medical Department

To enquire into the entire system of Finance & Supply

f4v

To examine the entire system of Returns & Statistics, whether Medical, Financial, Material, or Military -

Reviewing the historical facts of the losses to the British army from disease in 1854-5 & its surprising healthiness in 1856, to enquire whether the one might have been controlled more effectually by a different system of medical administration, & whether the other is attributable to causes which are of a permanent character, & may be relied on to prevent a recurrence of the preceding sufferings -

f5

(2.) Starting from the
Estimates, Staff

Regimental
Stores

to ascertain what
responsibility the
D.G. Medical Dept
has for them

(3.) what for the construction
& fitting up of Hospitals

(4.) what for the character,
quality & quantity
of needful supplies,
under every denom=
nation; & if requisite,

point out how

medical experience
can be brought to bear
more effectually on
all these particulars

(5) The thing to trace,
all through will be
where authority

becomes *discontinuous* -

(6) Having got at the
principles of our
Medical administration

f5v

the enquiry should
review the practice -
Do the Medical Officers
generally, especially
the P.M.O. find them-
selves unfettered &
able to deal with
disease to the greatest
advantage - If not,
what do they wish
altered.

Examine Doctors
Can the Purveyor conduct
his business exactly
as he thinks it should
be conducted with a
view to efficiency &
economy.

Examine Purveyors
& so on for
Military Commandants
Paymasters
Staff Officers
Commanding Officers
Storekeepers

By leading intelligent
men of each class to
relate their difficulties
& grievances, I think
that the truth will
be elicited, &
materials furnished
on which to bare
practical
recommendations -

f6

II

To enquire into & report on the
observation of the regulations in force
respecting the administration (1)
Medical attendance (2)
& supplies (3)

of Army Hospitals -
& into the regulations in force for
securing the health of the Army
both at home & abroad & into
all matters referring thereto.

signed letter, ff7-8v, pen, typed copy 45772 f230

f7

Private 30 Old Burlington St
& Confidential W

April 27/57

[14:487]

My dear Sir

I send you enclosed
what was finally decided
upon this morning as
to Names & Instructions.

If some slip has not
yet come between our
cup & our lips, it will
receive the Queen's
signature on Friday
week. But Dr. Smith
has not yet seen it.

f7v

and my Lord is, as I
have often found, the
most bully-able of
mortals - Every one of
the Members of the
Commn has been
carried by force of will
against Dr. A. Smith
& poor Pan has been
the shuttlecock.

The Draft I send
you is an exact copy
of this morning's work
You will see the original
covered none of the ground
included in what I sent you.

f8

(the parts between
brackets were inter-
polated this morning
the erasures are
sic - the Marginal
note is still under
consideration. Pan
won't have the "wives" in
& I will) You will
see curious traces of
the struggle to exclude
& the struggle to include
all Reform in the
progress of this MS
Please return it
to me immediately, if

f8v

possible, as I have no
copy.
I have some respect
for your & Col. Tulloch's
battle with the Chelsea
Board, "for sure such
gallant feat of arms
was never done before -"
But I think I am
not without merit
for labouring at
bullying Pan which is
a petty kind of warfare
very unpleasant

Yours very faithfully
F. Nightingale

[end 14:487]

signed letter, ff9-10, pen

[14:531]

f9

My dear Sir

I should like much
if it were possible, to
see Sir Alex Tulloch's
papers before they go
to the Printer - and I
would faithfully return
them to you to night -
If it is not possible,
would you tell me
what Returns they
comprise?

2. Might I have

f9v

the Regimental Returns
you showed me yesterday,
from which you
abstracted the Table
of Pensioners who had
died under the year
which you were
kind enough to ~~show~~/give
me?

You should also
have it again to night
3. ~~But, if not,~~ Could
you let me have the
papers, if such are
in existence, by which

f10

to find ~~how~~/out for what
diseases these men
were discharged?

[end 14:531]

Believe me

ever faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale

30 Old Burlington St

Aug 18/57

signed letter, ff11-12v, pen

f11

My dear Sir

I am obliged to go
out of town tomorrow
at 11 ½ A.M. and I
fear I shall not be
back before you go -

Would you have
the kindness to send
here all the Papers
& Returns which you
are good enough to
leave in my custody

f11v -

including

1. the Sanitary papers
of the M.O.s
2. the Monthly
Musters & ~~Returns~~
during the War
3. the Total Strength,
& Mortality of the
Army, year by year - these last
being those so long
asked for from the
Adjutant-General.
4. any of Sir A.
Tulloch's Returns which

f12

you do not intend to
send to the Printer
before you go.

5. my own Evidence
& that of others

And any papers
which you will be
good enough to entrust
to me if you will
give me a List of
what they are -

Should you have
anything to say to
me, I shall be at
home tomorrow

f12v

10 ½ A.M. If not, I

shall hope to see you
when you come back.

Have you heard
from Mr. Herbert
about presenting the
Report?

With kind regards
to Mrs. Balfour, if she
is at home,

believe em,
ever faithfully yours
F. Nightingale

Aug 20/57

signed letter, ff13-15v, pen

f13

30 Old Burlington St W
Oct 7/57

[14:537]

My dear Sir

I return you your
Tables with a great many
thanks. 1. Sir A. Tulloch is
invaluable & affords the
best proof for your Report,
of what may be done
in reducing the Army Mortality
by shewing what he has
done with his personal
Sanitary measures. I
should put a Paragraph
in the Report directing
attention to it.

f13v

2. I am most curious about your Invaliding tables - (1) Does the total aggregate strength (in those I enclose) include the Invalided? (2) Or is it exclusive of the Invalided? (3) Does the total strength include the total deaths?

3. Let us have all the Sanitary correspondence I think, in what you have given me, there is

f14

internal evidence that the correspondence is complete as far as Smith, Hall, Alexander, Linton, Mouat, Menzies & others It is probably the Regimental correspondence which still requires to be added But it would not do to found any conclusions without all the data Alexander's correspondence is admirable Menzies' wretched.

f14v

4. With regard to "washing hair with salt & water" I really cannot undertake to say what my M.S. was. But I am very glad you drew my attention to it. The real fact of the matter I take ~~it~~ to be this Hair is the only material for bedding we know which *can be washed* Salt in the water is good, because ~~it~~ hair is an animal

f15

substance Soap is good
& makes the hair
flexible - After it has
been wetted, heat is the
best application. & This
easily disinfects it.
These are ~~the~~/my "nurse's"
"wrinkles" I would
simply put "It may
be washed" & leave
out the "salt & water"
or "soap & water" either
5. Any Returns
which you will entrust
me with will be

[end 14:537]

f15v

thankfully accepted -
Because they really
amuse me now - And
by & bye I shall have
more to do -
ever yours faithfully
F. Nightingale

signed letter, f16, pen

[14:540]

f16

My dear Sir
I send you my Evidence,
because I do not see how
you can castigate it or
I can improve it till we
have a Proof of this
mangled copy.

But I send it more
in hopes that you will
send me some Returns
in return than for any
thing else -

[end]

Yours very faithfully
F. Nightingale

Oct 16/57
Burl. St

signed letter, ff17-18, pen

f17

My dear Sir

I am going down to Malvern tomorrow for a few days - And Returns will be thankfully received that you will send me either there, or now per Bearer - as you so kindly promised.

I am very anxious to know how the Strength of the Army is taken every April 1 - whether

f17v

by making an Abstract of the Weekly Strengths - or whether by taking the Strength only of that day -

You will understand the bearing of my confused question -

Should you be passing my way tomorrow morning, I do not leave town till the afternoon - And a visit or note would

f18

also be thankfully received -

I should like to see the Recruiting Returns again, if you have done with them.

ever yours faithfully

Florence Nightingale

30 Old Burlington St

Oct 20/57

signed letter, f19, pen

f19

My dear Sir

[14:540]

I hear that the D.G.
is disputing my Evidence
after having written
that letter to you

If you think well,
would you make the
following corrections
in my Evidence, if
not already gone to
press? I only make
this as a suggestion
to you for your approval.

[end]

Yours ever faithfully

Thursday F. Nightingale
{archivist:} [22 Oct 1857]

signed letter, f20, pen

f20

Great Malvern
Oct 29/57

[14:541]

My dear Sir

A thousand thanks
for your two Returns &
your one note. I shall be
back in town on Saturday,
when I shall hope to
see you (some day next
week, & shall have a
great deal to ask you -
The Rations in Sir A. Tulloch's
Returns which you now
send me are somewhat
different, are not they?
from those in your Report

p. IX
for the same
periods.

Believe me
ever faithfully your
Florence Nightingale

[end 14:541]

signed letter, ff21-22v, pen

f21

30 Old Burlington St

[14:544]

W.

Nov 4/57

My dear Sir

I enclose with many
thanks, your valuable
Invaliding Reports -

I agree with you,
if you will allow me to
say so, in your criticism
on the last page -

The table of Invaliding
at different terms of
service, as it stands
(just before) would lead
to inaccurate inference

f21v

as to the loss of efficiency
from Invaliding.

The three first
columns & the fifth
give us correct informa=
tion - But can the Totals
be fairly taken as in
the 4th & 6th columns?

The final paragraph,
as you say, rests upon
a fallacy, viz. that of
these Totals

2. It would be very
desirable, if possible,
to give in a separate

f22

column, after *each*
period of invaliding,
the percentage of ~~men~~
Deaths within the year
upon the Invaliding of *that* period.
This would make a
complete set of Statistics,
& solve the whole
puzzle of our Mortality.
Can this be done?
3. The comparison ought
to be drawn period by
period & not on the
Totals.

[end 14:544]

With kind regards
to Mrs. Balfour, believe me
ever faithfully yours
F. Nightingale

T.O.

f22v

I return the French
notes, with many
thanks.
Perhaps you will be
so kind as to tell
me whether the
Deaths of Invalided
can be given for *each*
period of service?

signed letter, ff23-24v, pen

f23

My dear Sir

I return you, with many thanks, a book I ought to have returned before - your Annales Hygiéniques -

Could you give any idea of the proportion of *Pensioned* to *Invalided*? I take for granted that, in the Paper which you have prepared for your

[14:544-45]

f23v

Report, & which you were kind enough to shew me, on the subject - the two first Tables refer to Pensioned, the last to Invalided - (I mean by the last that one where you give the Ratio of Invalided to Strength) - & that there can therefore be no comparison between it & the two first Tables - What kind of proportion of the Invalided get

f24

Pensions? And do you suppose that, if the Mortality of *all* the Invalided were obtainable, it would raise the whole Mortality ~~much~~ higher still?

In looking over your Report, (I have not the last Revise) I see, p. XLVIII, that I say, "Answer to Queries, Q. 10", that "the difference between the returns of deaths given by the P.M.O. &

f24v

the Burial Returns at
Scutari alone, amounted
to no less than 280 deaths
in three months" I don't
say so - But I say, p.18
of my Evidence, Q.37, (4) that
they difference amounted to nearly
400. viz. Burials

P.M.O.'s

Deaths

1301

910

difference 391.

With kindest
regards to Mrs. Balfour
believe me

very truly yours

F. Nightingale

30 Old Burln St

Nov 17/57

{from f23}

Have you received
Proofs yet of the work
Di Tivoli was doing?

[end 14:545]

signed letter, f25, pen

f25

My dear Sir

I think the enclosed
quite perfect - I have
made three suggestions
in pencil, which you
might think improvements,
not alterations -

Thank you for Dr.
Smith's letter - What
does it mean? He has
taken the course of the
wise "Virgins", but I don't
know why

ever yours faithfully
Dec 2/57 F. Nightingale

unsigned letter fragment, f26, pen

f26 {archivist: [c. Dec 16 1857]}

I quite agree with Mr. Herbert - It would not do to assume as facts of equal value with your own (which have been obtained after so much care) ~~facts~~/Statistics, the source of which are not known to you - In truth, they are not worth a straw -

There would be no objection, however, to put in the rates of Foreign Armies in a foot note *without any further comment than simply that they "are stated"* to be so & so. ~~We~~/You must beware of vesting them with any thing like your authority -

I have the Austrian Army Statistics Will you have them? They are ~~just~~ as valueless as the others.

signed letter, ff27-28, pen

f27

Gt Malvern
Dec 31/57

My dear Sir

I am sorry to say that I have not the French Barrack Service Book which you enquire for and that I am all but certain it is not at Burlington St. Notwithstanding Dr. Sutherland's denial, I believe he has it.

& I have written to
Mrs. Sutherland,

f27v

his wife, who is the
surer person to tell
her so, & to say you
want it.

I am delighted to
hear you are so
forward with the
Report. It is of
great consequence
that it should be
out before the fools
are busy with the
Princess' marriage, &
the wise men with
the approaching "row"

f28

political in Parliament

I shall be very
glad to see your
Appendix.

Believe me
very sincerely yrs
F. Nightingale

I think this has been a
red letter year for the
troops - But I hope
the next will be
still more so.

signed letter, ff31-32, pen

f31

Gt Malvern

Jan 6/58 10 P.M.

My dear Sir

You are very good
to take so much trouble.
The same thing struck
me as has struck you -
Some alteration, *I think*,
was made when you
& I looked over my
Evidence together - But
what, I forget - Any
how, I think your
present alteration

f31v

is "the thing" - And
therefore I return
your note that you
may not have the
trouble of composing
another.

I am very glad
to hear the good news
in your kind note
of this morning. I
think you have done
wonders - And I am
sure the world is

f32

very much indebted
to you. I have no
doubt but that the
Report will be out
quite in time to do
its work before the
political & Indian
"rows" begin.

Believe me
ever sincerely yours
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff33-34, pen, typed copy 45772 f232

f33

Gt Malvern
Jan 14/58

[16:256-57]

My dear Sir

Thank you very
much for your letter
of this morning.

Could you send me
the Dietary of your boys?
I have the one (but in London)
you were once good
enough to give me.
But I was asked
yesterday to recommend

f33v

one - And, thinking
yours the best, I
promised to ask you
for it at once.

If it will take
you any time to look
it up, pray put it
off till you are less
busy.

Believe me
very sincerely yours
F. Nightingale

I mean the Dietary of

f34

your *well* boys, as
well as of your sick
ones -

I am going to write
to Greenwich for theirs.
But I think it was
inferior to yours -

If you recommend
the one at the Caledonian
Asylum, could you let
me have it at your leisure?

[end]

signed letter, ff35-36v, pen, typed copy 45772 f233

f35

Gt Malvern
Feb 5/58

[16:260]

My dear Sir

I have not been
able to thank you yet
for your *great work*,
which I received on
the 2nd. I admire
him very much - I
think he looks very
handsome - And I
cannot help congratulating
you on the successful

f35v

conclusion of this part
of your labours.

I cannot find
that the "Times" has
noticed it yet.

I rather think
that there are so
many things now
to engage people's
attention that
the effect may be
slower but not less
sure than we wish -

The only misprint

f36

that I can find is
at P. xiii, Report
it says, "Appendix P."

I was very much
obliged for your kindness
in sending me so
early a Copy - Lady
Tulloch says I make
my pillow of Blue
Books - It certainly
has been the case
with this -

Also, many thanks
for your Dietaries -
You shall have all

f36v

the others back. Yours
is much the best -
I found it afterwards
in your own Evidence.

I shall be in town
very soon, when I
shall hope to see you
& believe me, with
kindest regards to
Mrs. Balfour, ever
most faithfully yrs

F. Nightingale

I was quite satisfied
with Mr. Herbert's
answer to Dr. Smith -

[end]

signed letter, ff37-40, pen

[14:555-56]

f37

30 Old Burln St
W Feb 25/58

My dear Sir

The enclosed ought to have copies of your Report. They are not duplicates, as I looked over your lists today with Mrs. Herbert.

Thank you for the five copies, which will all be made use of.

The more they tread upon me, the more I

f37v

grow - And the more this unlucky change of Ministers oppresses me, (which however, I do not think so desperate as you do), the more anxious I am to get out our Reviews for *April* - I hear Ld Carnarvon, not Major Stuart Wortley, is to be the Under Secretary This is much better - But I believe Lord Derby will be too glad

f38

to work a neutral
question like this
in the right direction.
At the same time,
I am honest - And,
were the Derby party
to come to us with
the salvation of the
Army in their hands, &
I should still say
of Genl Peel what we
all thought of him
at the time of the
Chelsea Board.

faithfully yours

F. Nightingale

f38v

To have Copies of the Report
{in another hand:}

1. M. Melier

Inspecteur des Services
Sanitaires
Ministère de l'Interieur
à Paris

through French ambassador

2. M. Levy Directeur de l'Ecole

Imperiale de Medecine et de
Pharmacie Militaire
Val de Grace
à Paris

3. Henry Austin Esq

General Board of Health
Whitehall

4. Library of the Medical

Institution *Liverpool*

f39

the same evening

I mentioned to Mr. H.
what you desired. He
tells me that his
answer from Sir C.
Trevelyan is "on the
whole satisfactory"
But as I could not
see him to day, you
will probably know
exactly what that
means better than
I, I put it at £1000
He shewed me

f39v

your written hints about
the Return of
Guards Mortality
today -

Please give me
any news you can
about it.

He is gone now
to Sir J. Ramsden
about it.

I mean the 9 per
1000 & discharges -

f40

Could you send
to night
3 Copies of Report
to Sir J. McNeill,

Granton Ho
Edinburgh

for 3 Editors of
Reviews at Edinburgh?

& could you let
me have two more?

[end 14:556]

signed letter, ff41-43v, pen, black-edged paper

f41

30 Old Burlington St
W

April 30/58

[14:557-58]

Dear Dr. Balfour

Thank you very
much for sending
me the Guards'
Returns.

["Oh fools & slow of heart"
they had better have
let it alone.]

In looking it over,
one sees a very
different Mortality

f41v

Rate in the different
Regiments of Guards
The deaths in the
Coldstreams are 2
& in the Scots Fus.
5 per 1000 less than
in the Grenadier Gds -
On deducting the
Violent Deaths, it
makes a slight
difference - But the
great discrepancies
remain essentially

f42

the same. It appears
that the Mortality
from Phthisis is
about 2 per 1000 less
in the Colds. than
in the Gren. which
would nearly make
the difference - But
the Mortality from
Phthisis in the
Scots Fus. is 4 per 1000
less than in the Gren.
shewing a difference
unaccounted for of

f42v

1 per 1000 in favour
of the Scots Fus.

How do you explain
this difference?

And what can be
the cause of the great
difference in the
Mortality from Phthisis

The Invaliding from
Phthisis is about
4 per 1000 greater in the
Colds. And it is $2\frac{1}{2}$
per 1000 less in the Scots
Fus. than in the Gren.

f43 black-edged paper

It appears that the
Loss from Consumptive
Deaths and Invaliding
amounts to no less
than 19 per 1000 in
the Gren. while it is
 $11\frac{1}{2}$ per 1000 in the
Colds & $12\frac{1}{2}$ per 1000
in the Scots Fus.

Can you give the
facts to shew why
the Grenrs should be
so much more liable
to Consumption?

f43v

Could you assist us,
by obtaining the position
of each Battalion of
the three Regiments
during the years
included in the
Return?

[end 14:558]

Believe me
very sincerely yours
Florence Nightingale

50134 signed letter, ff44-46, pen

f44

30 Old Burlington St
W

[16:264]

May 18/58

My dear Sir

I shall be delighted
to see you at any hour
tomorrow if you will
kindly fix the time
by a verbal message
thro' the Bearer -

I do not think
that Dr. Farr has
asked for anything
in his Report or in
his Forms but what

f44v

you have yourselves
recommended in
your great Report
& what you &
Colonel Storke have
paved the way for
in your admirable
labours of the last
20 years

It is for the Army
Medical Department
now to carry out
those labours syste=
matically itself

f45

About the practical
ways of doing this, you
are, of course, a better
judge than any of us.
About the principles
we shall, I am sure,
not differ.

I am too unwell
to discuss anything
But I shall be part=
cularly anxious to
hear from you all your
objections & propositions

With regard to the
sentiment I do

f45v

entirely agree with
you that I wrote
to Mr. Herbert that
it must *come out*
particularly three
pages near the end
And so it shall -
And he agrees

Believe me
ever sincerely yours
F. Nightingale

f46

What has Dr. Smith
done with his great
Blue Book? He has
been a long while
writing it. He must
be learning to write.

[end]

signed letter, ff47-50v, pen, pale mauve, black-edged paper

f47

Gt Malvern

[16:509-10]

Sept 28/58

My dear Sir

I was not aware
of the extent of Neison's
iniquities altho' I had
seen a report of his
Paper, quite sufficient
to infuriate me.

That it must be
answered there is
no doubt - or it will
do our cause much
harm - It is (what
my old nurse used
to call me) "mischievious".

If I were you, I

f47v

should answer him
from your point of
view I mean from the
Army Statistical
point of view, in
which, of course, you
have the best right
to meet him

Not knowing that
you were in town,
I wrote yesterday to
another gentleman
to get {illeg him} answered
from another point
of view And in order
that we may be all

f48

"in the same boat" about
it, I will give you
the substance of what
I said.

[The sudden death
of Mr. Herbert's eldest
sister at a little way=
side Inn on Loch Etive
has taken him down
to Scotland and I
did not like to worry
him on the subject
just at this moment.]
--Neison reproduced
at the British Assn at
Leeds, in full his fallacies
about over-crowding having
nothing to do with
consumption.

f48v

He adduces the Reg. Gen.
Statistics as to overcrowding,
totally mistakes the question,
& produces great mischief
to our cause, on account
of these Population tables
being quoted as authority
Thus {two circles labelled 1 & 2 with dotted circles around the outside, 1
being much larger than 2}
if (2) were Manchester &
(1) were Liverpool the
dotted circles being the
Registration districts, of
which the population is
given by the Reg. Gen. - the
black circles the actual
densely inhabited parts

then

f49

-2-

Dr. Greenhow compares the density within the dotted circles, & not within the black circles & concludes that, inas= much as (2) is much less densely peopled than (1), & yet has the same mortality from Phthisis, therefore over crowding is rather a healthy thing, & density does not influence Phthisis

Neison appears to have done the same thing-

The real fact is that the density for Manchester & Liverpool is very nearly the same -

f49v

Again, surface density has in reality nothing to do with the subject. It is density in *rooms* - Our Barracks have a smaller surface density generally than any town or perhaps village population in the kingdom, but they have generally a far higher *room density*.

This is the substance of what I have said which I am, of course, not giving you as inform= ation, but merely in order that we may be all one about it.

f50

I am exceedingly glad if Neison has laid himself open to your *tangible* correction. Because I think you ought on public grounds to correct this public error.

What should you think of addressing a correction to Mr. Herbert, as Chairman of the Royal Commission leaving us to reply to Neison & Greenhow on the other grounds?

[end 16:510]

I hope that Mrs Balfour is pretty well - Please give her my very

f50v

kind regards. I was in town about 3 weeks ago & sent to enquire after her.

I am better, thank you - but am afraid I shall have to come up to London next week -

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff51-51v, pen, pale mauve, black-edged paper

f51

30 Old Burlington St
Oct 4/58

My dear Sir

As the funeral
at Wilton was over,
I wrote today to Mr.
Herbert about
Neison's paper. I
am sure he will
think an answer
necessary - and no
doubt he will
write in course of
time about it.

You may perhaps

f51v

already have written
one in some paper -
I hope Mr. Herbert
will think his ought
to be in the name
of the Commission -

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

unsigned letter, ff52-53, pen, pale mauve, black-edged paper

f52

30 Old Burlington St
Oct 7/58

My dear Sir

I like your Article
very much - I don't
think you could say
more & I think you
could not say less -
I wrote to Mr. Herbert
that you were going
to answer Neison, &
that I would send
him the Paper, which
I will on Saturday -

f52v

It will be for him
to determine whether
he thinks an "*official*"
answer still necessary.
I don't now. I wish I
could think Neison
sufficiently in earnest
to investigate & change
his mind which
I hold to be, in
certain cases, a great
proof of earnestness.
But I think he only
wants a discussion
& *that* to bring

f53

himself into notice -

I was very sorry
not to be able to
see you yesterday =
But I was so *out*
of breath, having been
very busy all the
morning - I hope to
be more fortunate
next time you come.

signed letter, ff54-59v, pen, pale mauve, black-edged paper

f54

30 Old Burlington St

W

3/11/58

[14:568]

My dear Sir

I know nothing of
your Comet - nor
does Dr. Sutherland.
I feel rather curious
about it -

In the summer,
Marylebone had a
meeting upon "us",
with Lord Ebrington
& Sir B. Hall as
movers. They did

f54v

nothing but put
themselves off till
the meeting of Parlt
next year -

Perhaps your Comet
is an off-shoot of
this?

It will do us no
harm - & even, if
it has any sense,
may do us good,
by awakening
public attention -

2. I have had two

f55

copies of your
"anonymous" pamphlet
& sent one to Mr.
Herbert - I know
Neison had nothing
to do with it &
have not the least
guess who had,
except from internal
evidence - I think
it has *that*
evidence of being
the work of several
hands - And I

f55v

think it smells of
Mapleton, Mouat,
Sir J. Hall & (I am
very sorry to think)
of Taylor of Fort Pitt.
I agree with you
it is clever - but
cleverly foolish,
cleverly ignorant,
cleverly contemptible
You observe it has
no printer's name
& (with a little
more) would be
actionable.

f56

-2-

It has been indus=
triously (privately)
circulated -

I need not shew
to you the blunders
in the first part -
But those in the
part upon my evidence
are not quite so
obvious - I immediately
set to work upon
Smith's Blue Book
(which I wish I had
had before) - I extracted
all the figures - Will

f56v

you believe it that
Smith plasters on,
with a trowel,
735 more Deaths
(in the 6 months
Oct/54 to Mar/55) than
any body has done
before - & these
upon Scutari & the
Transports - shewing
that we had *under*=
rated the Mortality
by that amount of
Deaths, hitherto

f57

unaccountable for ?
~~In ever~~ That is to say,
his excess is 735 over
the Death>Returns
of his own Medical
Officers - I own that
even I was not
prepared for this.

The Mortality for
February in Scutari
mounts up to 46.7
per cent on Cases
Treated from 42.7
which I had ~~(illeg)~~/stated
in my Evidence -

f57v

Farther, the "Anonymous
pamphleteer (or 's)
confuse a number
consisting of "Remaining
& Admissions" with
a number denoting
"Sick Population" &
conclude there is
a discrepancy -

Also, they take
my Adjutant's Head
Roll of Burials, expressly
stated to be for
Scutari only, & calculate
it for Scutari *and*

f58

-3-

Koulali (the worst of
all the Hospitals)
and finally conclude again
there is a wilful
exaggeration on our
parts -

The *fact* is, (as I
have found by
subsequent re=
calculation, with
the aid of Smith's
Blue Book,) the
Adjutant's Burials
for Scutari and the

f58v

Medical Deaths
for Koulali make
the number exactly
right, & the Death
Rate 46.7 per cent
on cases treated -

Were the pamphlet
not without *either*
author's or printer's
name, (which makes
it a "*black-guard*"
thing), & were it
not such an
appalling Mortality

f59

to joke about, I
could make such
fun of this Pamphlet
But it is like
dancing at the
stake -

I should like
to shew you some
day a Statement
I have just drawn
up (from Smith)
in consequence of
this thing, endeavouring
to arrive at a

f59v

(general) true guess
at the Mortality
of those awful
6 months -

(3.) In reference
to India Sanitary
matters, have you
seen Dr. Norman
Chevers' "Brief
Report" published
at Calcutta 1858 -
It is quite worth
glancing at - especially
as you are to give
Evidence - sincerely yrs

F. Nightingale

initialed letter, ff60-62v, pen, no copy

f60

{archivist: [mid Nov. 1858]}

My dear Sir

I am sorry to say
that my Aunt is out
& I have not yet been
downstairs -

I received a very
odd semi-official letter,
yesterday, from a very
great personage,
stating that you were
going to resign Chelsea
& recommending a Dr.
Fr. Reid who has
put forth Testimonials.

I simply answered

f60v

that I believe you
had not the least
idea of resigning
Chelsea -

Do you know any
thing of this & do
you know this Dr. Reid.

Dr. Smith's two
Blue Books are out
but not published
I got a Copy thro'
Genl Peel -

f61

I send you Dr. Chevers -
It is not mine but
Martin's. Please
return it to *me*
however on Thursday.

I should care to
see the Leaders on
the Commission very
much.

I should like
very much to see you
& talk over the
Non-Commissioner -
Would 11 on Thursday
suit you or 12? F.N.

{f62 is blank}

f62v

Dr. Balfour

signed letter, ff63-64v, pen, pale mauve, black-edged paper, typed copy
45772 f234

f63

30 Old Burlington St
W. 23/11/58

My dear Sir

In the first place,
I hope that Mrs. Balfour
is pretty well.

In the second, I
send you back with
many thanks your
portfolio of Newspaper
leading articles.

In the third, I
send you a little
book, Sergt Jowett's

f63v

Diary, which I think,
from ~~its~~/his good sense,
simplicity & unalte=
rable patience (by
no means unusual
among our men) is
very good reading
for Soldiers' boys -
I have marked some
passages for you to
glance at which
I think are singularly
"British" - I never
saw these qualities
in the French or
Irish soldiers -

f64

In the fourth place, I
send you a copy of my
Report to the War Office,
which is *really*
"confidential". As it
has not been laid
on the table of the House,
it must not lie
upon your table,
please - nor, if you
do not read it
yourself, must it
be read by any one
else, *please* - Altho'
prepared at the
desire of Lord Panmure,

f64v

& by the personal
command of the
Queen, it was not
printed by Govt, but
only by myself at
my own expence for
the sake of greater
facility of correction.
It is therefore in no
sense a public
document - And I
have no right to give
away a single copy -
Its only value now
is as a book of reference

Yours sincerely
Florence Nightingale

signed letter, ff65-68, pen, no copy

f65

30 Old Burlington St

Xmas Eve

[1858]

[16:332-33]

My dear Sir

Many thanks for
the pamphlet & also
for the promise of
the Statistics -

I think, having
referred to the passage
to which you take
exception, that our
difference is merely
one of words viz
that between Vital
& Sanitary Statistics -

f65v

By Statistics bearing upon the health of an Army or any other body, I don't mean Statistics which prove that one Station is healthy & another unhealthy or one town healthy & another unhealthy. Those are Vital Statistics. In no one published document, with which I am ac=

f66

quainted, is there any indication of Statistics having been used in the manner I desire - I could only deal with published documents. And I have seen none, either in the Army or out of it, at all up to the mark. The Council of the new Army Medl Dept will have to organize

f66v

& carry out, for the first time, a system of Sanitary Statistics i.e. ~~as~~ bearing upon the health of the troops totally different from any I have ever seen - And it was to the necessity of such a system that my remark was applied. Vital Statistics are a basis without which we can do nothing, Sanitary Statistics ~~have~~/indicate the direction

f67

in which we are to work - this direction has never yet been given us. Vital Statistics are only of use in the practical application of Hygiene in so far as they subserve the latter - And not until we have a complete system of Sanitary Statistics *in the Army*, shall ~~be~~/we be able to administer the

f67v

laws of health with that certainty with which we know they are capable of being administered.

[16:333]

Yours very sincerely
with kind regards
to Mrs. Balfour &
the bab.

F. Nightingale

f68

Pray do not understand
this as criticism upon
the Army Statistical
Reports, for which I
have often expressed
& shall always
express my great
admiration -

Sanitary Statistics
are a step beyond
both War Department
& Somerset House.

[good letter]

signed letter, ff69-70, pen, no copy

f69

30 Old Burlington St
W. Dec 27/58

My dear Sir

Very many thanks
for the enclosed
most valuable &
melancholy statistics
which I beg to
return.

The "anonymous
pamphlet" is the
same, word for word,
as the pamphlet
by Dr. Alexander

Browne,

f69v

which has been
sent me!

The singular
industry with
which both have
been circulated,
among people too
who have told me
they "had never
heard of the Army"
& never wished
to hear of it &
could not conceive

f70

what Dr. A. Browne
"bothered" them for,
rather belies what
he says in the
Prefatory Page of that
edition of the Pamphlet to
which his name
is appended.

sincerely yours
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff71-72v, pen, no copy

f71

30 Old Burlington St

[16:521-22]

W. March 9/59

My dear Sir

First let me return
your valuable books,
which I have kept
only too long, & let me
thank you very much
for them.

Secondly could you
send me a List of the
Infirmaries, Hospitals
& Lunatic Asylums in
Scotland, (which I
cannot find in the

f71v

Medical Directory)
without much trouble
to yourself? or could
you tell me where
to find one?

Thirdly Is "the
"Army in its Medico
"Sanitary Relations" (a
copy of which has
been sent me "by
the Author") by Dr.
Combe of the Artillery?

Finally Could
you come & see me

f72

on Saturday at 12
o'clock? I have no
business, only gossip.

[end]

I hope Mrs. Balfour
& your son are well -
And believe me
ever faithfully yours
F. Nightingale

f72v

with three books
T. Graham Balfour
Royal Military Asylum
Chelsea

ff73-73f letter sent on behalf of FN, M. Smith, asked her to send accompanying matter for the appendix of the rc reported, corrected and ready for the printer, with enclosed note of Spottiswoode, what he saw yesterday. The diagrams are not to be bound in with a tuche as in the copy but to be folded in the usual way.

signed letter, ff74-75, pen, MMS hand, no copy

f74

30 Old Burlington St
December 23/59

My dear Sir

I have read the
enclosed Document
carefully through &
I think you have left
nothing that is unin-
telligible at the same
time it is so full

f74v

of Gallicisms that
to amend them would
require a revision
for which neither you
nor I have time.

I should be
very glad to see
you on Friday if
it would be con -

f75

venient to you to
call on that day
I leave town on
Saturday -

I remain
dear Sir
yours truly
Florence Nightingale

ff76-77 written on behalf of FN, letter of M. Smith to make visit to Miss
Nightingale not earlier than 5 o'clock this aft

signed letter, ff78-79, pen, pale mauve, black-edged paper, no copy

f78

30 Old Burlington St
W. April 23/60

My dear Sir

I am VERY much
obliged to you for the
"little bit of Statistics"
which I have kept
too long.

I think you have
quite established your
point. And I do
not see a word to
alter -

It is very interesting

f78v

to me -

But the one
small Table in
your note to me
has interested me
still more -

And I shall
very likely trouble
you with some
further enquiries
on that.

It is a very
striking Table -
With kindest

f79

regards to Mrs. Balfour,
believe me
very truly yours
Florence Nightingale

I remember poor
Alexander, the very
last time I ever
saw him, talking to
me about your little
son -

Could you when
you see poor Mrs.
Alexander tell her
how often I think of her?

signed letter, ff80-84v, pen, typed copy 45772 f235

f80

Private 30 Old Burlington St
W. July 12/60

[16:542-43]

My dear Sir

You are quite right
in what you say.
We are all of us
in the same boat.
And, if it were not
that England *would*
not be the mercantile
nation she *is*, if
she had not business
habits somewhere,

f80v

I should wonder,
from my experience,
where they are -
Certain of us,
who were asked
to do business for
the Statistical Congress,
had it all ready
since December
last - & were not
able to get it
out of the General
Register Office till
this week -

f81

Certain of us were asked to do business this morning, & to have it ready by to=night, which, if not done, would arrest the proceedings of the Congress, &, if done, must be the fruit of only five hours' consideration, when five months might just as well have been granted for it

f81v

I don't say that this is so bad as the treatment of you who are Secretary -

But still it is provoking to see a great International business worked in this way.

What I want now is to put a good face upon it before the foreigners - Let *them* not see our

f82

short comings & disunions -

Many countries far behind us in political business are far before us in organization=power.

If any one has ever been behind the scenes, living in the interior, of the Maison Mère of the "Sisters of Charity" at Paris, as I have

f82v

and seen their
Counting House &
Office, all worked
by women, - an
Office which has
twelve thousand
Officials (all women)
scattered all over the known
world - an Office
to compare with
which, in business
habits, I have
never seen any
~~Office~~ either Govt

f83

or private, in England
- they will think
like me, that it is
this mere business
power which keeps
these enormous religious
"Orders" going.

I hope that you
will try to impress
these foreign
Delegates then, with
a sense of *our*
"enormous business
power" (in which
I don't believe one

f83v

bit) & to keep the
Congress going.

Many thanks
for all your papers -
I trust you will
settle some Sectional
business with the
"Delegates" here
to morrow morning -

And I trust
I shall be able
to see you, if not
tomorrow morning,
soon -

Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

f84

I send back your
American big book
with many thanks -
But if you would
like the Delegates
to see it here, pray
send it back by
Bearer -

 Mind, I don't
mean anything
against your Office

f84v

by this tirade, on the
contrary, I believe
it is one of the
few efficient
ones now in
existence.

[end 16:543]

signed letter, ff85-86, pen, no copy

f85

30 Old Burlington St
July 12/60

My dear Sir

 Some of the Delegates
of your Statistical
Congress are coming
here to breakfast
tomorrow morning
at ½ to 10 (Friday)
could you kindly come
& meet them? It
is to talk over the
business of their Sections

f85v

Could you kindly
make up & ~~return~~/send me,
by Bearer, two
complete sets of
your Statistical
Forms, now in use
in your Office?

Shall you think
it within my competence
to ask you, whether
you could find time
(in the course of *today*)

f86

to write a short
terse description of
them for the ~~Congress?~~/Section?

Please send
answer by Bearer
& believe me

yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

We want to shew
clearly what the
Statistical procedure
is from the time a
Recruit is examined
until he is either dead
or leaves the service.

signed letter, f87, pen, no copy

f87

30 Old Burlington St

W.

July 19/60

My dear Sir

Will you come &
put in your conciliatory
oar, as you promised,
at breakfast here
tomorrow (Friday)
morning at 1/4
before 9, i.e. before
the Sections. There
will be some Delegates
here- yours sincerely

Florence Nightingale

signed letter, ff88-89v, pen, no copy

f88

Upper Terrace
Hampstead
NW
Nov 3/60

[16:381]

My dear Sir

Do you remember
sometimes talking to
me about ~~th~~ your
Caledonian Asylum
at Holloway?

I have lately
had occasion to see
something of the
children - And the
master, Mr. Davidson,

f88v

whom, you know,
is, I find, very
anxious to become
an Army Chaplain
(Presbyterian)

Do you know
him well enough
to say whether he
is fit for that
particular line?

Could you ask
the Chaplain at
Shorncliffe, Mr.
Young, whose letter
I enclose, the same

f89

question?

And could you
tell me how, if he
is fit, the thing is
to be set about?

Is it, by speaking
to Mr. Herbert?

And are there any
rules as to these
appointments?

I presume that
a vacancy must
be waited for. And,
if so, it appears
so uncertain that
Mr. Herbert may be
out, in & out again of

f89v

Office before it comes
Do you know how
these things are
managed?

[end]

With kindest
regards to Mrs. Balfour
who I hope is well
as also your son

believe me
sincerely yours
Florence Nightingale

signed letter, ff90-93v, pen, copy Add Mss 45772 ff238-39

f90

Hampstead NW
Dec 10/60

My dear Sir

I cannot forbear
thanking you for
your Article on the
Spirometer, as well
as for your valuable
Statistical Table.

[16:387]

[Why do you not
include in it the
R. Artillery now?]

The results are
still far from what

f90v

we could wish,
are they not? (26
and 18 days in/sick
per annum for
strong healthy men)

[end]

[8:416-17]

There is one
thing which is
seldom out of my
head - and that is
what it is the
fashion to call now
the "Social Evil".
I am surprised
to hear men like
Mr. Herbert thinking
to cope with this

f91

by Lock Hospitals,
Dispensaries &c. I
am sorry to say I
have seen more of
this than most *men*.
I have seen the
French & the English
Civil system - the
French & the English
Military system -
I unhesitatingly
prefer the open faced
vice of the English
rather than the
legitimatized system
of our neighbours
under police physicians.

f91v

The best among the latter all say that their system is a failure in preventing disease.

I suppose there is no doubt that *this* is necessary in our Army; is there?

People are making a "row" about Aldershot But many places are worse than Aldershot e.g. Woolwich -

What are your ideas about this, about the *cause* of the increase, the

f92

means for prevention?

Most satisfactory results have been obtained, have there not? at Gibraltar by the institution there of three "Soldiers' Homes" - The Officers say so -

I know that Dr. Gibson looks upon the substitution of these ~~things~~/Dayrooms & "Homes" for Canteens & drunkenness as one means of check at Aldershot, in which I entirely agree.

f92v

The great men in
office always look upon
the soldier as an
animal whom nothing
can check - any more
than I can check my
cat from lapping milk.

I don't.

I believe that there
ought to be an Act
of Parliament for
Garrison towns, which
would be easily framed
that Soldiers' Day
Rooms & Clubs &c
would, as they have

f93

been already proved to
do, make a great
difference -

I wish there could
be more "leave to marry"
but this is not so
easy -

ever yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

{f94 in another hand}

signed letter, ff95-95v, pen, no copy

f95

Upper Terrace
Hampstead
NW
Dec 24/60

My dear Sir

I thankfully accept
your kind offer to let
me see the Proofs of
your Report. I will
observe your two
conditions - And I
will send them back,
read or unread, to you
within the day you
shall specify.

I think they had
better go to *30 Old
Burlington St* - where

f95v

I shall be now in
a very few days - and
where, even if I
am not, every thing
is forwarded to me
here within the day -
Of this place's
punctuality I am
not so sure.

With kind regards
to Mrs. Balfour &
the "son", believe me
ever sincerely yours

F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff96-99, pen, no copy

f96

30 Old Burlington St

[16:387-88]

Dec 29/60

My dear Sir

In the Proof which
you have been good enough
to send me, I miss

1. any Statistics of Barracks
& Stations
2. any Regimental Statistics
3. any "constantly sick" in
each Regiment and
of each disease
4. any quinquennial tables
either for Regiments
or for a whole Arm
of the service.

f96v

Perhaps these will
come in the next Proofs,
or perhaps you have
not the materials for
them yet -

Any how this should
be stated.

The few comparative
Summaries are very
useful - but by no
means all that is
required to give
materials for a sound
opinion as to the health
of the Army.

Summary tables

[end]

f97

are indeed comparatively useful only as affording a key to detailed Statistics.

The desiderata I have enumerated are not, I know, all, but certainly they are essential to make a satisfactory beginning.

No doubt they are coming.

If not, I would state, if I were you, that my material was defective, and the point in which

f97v

it was defective -

Because the first Report will be taken as a model of what Army Medical Officers ought to do in the matter - And a Report in itself defective should not be sent out without explanation.

2. Is not entering into *causation* hardly a Statistical matter? Also, I can scarcely agree in the conclusions they seem to imply.

f98

that Hygiene in strict logic, has little to do with the Army's health - And they seem to ignore what has been done to improve the Sanitary condition of the Army. But Statistics have 'to do strictly with facts in figures.'

I would therefore extend the Statistics so as to give a complete picture of the state of the Army during the past year,

f98v

Regiment by Regiment, and Station by Station. Or I would state fully that you are ~~ful~~ aware of the defect - that the data are defective, & what the Statistics will in future contain.

I have the less scruple in saying this - Because no one has ever felt or spoken so strongly of the great service rendered by the Army

f99

Statistical Reports
far ahead of any
documents of the day.
And therefore I should
like to see their author
as far outstrip them.
This proof is too
much like the ~~one~~/older ones;
and does not quite
come up to my idea
(as it does not to
yours) of what you
might do, with
good material in
giving a Statistical
Report on the Army
ever sincerely yours
Florence Nightingale

signed letter, ff100-01v, pen, copy, 45772 f245

f100

30 Old Burlington St
W. Jan 20/61

[16:393]

My dear Sir

I have first to thank you
for the two prs of "Breeks",
which are being used for a
pattern & shall faithfully
be returned.

I return your proof
with many thanks I like this one
much better than the last because it is Statistical

I cannot still keep
regretting that the first year's
Statistics of the Army should
not be what we both desire
& what your own R. Commission
intended.

Even now, could you

f100v

not give us, (if not Statistical,) at least Regimental Tables, with Admissions, Deaths, Constantly Sick & Diseases? Facts, not comparisons, ought to be the heading for all Statistical work. We cannot have all the facts yet; let us have what we can -

I do not like the prospect for this year's Report -

Again, as you have a Sanitary branch now, its Report should be separate - and the Statistical Report should not intermingle causation -

Even you are not quite correct about the dates of

f101

sanitary improvements - They were already actively begun early in 1858 throughout the London district - Still I do not say you should notice these, But it is lending your powerful confirmation to error to notice other presumed causes of improved health & not to notice these -

I do not think your Report would be "dry" Or, rather the drier the better - Statistics should be the driest of all reading. [I remember hearing one of the cleverest women I ever knew - & a good historical writer herself say that a full Chronology of dry dates was to her the most interesting, the most passionate of all reading.

f101v

I am conscious of the same
feeling in reading a Column
of dry & full Statistical figures -]

But, in reading your Report,
I am conscious of receiving a
wrong impression, because your
details are *not sufficiently*
"dry or full" or sufficiently extensive

My conception of the
future Army Medical Statistics
does not, after all, I believe,
differ essentially from yours -
Nor does yours from that of
the Statistical Commission (in
essentials) whose recommendations
ought, we both agree, to be
followed or the fullest reason
given why they cannot be -
You will think me very disagreeable - But
believe me Yours ever sincerely

[end]

F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff102-02v, pen, no copy

f102

30 Old Burlington St

W. Feb 23/61

My dear Sir

I was so ashamed
of keeping your Proofs
so long that I sent
them back last night
(when I could not
write) without a
word of thanks.

I read them
with particular interest.

You know what
I would say - that I
wish there were less

f102v

of Abstract &
Summary - more
of detailed Statistics.

Thank you very
much for your
efforts for poor
Widow Walker -
in re Medical
attestation of cause
of health.

I have written
to her.

Yours faithfully &
gratefully
F. Nightingale

initialed letter, ff103-04v, pen, no copy

f103

30 Old Burl St W.

Mar 1/61

[16:397-98]

My dear Sir

Again I sent back
your last Proof
without a word & for
the same reason.

But all I had to
say was that in this
as in the others I
still miss that full
Statistical account
of each corps & disease.

In all Stations
affected by special

f103v

diseases, these should
be specially made
subjects of Statistical
comparison. I want
to know what your
"Paroxysmal Fever"
are separately.

I think our
old friend Farr's
method becomes
ridiculous under
this treatment -
Perhaps you wished
to show that it
could be so -

f104

To compare small
things with great,
I make my Probationer
Nurses send me
fortnightly from
St. Thomas's a
record of their cases.
And I had occasion
to criticize their
records in this way
viz. that they
excited all my
curiosity by some
general remark,
similar to that
of the Paroxysmal
Fever, & then balked
it, by telling me

f104v

nothing farther in detail
ever yours sincerely
F.N.

[end]

signed letter, ff105-05v, pen, no copy

f105

30 O B St

[16:398]

Mar 6/61

Dear Dr. Balfour

I never meant to impute to you the intention of making the new classification ridiculous. I only hinted at the result.

The Abstracts do not seem sufficient to enable us to draw practical conclusions.

Would it not be better while giving the

f105v

Abstracts by Classes and Orders, in the manner you have adopted, to give separate tables for the more important diseases?

E.g. in the China Return, most of the Admissions are from

Miasmatic

Enthetic

Respiratory

Digestive;

these being the real groups to consider, should you not give

f105v

a Table of each
specifying the Diseases?
2. Is it not a pity
to put three diseases,
Dysentery, Diarrhoea, &
Cholera in one line,
as a constant heading;
- because there may
be no Cholera (when
the heading contains it);
and the fact whether
there is Cholera or not
is in itself a most
important fact.

Is there any great
difficulty with the
single exceptional Deaths

f105

you mention? If the
period has been a
year, then you have
a *per annum*, by
which to calculate
the ratios. But if
you have only a week
or a month, then
you have no *per annum*
and it is a fiction;
most especially if it
is a small corps -
And I would not
calculate ratios at all
but merely state
numbers & time.

But 320, *if you have a
whole year*, would make
a fair number as a Corps -
{written on the side}
ever yours sincerely F. Nightingale

[end]

signed letter, ff106-07v, pen, no copy

f106

30 O B St
Mar 7/61

Dear Dr. Balfour

As you have kindly
permitted it, I re=
inclose poor Mrs.
Walker's last case
for herself - My own
impression is that
she cannot make
out a claim. If
you think so too,
I would not trouble
you farther. But,

f106v

if you thought the
case could be traced,
& the "disease of the
heart" (vide Dr.
Fogo's certificate)
imputed to Scutari,
it certainly would
be a great boon to
the poor woman -
She is an industrious
charwoman - And
one of her children
is in your Military
Asylum at Chelsea -

f107

I should be very
anxious to know
what are the Tables
in your Appendix -
whether Regimental
and Stational -
which are the ones
as you know I am
so fond of - But
I am afraid I
have been so
troublesome that
you will not like
to show me

ever yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff108-09v, pen, handwritten copy 45772 f259

f108

Private Hampstead NW
Oct 8/61

My dear Sir

I was glad to hear
of your & Mrs. Balfour's
return & the little
son's. I hope she is better.

The Chinese
information was just
what I wanted -
thank you very much
for it -

I have not seen
a newspaper since
my dear master's death.
Their praise & their
blame are alike
distasteful to me -

f108v

They did not know him.

I cannot therefore tell you whether any worthy notice of him has appeared. But I believe not.

You will be curious to know what I wanted the information for which you were so good as to send me. Mr. Gladstone called upon me; and, as I was not able to see him, wrote to me to furnish a short Memoir of what my dear master had done

f109

during the five years he & I worked together.

[His death shortened these 5 constant years by just one week] I believed this was for a newspaper Article - But Mr. Gladstone, ~~afterwards~~ he had received it wrote to me & said it was "too important" for that, & it was to be worked up into something longer & better." I have heard nothing more nor am I anxious to hear.

Of course this is

f109v

private. But you
have a right to know
what your information
was for.

Seven years this
very month I have
fought the good fight
for the Army, in & out
of the War Office, without
the intermission of a single waking
hour - My dear master's
last words were
about his "unfinished
"work. Poor Florence" -
I cannot but hope
that you & others will
"finish" it for him -
How disastrous these 2 years have been
to us. Yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Please to remember that
this is private.

signed letter, ff110-11v, pen, black-edged paper, no copy

f110

Private

Hampstead NW

Oct 27/61

My dear Dr. Balfour

Thank you very
much for the valuable
Tables for four years.
I shall wait for the one
for 1862 for F. Guards.

2. I presume the
Glasgow Article was
that referred to by
Dr. Maclean in his
opening address, when
he said they were
accused of unjust
disfavour towards a
certain University. I

f110v

have not seen the
Article - But no one
who knows you could
suspect you of being
its author.

3. I had already sent
in my letter to Lord
de Grey (upon your
position) putting ~~in~~/it
upon the ground of
my being now nearly the
only survivor of what
poor Sidney Herbert
used to call the
"cabal". Ld de Grey
answered that he
would consider it as
soon as he returned
to London, about a

f111

week hence - & begged
to be reminded then -

I suppose there is
nothing to be done
till a move among
the I.G.s takes place.
But I did what I
could at once, because
my life is so uncertain.

I tell you this, in
order that you may
judge when best to
put in your just
claims when I shall
be always glad, if alive,
to do what I can &
state what I know.

Pray remember me
to Mrs. Balfour: &

f111v

say I am very glad
to hear the "young doctor"
is coming all right.

Believe me
ever yours sincerely
Florence Nightingale

signed letter, ff112-13, pen, black-edged paper, no copy

f112

4 Cleveland Row
St. James, S.W.
Feb 20/63

[16:422]

Dear Dr. Balfour

It is long since we
have communicated.

I have to thank
you for your last kind
letter. I venture
to send you some
Surgical Operation
Tables. (Tables 1 and
11) which, with
the kind assistance
of Mr. Paget of St.
Bartholomew's, I

f112v

have been drawing
up.

I have sent
copies to the Director
General explaining
that they are intended
not only to register
cases but to enable
results of particular
operations to be better
ascertained, (statistically)
than at present.

If I linger on so
long, I mean to
write a paper on

f113

the subject for some
Meeting.

[end]

Ever sincerely yours
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff114-15v, pen, black-edged paper, no copy

f114

Hampstead NW
Sept 29/63

[16:424]

My dear Sir

It is long since I
have heard of you -
I have just been
looking thro' the new
Annual Report. It is
an admirable work.
- by far the best we
have had & answers,
I think, nearly all
the promises made
for it. I mean to
write more fully
about this, when I

f114v

have read it through.

What I come now
about is, as usual, a
begging excursion.

Could you, and
would you, give me
the following data?
I hope it will not
cost you much trouble,
excepting perhaps for
1862.

Ever yours faithfully
Florence Nightingale

f115

Mortality per 1000 per annum according to ages.

Infantry of Line at Home.

Years	20 -25	25-30	30-35	35-40
1859				
1860				
1861				
1862				

Average
of 4 years

A similar table for Fort Guards at home
" " for Household Cavalry "
" " for Dragoon Guards & Dragoons "
" " ~~for~~ Totals for all these Arms " [end]

signed letter, ff116-17, pen black-edged paper, no copy

f116

Hampstead NW
Sept 30/63

[16:581-82]

My dear Sir

I will gladly wait
till you can send me
those Tables (which
you are so kind as
to promise) at your
own convenience.

I will write more
fully about your
admirable Report
another time.

The International
Statistical Meeting

f116v

has been sadly
plundered - But
it was doubtful till
the last moment
whether Prussia
would have it at
all - whether Austria
would join - whether
the Crown Prince would
be allowed to preside
&c &c &c &c &c
And poor Engel, a
thorough German (&
not a native of
Berlin) thought less,
as we should do,

f117

of the business=like
manner of bringing
things straight, than
of the subjective effect
of these trials to his
own idiosyncrasy
sic!!!

[end]

ever yours faithfully
with thanks for
your kind note -

F. Nightingale
In answer to your kindly
enquiring, I never leave
my room now & rarely
my bed, except to
come here - since
January I have been
quite an invalid.

signed letter, ff118-19v, pen, black-edged paper, typed copy 45772 f261

f118

Private Hampstead NW

[16:424-25]

Oct 3/63

My dear Sir

I have received
your note; & need
hardly say that I
concur in it entirely.
It would be impossible
to do without you in
the Office - it would
be impossible to fill
your place in the
Statistical Branch -
(it must be either
you or Sir A. Tulloch)
It would be unfair

f118v

that this very fitness
should stand in the
way of promotion -

I do not think
they would "promote
a junior over your
head" to the Inspector
Generalship in the
Office. But I cannot
see why the Treasury
should not allow
two Inspectors General,
under the circumstances
in the Office.

I will do my
best to represent

f119

these circumstances.
It shall not be my
fault if you do not
succeed.

But I need hardly
tell you that my
position in the W.O.
is very different
(& ought to be very
different) now from
what it was in Sidney
Herbert's time. He
and I worked together
daily for five years.
It is not to be
expected that I
should find two such

f119v

friends - Nor indeed,
were it otherwise, is
my strength up to
seeing one every day
as I saw him.

You ask for my
"advice". I can only
say, consider: you
know the Statistics
can't do without you.
And you know your
claims shall be
represented as strenuously
as possible.

[end]

Believe me
ever your faithfully
Florence Nightingale

signed letter, ff120-23, pen, black-edged paper, blue ink, typed copy dated
9.1.64 45772 f262

f120

32, South Street, {printed address:}
Grosvenor Square. W. [16:436]

Private 9/11/64

My dear Sir

I am very much
obliged to you for your
kind note. The
West India returns
are most encouraging.
And I would have
used them; had not
my argument, as to
the want of capability
in the Briton to
adapt himself to other
climates than his own,
been intended to

f120v

include all classes -
altho' tropical climates
are alluded to in
connection with soldiers
specially.

The W. India
mortality is much
lower than the E. India
Mortality thank God
& you all! But I
was obliged to take
into account both
elements, viz. "Mortality"
& "diseases", in
estimating the India
sanitary state, as one

f121

must in estimating
the sanitary state of
any race or people

I mean my point
was - (the same as yours)
to shew that India
miasmas & India
suffering from
Miasmatic diseases,
are preventible.
Now the very diseases,
which I have cited,
as proofs of the
preventible unhealthi=
ness of the W. Indies,
are still preventible
in the W.I. - And
more than that, yellow

f121v

fever *still* breaks out
there.

Besides, W.I. Regiments
have now, have not
they? short periods
of service. And I
want to shew that
Europeans can live
in tropical climates,
without being brought
away, as you bring
out a Weak Patient
from a vapour=bath.

Capt. Burton states
explicitly that British
races are not to
possess the tropics,

f122

because they deteriorate.
I venture to say, the
British race may
possess whatever it
likes, if it will only
study the laws of the
place & obey them.

Short service, hill
climates & other
precautions have
improved the health
of W. India troops.
But they are not
fit to possess the
country till they
have expelled the
"dragon" of Miasma.

f122v

[vide the picture of
Apollo killing the
dragon, who lies half
in a marsh & half
on the hill side.]
with best New
Year's wishes for
yourself & Mrs.
Balfour & the "son",
I am ever yours
gratefully & truly
Florence Nightingale

f123

I have just received
a Pheasant & two
Rabbits from Wilton.
And while apologizing
for the small present,
I thought you would
like to have them in
memory of our dear
friend, Sidney Herbert.

[end]

F.N.

signed letter, ff124-25, pen, black-edged paper, no copy [8:452]

f124

115, Park Street. W. {printed address:}
Private July 13/64
My dear Sir
I am extremely obliged
to you for your sheet
on the French Army
Statistical Report, the
which I have seen.
Yours is a capital
paper. It is a complete
analysis & you have
seen your way capitally
thro' that labyrinth
so as to put the

f124v

question on its proper basis. It is all that is necessary to prevent mistake.

I may whisper in your ear that your paper is the first thing, which has in the least opened the (very blind) eye of that very blundering Ho: of Commons Committee, now sitting on the "Contagious Diseases"

f125

Bill.

But do not say I said so.

They have not a single fact in their possession excepting yours - & are too stupid to obtain anything but opinions.

One of the M.P.s who is on it, says that it is "a Bill to enable men to sin at the public expence" - which is the truth.
Yours ever sincerely

F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff126-27v, pen, black-edged paper, typed copy 45772 f264

f126

115, Park Street. W. {printed address:}

Private July 28/64

My dear Sir

I have written, as strongly as I possibly could, in support of your claim. Where should we have been, in either of our two Army Sanitary enquiries, if it had not been for you & Sir A. Tulloch's statistics? It is impossible to overstate what you have done for the Army. Lord Dr. Balfour

f126v

Herbert himself could have done nothing in sanitary reform, if he had not had ~~had~~ your statistical facts to go upon.

If you were to retire, the Vital Statistics of the Army would fall to the ground. There is no second to you, either in the Army or elsewhere.

But if these facts do not speak for themselves, what will?

f127

[It occurred to me to
mention to you that
poor Lady Herbert is in
England, either at

38 Chesham Place
or at Wilton House

Salisbury
(she vibrates between) -

if you would like to
ask her to write to
Lord de Grey. It might
be making it too much
of a matter of favour.

[I do not advise either
way.]

If we had either
courage or capacity in
our present adminis=
tration, no favour

f127v

would be required.

I miss Sir A. Tulloch,
his noble upright
spirit. But, if he
had died 10 years
ago, what would
have become of us?

Ever sincerely yours

Florence Nightingale

Your Statistical Reports
are models of their
kind. And you have
improved them
from year to year.

signed letter, ff128-29v, pen, black-edged paper, typed copy 45772 f266

f128

27. Norfolk Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane. W.

Private 20/1/65

[16:438]

My dear Sir

In your Volume for
1862 (which, I assure
you, is always in my
hands - it is the sword
& buckler to which
I always trust, to do
battle) have you observed
that, at p. 14, there is
a misprint, the
substitution of healthy
civil population and
of general civil population

f128v

for each other, in
the last two lines of
the final Table on
that page?

Your Report stood
me in good service
lately, when 'the
Military' my esteemed
Patrons made a
private attack, which
came to me from
Lord Stanley, saying
that all the improvement

f129

in the health of the
British Army, not in
India, was due to
Invaliding only. It
shews how wise
you were to put the Deaths
of Invalids in your
columns - and I
was able to shew
what the improvement
was, even including
these.

I assure you I have
not neglected in
spirit your letter of
Nov 18. I mean to

f129v

make another attack
But I thought it best
to wait a while - We
have not a S. of S. now
who will impose his
will for good on the
H.G. We expected
better things of him.
But there are many
worse.

With my kindest
regards to Mrs. Balfour
& the 'young Doctor',
believe me ever most
faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale
Have you heard of poor
Lady Tulloch lately?

[end]

signed letter, ff130-31, pen, black-edged paper, typed copy 45772 f267

f130

34 South Street
Park Lane W.
July 29/65

[16:443]

My dear Dr. Balfour

I hope that you
have not judged of
my interest in your
(Statistical Report)
pages by my delay
in acknowledging your
kindness.

I read them with
the greatest eagerness.

I wish I could
send you anything
you would care for
so much.

It is a most

f130v

important chapter in
Army Mortality. You
have succeeded in
shewing that, in the
French Army certain
conditions of levy &
furlough may affect
the law of Mortality.

This is a most
remarkable point.

A minute examination
into the habits of each
Service would determine
the conditions which
bring about this

f131

difference in Mortality
law.

I shall look forward
for the appearance of
your Annual Report
with intense interest

Believe me
ever yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

You must not judge of me
by the little you hear
from me. We have
been overwhelmed
with business. I get
weaker & weaker. But
all the old associations
are as strong as ever.

[end]

[I go to Hampstead for a short time

signed letter, ff132-35, pen, black-edged paper, no copy

f132

CONFIDENTIAL Dec 19/66

[16:448-49]

35 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,

London. W.

My dear Dr. Balfour

I think you know that
there needs no apology for
any communication from
you to me - so old a
friend as you are &
associated with a work
(& a time) so dear to me,
that, tho' it is connected
with much of disappoint=
ment & much of bitter
sorrow, yet it is, if
possible, more constant
& eager an object with
me than ever.

I need scarcely say that

f132v

I agree in almost every word you say. But I believe that, under present Ministers, I am quite certain not to be consulted about the future D.G.

It would, however, grieve me so much to be in the least degree disingenuous with such a tried & noble friend as you are, that I will tell you, (QUITE confidentially) what has taken place, as far as I know it.

It being understood that, if the C. in C. proposed that Sir J.G. should continue

[James Gibson]

f133

in Office after his term had expired, the S. of S. would not consent - a kind of *unofficial* correspondence ensued. All that was done was to recall the steps which were taken, to ascertain the qualifications of a number of men out of whom the D.G. could be selected in our good friend Alexander's time, & that one name was then considered second only to Alexander - The result was: that it appeared highly probable that the Office would be filled up on principles different from those which led to the selection

f133v

of Dr. Alexander.

I have consequently done nothing more. And I have really no precise idea who the coming man is likely to be.

I will only mention that the name pronounced by all the Great Gods, excepting one, was Dr. Logan's. Now it is impossible for any one to have a higher opinion of the character of another than I have of Dr. Logan's. But I don't think his health or spirits equal to the task, which certainly

f134

killed poor Alexander -

Dr. Logan has perpetually said that his present Office was too much for him. And what is that, in regard to strain upon mind & spirits, compared to the D.G. ship?

As I have said, I am quite certain not to be consulted farther than what I have already intimated. I need scarcely say that except the one I have mentioned (and it is only fair to say that I have not had the slightest communication with him & I believe

f134v

I never saw him in my life)

I consider you as *far*,
far away beyond all
the others in point of
fitness & capacity for the
D.G. ship. And, I assure
you that should *your*
appointment be the
result, I shall congratulate
ourselves as being very
fortunate indeed - [*not*
you.] And I shall
look with greater hope
than I have done for
the last 5 years to
Sidney Herbert's reforms
being carried out -

[end]

f135

Pray believe me ever,
dear Dr. Balfour
Yours very gratefully & sincerely
F. Nightingale
Please *burn*.

signed letter, f136, pen, pale mauve paper, no copy

f136

35 South Street, Nov. 11/68
Park Lane, {printed address:}
W.

My dear Sir

I have to thank you
for your Annual Report
& still more for your kind
remembrances of me. I
see you never forget me -
I have already glanced
over it & shall study it
most attentively.

Pray remember me most
kindly to Mrs. Balfour
& believe me ever yours
sincerely & gratefully
Florence Nightingale
Dr. Graham Balfour

signed letter, ff137-38, pen, no copy

f137

35 South Street, July 14/70
Park Lane, {printed address:}
W.

My dear Sir

I have delayed thanking **[16:456]**
you for your Annual
Report which you so
kindly sent me - not,
as I am sure you know,
from want of interest
but from want of time
& strength.

I have read a good
part of it & am very
glad to see that it not

only

Dr. Graham Balfour

f137v

keeps up to its high
standard of usefulness
but improves upon it.
I will venture only one
question at present.
Is the evidence about
the "Contagious Diseases
Prevention Act" any more
conclusive than it was?
Unless its efficiency in
results is proved, it
would be worth while

f138

to compare the saving to the
Army, if any, pecuniarily
with the outlay on the
Hospitals - would it not?
- so that it might be
known exactly where they
are in money as well as
in figures.

It seems like old times
to be writing to you -

[end]

I trust that Mrs. Balfour
& your little son are well -
Ever believe me
yours most truly
Florence Nightingale

signed letter, ff139-44, pen & pencil {black-edged} typed copy 45772 f274

f139

Embley Sept 10/72
Romsey

[15:496-97]

My dear Dr. Balfour

I was very glad to
receive your kind note; and
I will forthwith try to do
what you are so good as to
ask - viz. "criticize" your
last Annual Vol: which
I duly received - & for
which I tender my best
thanks.

Let me say in the first place
that the Report is the best
yet issued (not only in
my opinion but in that
of others whose opinion is

f139v

best worth having) & that
for practical information
on Army Medical matters
it stands alone -
I noticed the Recruiting addition
which you desire me to
mention. It is very good &
very important; and I can
find nothing to suggest; but
that, as the recruiting will
be done at the new Depot
centres, would it not
be very desirable to have
some means of averaging the
past recruiting experience
in order to compare it
with the results to be obtained

f140

at the new Depots? [This,
I have no doubt, you have
provided for already.]
The superior way in which the
Recruiting work has been done
by the Army Medical Officers
is most creditable to them -
(But I suppose that the Civil
Surgeons are rarely men of
mark.)
Indeed - the reforms initiated
by Sidney Herbert have
already placed the Army
Medical Department at
the very top of the Medical
profession - And the
improvement is still going on.
God be thanked for it. And
you all!

f140v

Appendix No X is I think
the first Tabulation of
Post Mortems from the
Netley Hospital Register
which was a part of the
original plan of reform -
The results are very interesting
& shew how much good
work may be dug out
of the books in future.
I cannot say this too strongly.

If you *will* have me
"criticize": the only suggestion
which occurs to me about
the next Vol: is: that it
ought, do not you think so? -

f141 black-edged paper

-2-

to be more rigidly edited -
not that there has been
any carelessness - I do
not mean more *carefully*
edited - But in the original
design drawn up for it,
it was not intended that
it should be so heavy.

Do you remember D'Alembert:

"ce que l'auteur se tue à
élonger; le lecteur se tue
à abrégé". Do not you

think that it is applicable
here? Are not the cases
too long? more
condensation of style
wanted? papers not

f141v

of supreme importance to
be merely noticed?

This does not apply of course
to the Statistical part.

If the Director-General & his
Board would see to this,
it seems to me that
nothing would be left
undone.

[end 15:497]

Will you remember me to
Dr. Muir (tho' I have never
seen him) if he remembers
me?

f142

I thank God that your boy
is growing up to be not only
a satisfaction & joy but a
pride to you - & worthy
of you & Mrs. Balfour, to
whom please give my kindest
regards -

Almost the last time I
saw Alexander, he said with
a rather sad smile, as if
he wished he could do the same:
"Balfour is founding a house."

Your "house" is really
growing up on a strong &
bright pillar worthy of
Solomon's temple -

God bless him! & may

142v

he live long & be a glory
to you & our country as
he has begun!

[What I say to my pupils is:
now remember I expect
every one of you to do
3 times as much as any
thing I have done - You
must raise Nursing &
Training to a higher level
than the highest I know -
So I hope all your Successors may
do the same with all our
'levels.']

f143

-3-

The grave has not yet
closed over the mortal form
of one who was almost as
dear to me as if she had
been my own child - one
who would have done a
great work for God, had
she lived - Emily Verney
Sir Harry Verney's only
daughter - so lovely, so
loving & so loved - & with
something heroic about her.
This makes my excuse for
letting this poor word serve
to express what I always
remember when I write or

f143v

hear from you - our fifteen
years of friendship, begun
under Sidney Herbert, &
none the less strong on
my side, because interrupted
by long silences - most
unwillingly - the result of
ever increasing illness & of
business I wish I could say
increasing, (tho' increase it
does *here*, owing to my dear
father's & mother's age) but
which weighs more heavily
on my great weakness -
You kindly ask after me - Or
I should not have put in this

f144

egotistical word.

I must however be back
in South Street soon -
Pray believe me
dear Dr. Balfour
ever yours most truly
Florence Nightingale

f146

I hope with you &
believe that Dr. Muir
will be our new D.G.

I am sure that you will
give your great help. Is
in Sidney Herbert's School
at your new post? It
needs it.

Will you remember me
kindly to Mrs. Balfour,
& say that I rejoice in
the change for her sake
at least, (tho' not for ours)
& for your boy

f146v

& believe me ever

yours most sincerely

Florence Nightingale

I was sorry to hear of Dr.

Park's loss of his wife

- a severe shock to one

of so sympathetic a nature.

I scarcely like to write to

him. Could you say

a word for me when

you see him?

F.N.

unsigned letter, ff147-48v, pen, black-edged paper, no copy

f147

35 South St
Park Lane W.
June 27/73

[16:462-63]

My dear Dr. Balfour

I congratulate you on your work. It is a capital Report: I give you joy. It suggests the great advantage of including in all official Reports facts only, leaving discussions & opinions to the Medical Journals. ~~-& the~~ and how careful we should be not to support any body's peculiar views.

Burns well said that "Facts are chieles that downa ding".

You can't knock them over. Opinions on the contrary are the scriptural "fowls of the air"

f147v

affording neither shade nor resting place.

Plato said all this very strongly more than 2000 years ago! But we have not listened yet. You, however, with your Statistical facts, have done more than any one to bring us back to common sense

Take e.g. the contrast between the Delhi paper & the Gibraltar work at p. 50 -

In the Delhi affair the Lt. Governor having no belief except in his own eyesight finds that the

f148

whole place where the people
suffered was foul beyond
description: & that moreover
all the filth of Delhi was
emptied close to their wells.
Is not this whole paper but a
witches' cauldron out of which
there is nothing but "bubble,
bubble, toil & trouble"?
But take the result of the
Gibraltar work p. 50,
There is no "bubble" simply
looking, seeing & *doing*.
And the work is: Gibraltar
drained & supplied with good
water: & with an active Sanitary
police.
And the result is:
last year's Death rate (1871)
5.87 per 1000
& an average of 10 years preceding
of 8.45

f148v

Part of the South end of the rock
still needs improvement:
but this will soon be done,
please God & you all.
Malta which alas! has not
decided after 10 years
to do anything but wait
to try the result of next Cholera
is pretty much as it was,
is it not?

_____All we should do in Reports,
is it not? - is simply to record
facts: no opinions.

It will be years before the
Health Law of India is made out.
It is scarcely made out yet
for London.

[end]

unsigned letter, ff149-49v, pencil, no copy

f149

35 South St
Park Lane. W.
Nov 18/73

My dear Dr. Balfour

More thanks than I can
easily say for yours of "Lord
Mayor's Day" from Epping.

You are doing a work of
incalculable value at Netley.
It is of details such as these
that ~~the~~ your great work now mainly
consist.

[15:497]

—
— 'Orderly Training' is of such
importance - - - -

You have plains & heights
& valleys & shores & buildings:
and you will utilize all these
by sending out men to hide
themselves as if wounded: -

f149v

- the Orderlies to find them &
bring them in in Ambulances
To make this a Drill is good
===

The School is doing good work
under you all:

~~but~~/and I am sure that both
you & I like to remember that
it would never have lived at all
except for work which Sidney
Herbert did aided by such
men as you

The Medical & Orderly
service at Cape Coast bids
well does it not?

[end 15:497]

unsigned letter, ff150-51v, pencil, faint, black-edged paper, checked at BL, no copy

f150

35 South St
Park Lane W.
May 6/74

My dear Dr. Balfour

[16:465]

No overwork or illness could prevent me from writing to bid you 'God speed.'

You have done admirable service at Netley, as every where: and the things you have done which ought never to have required doing show that you ave been the first P.M.O. there who understood his work.

We are very sorry to part with you: but cannot be sorry that you are going

[up left side:

I wrote an answer to you last kind letter & mislaid it!

f150v

to Gibraltar as we wanted just such a man to do the work.

The local Commissioners have just completed the arrangements for finishing the Sanitary improvement of the whole rock.

You will of course specially see that the Hospital improvements are completed & look well to the Barracks & see that the Drainage Ventilation & Water Supply are properly done Under you I am convinced that

f151

Gibraltar will be about
the healthiest spot in
H.M.'s dominions
God speed you!

I am desired to ask you
"for our satisfaction"
about the man who was
'Capt. Hawtrey' - Have your
facts anything to do with
him?

Pray remember me most
kindly to Mrs. Balfour:
& also to your boy whom I
remember a baby-
& believe me ever most
truly yours Florence Nightingale

[end]

signed letter, ff152-53v, pencil, black-edged paper, typed copy 45772 f278

f152

35 South St
Park Lane W.
May 9/74

My dear Dr. Balfour

I lighted upon these two
unfinished scrawls with
which I *began* to answer
your two kind letters, ~~of~~
and Report, of June &
November. Last year
I never had time or strength
to finish these worthless
productions: & I now
send them, for you *not*
to read, for time has
certainly not made them
less worthless, but
because anything is better

f152v

than to let you suppose
what would be so very
untrue that I ever
could let our friendship &
acquaintance drop. The
friends left to me are few.

I think the public
misfortunes of the last
6 months have taken
more out of me than
20 years of

hard work

My dear Father was taken
from us quite suddenly: a
terrible blow to all: to me
especially who had never

f153

once thought I would survive
him & in a few days after
my best old friend Mrs.
Bracebridge without whom
my life & Scutari would
have been impossible
We have to move my poor
mother from her home of
56 years

a Persian kitten
jumping up made
this unseemly blur
But I must not trouble you
with my troubles
My time & strength are
besides much taken up by

f153v

our great (Civil) Nurse
Institutions, Edinburgh,
Highgate, St. Thomas' &c-
I see Nurses or Matrons & or Probrs.
almost daily: or they stay
in this house with me-
And the correspondence
involved is enormous: & as
you may suppose, of the
most anxious nature: the
more anxious because I cannot be
with them in their work.
I will now only say once more
'God speed to you: you will make
Gibraltar all that it should be:
& believe me
ever your trusty old friend
F. Nightingale

signed letter, ff154-57, pen & pencil, typed copy 45772 f280

f154

35 South St
Park Lane W
March 13/76

[16:465-66]

My dear Dr. Balfour

It gives me untold pleasure to hear from
an old friend like you: there are so few of us
left. I not only gratefully read your
last kind letter (you ask) (in July) - which told me so much
of interest: but, after having had some
communication with a man in the W.O., I
wrote you a long letter in return. This letter
did not miscarry. It was never sent. But it
was no loss to you - Last year life was a
terrible scramble to me: & indeed is still. With

f154v-55

more of business (chiefly 1. Indian & 2. Nurse=Training)
& less of strength than I have ever had, I have
had since my dear Father's death to take
charge of my aged Mother: & was hurried
out of London last year just at the most
important time from June till October: to take
her, poor darling Mother, to her old home, after
which she craved.

But I did not mean to make this, tho' you
kindly ask, a Journal of myself.

[16:465]

About your *Women's Hospital*:

your unceasing efforts after the good *ought* to meet with support:
- & a question shall be asked, such as you
propose, in the House of Commons, about it:
will it not be well too to put in the same
question a reminder about the new *Married*
Quarters which ought to be built:

Were they not to have built *Married Soldiers'*
Quarters, for the whole strength? And *WITH THESE*
did not Capt. Galton & Dr. Sutherland consider that
a separate Hospital was scarcely required?
What do you think of this? What *they* proposed
was, I believe, that each Block should have a
special end Ward with appurtenances for any
infectious cases; most ordinary cases to be treated
in Quarters: But, unless the Quarters be built,
a proper Hospital is urgently required.

I suppose your answer will be that the

f155v

Quarters are farther off in the future than the
v Hospital: & we must get the one first:

& strive for the other afterward

Your Ho: of C. Question shall be asked -

Your energy must & will meet with its reward
about the *Sanatorium* at last: Windmill Hill is
a capital place. Has it not however in times past
been scourged by Epidemics in consequence of
Sanitary neglects? I heard with great satisfaction
that it is now being drained & supplied with water
- mainly I doubt not owing to your representations.
I fear that they will scarcely go to the cost of a
building yet. Would it be possible, during summer,

f156

{archivist: [March 13, 1876 to Dr. T. Graham Balfour.]}

-2-

for men to go under tents there? Or for wooden huts
to be put up?

People here however *will* generally consider it best
if men want change to send them home. They
say it is only 5 days' steam. But I hope for Windmill
at last.

About the *Water=supply*: I understand, on enquiry,
that your wise & strong representations & suggestions
have been acted upon. They seem at the
W.O. to be aware of your facts. And a Report
has just gone is which states that the
Gibraltar *Water=supply* is to be improved. [This
report made its appearance at, i.e. was sent, as passed,
to the Army San: Comm:]

f156v

You have done wonders. Your representations should never cease - They will bear fruit: they do bear fruit.

[end 16:466]

About the *Department*: Every thing, they say, has changed with the abolition of purchase. The A.M.D. will henceforth be a Staff. [I think Sir W. Muir has a hard time of it. But I know he does most ardently desire to keep or to get back all that Sidney Herbert won or desired for it.] The new Warrant is not out yet. But you will have seen the outlines in Mr. Hardy's speech.

f157

I cannot sufficiently admire your great energy and, tho' all those, gifted with the highest views & the greatest perseverance to attain them, think they fall short of the mark, yet you have attained much of the success you deserved. I need not say: Go on & good cheer. And pray believe me always yours most truly Florence Nightingale

I write in haste, because I cannot bear to delay acknowledging your wonderful zeal & efforts in the cause any longer: & in sadness: for Dr. Parkes is dying. After he had taken leave of us all, (of me by dictating a letter) I heard with delight from Prof. Longmore that he was better: but a Nurse was needed. I telegraphed instantly but received in reply the sad Telegram: he is sinking. This is just now. Since then however a better Telegram: & the Nurse is going down.

signed letter, ff158-59, pen, black-edged paper, typed copy 45772 f283

f158

March 23/89
10, South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane. W.

My dear Dr. Balfour

How very kind of you
to remember me, & to send
me your 'picture' which
I value so much. Thank
you a thousand times.

Years roll away; but
I can only say that the
subjects which interested
me so much when I had
the advantage of seeing
so much of you fill me
more than ever - tho' old
& broken in health I wish

f158v

I knew how you thought
those things were
prospering.

I am always under the
pressure of overwork &
illness. And your
kindness will excuse my
delay in writing even this
short note.

You are still working, I
am sure, on the subjects
over which you have
had so large an influence.

Remember me to any
who are good enough
to remember me. &

f159

believe me

if only for auld lang syne

ever sincerely yours

Florence Nightingale

Do you remember my Aunt,

Mrs. S. Smith, at Burlington

St. up to 1861, & who

succeeded my father?

She is dead at a great age.

T. Graham Balfour Esq MD

ff160-283 are from Sidney Herbert to Balfour

f233 Dec 16 1857 SH letter to Balfour, thinks well to put in the rates of the foreign armies as a note; it will not I think do to put in the body of the report a body of facts so different from the others, without we explain the causes of the difference and the value to be attached to each item, a footnote on the page giving the general mortality of the Br Army wd answer the purpose and "the following are sated to be the rates of mortality operating in foreign armies", Farr can give you the Austrians. Miss Nightingale has the papers referring to US army,

f235 Dec 15 1857 The corrected copy of Dr Farr's tables with A B in it is between him and Miss Nightingale and the printer (Harrison). All the last corrections are in it. The copy I gave you is my own and I should like to take it with me tomorrow if you can spare it. I shall see Miss Nightingale tomorrow in pm I go illeg illeg

f237 SH letter to Balfour, thinks well to put in the rates of the foreign armies as a note; it will not I think do to put in the body of the report a body of facts so different from the others, without we explain the causes of the difference and the value to be attached to each item, a footnote on the page giving the general mortality of the Br Army wd answer the purpose and "the following are sated to be the rates of mortality operating in foreign armies", Farr can give you the Austrians. Miss Nightingale has the papers referring to US army,

f239 20 Dec 1857 SH letter to Balfour, Miss Nightingale tells me Tulloch's diagram comes out well and will be useful, re adding a heading to diagrams

f245 SH letter to Balfour, not necessary to send amended copy of report to each commissioner before turning it off, wd cause great delay and I am anxious to get it out before the public for illeg; public feeling or opinion then will decide if we can get it and soon enough what sums the govt will take in the Estimates for the changes & improvements proposed; the invaliding table at illeg; asks to send with him compliments to illeg and ask him to get it printed, together with the paper from which it is taken in the blue book and 10 copies of it to Dr Sutherland who revised all the prints and reprints for me during my absence

f252 3 Jan 1858 SH to Balfour, writes by this post to Dr Smith, will not be necessary to send him a proof. Ld Palmerston and barrack sub commission, regrets it, can lead to no result and is a job, will take up time, after all the govt alone can decide whether to forfeit the money or to turn good money after bad

f256 Jan 10 1858 SH letter to Balfour re index well done, impossible to make any suggests for its improvement, re Portsmouth, Tuesday I hope to return here after seeing Netley, but mt be detained, returns proofs

f264 Feb 12 1858 EH letter to Balfour, Miss N has given us an urgent list for more papers to be written to and needs more reports. I have written all the notes, but need to send with, EH went tonight to the Ordnance and got 2 more but that was all, wants 6 more to send off tomorrow morning if poss, wd you write a line to Messrs Spottiswoode?, if they were sent as before to the Ordnance I wd call for them

f271 no date, re half pay

Add Mss 50210, paper copies, correspondence with Stafford Northcote
signed letter, ff63-68, pen, draft in Add Mss 45779 ff114-18

f63

Private Sept 28/67
35 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
London. W.

Dear Sir Stafford Northcote

I have no apology for
again writing to trouble you -
none - but the extreme
urgency of the business - And
therefore I may as well not
attempt any apology.

[9:601-03]

You have no doubt received
the same deplorable accounts
of Cholera in the N.W.
Provinces, as I have from
Sir John Lawrence.

Up to the date of the last
accounts, several companies
of the best soldiers in the
British Army had perished
at & near Peshawur - the
Regiments losing as many

f63v

men from Cholera as
usually fall in
a great battle.

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

f64

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

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

e.g. why are Meean Meer & Peshawur so deadly to Regiments quartered there? - It is not the first time that

f64v

these catastrophes have happened. Men have been perishing by Cholera year after year. And we who have been asking & receiving deluges of information, both public & private, on this matter, cannot nevertheless at this moment give an opinion as to the causes of unhealthiness at either Station. No document in our possession gives the slightest hint as to what steps have been taken to remedy the unhealthiness.

Surely the most costly of all administrative proceedings is: - to send these strong

f65

-2-

Highland Regiments into districts of country where the causes of unhealthiness ought to be perfectly known, when no efficient steps are taken to remove them.

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

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

Our present position is simply this: -
that, 4 years ago, the Report

f65

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

f66

In Madras Presidency alone was any definite method proposed for organizing a Public Health Department - viz. by Officers of Health & Inspectors, acting under the Presidency Commission. But it was first discouraged, then rejected. And the Head of the Commission, Mr. Ellis, who proposed the plan, was so disheartened that he intended to resign, because he could do no good (which was not exactly true.) He is now Secy to Govt at Madras.

This great question being now in this position - Sir John Lawrence who has done the very best he could under the circumstances

f66v

will be home in a year or
little more. And there
will be no security that the
work which he has been
doing his utmost to forward
will make progress for a
single day after he has
returned - that is, *not unless*
there is some Executive
machinery in India to do
the work, and some
Controlling machinery here
to know that it is being
done.

We have now ample experience
to guide us as to what
should be done: - {printed address, upside down:}
35 South Street, The first step
Park Lane,
London. W. towards improvement
is: - (what you kindly

f67

-3-

informed me that you
proposed)

the Public Health Committee
at the India Office.

It is perfectly true that you
cannot improve the Public
Health in India, except by
local action in India - in
the places where causes of
disease exist. But your
Committee would forward the
systematizing of local effort.
And, as its Head possesses
a perfect command of the
whole Indian subject, he
would be able to advise on
all administrative points
connected with the reform
of Stations, Bazaars & towns -
while he would also aid
in the consideration of

f67v

methods of procedure,
Sanitary laws, & all the
machinery (so requisite)
which may be proposed in
India for the future
improvement of the country.
All persons in India having
any Public Health function
to perform would know
that their proceedings were
watched by a special
Department of the India
Govt (nothing stimulates
them so much -) - And such
things as have happened at
Peshawur could scarcely
pass without rigid scrutiny
& discovery of the causes &
their ultimate removal.

f68

As Mr. Ellis is now Secy to
Govt at Madras -

would it be possible &
advisable to allow him to
make a trial of his Health
organization - (by districts,
Officers of Health & Inspectors -
followed by the execution of
works & measures -) with
such modifications as
farther consideration may
have enabled him to make
in the plan - in Madras Presy?

This would bring us
farther administrative
experience.

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

The things *to be done* are
all laid down in the Report

f68v

of the R. Commission, over which
both Lord Herbert & Lord
Stanley presided.

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

This certainly is a most
favourable moment, when
we have a Governor-Genl
who only waits for the
Secretary of State in order
to do it, and a S. of S. who
is ready & able to guide &
sanction the G. G. in doing
it. It is a combination
which we have never had

before {printed address, upside down:}

& may 35 South Street,
never Park Lane,
have London. W.
again.

Pray believe me
dear Sir Stafford Northcote
ever your faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

[end

9:603]

signed letter, ff72-75, pen

f72

Private Oct 30/67
{printed address:} 35 South Street,
 Park Lane,
 London. W.

Dear Sir Stafford Northcote

I have kept the papers which **[9:607-08]**
you were kind enough to
leave with me much
longer than I intended and,
I am afraid, longer than you
expected. But I have
tried to do carefully what
you desired - by the light of
what you said. And I now
venture to send you the
result of my cogitations.

I return the Despatch of
the Government of India
relating to the Sanitary Inspectors,
- and, in considering the whole

f72v

subject raised in the Despatch
I have found it to
be impossible to deal
with the one question of
Inspection - simply because
if you were to sanction this
& say nothing more, we
should be just where we
were when the original
Commissions were appointed,
i. e. you would be sanctioning
the advising element only
& leaving the Executive element
out of the question. And
I need not say what this
would lead to.

I have therefore ventured
to trouble you with two papers.

f73

Paper No. I gives the heads of
the whole subject seen from
the administrative side.
In Paper No II, I have ventured,
as you permitted, to put down
what might be the heads
of a Despatch on the subject.
Of course I know not how
far these heads may meet
with your concurrence. But,
if, after you have considered
the subject, you thought
well to let me see a rough Draft of what you
might consider it advisable
to send to India, I need
scarcely say that I should
esteem it a favour to be allowed
to look it over, in order to see

f73v

that it covers our ground
as far as possible.

[And I would not keep it
such an inordinate time
as I have kept this
Despatch.]

As Sir John Lawrence's Despatch
applies only to Bengal &
Provinces, it might be said
that similar measures are
equally required for Madras
& Bombay.

If you thought well, after
your new Committee have
seen Sir J. Lawrence's
Despatch, to send a

f74

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

I will not take up a moment
more of your time with
apologies for my lengthiness,
as it is the subject which

f74v

is important and not I.

Pray believe me
dear Sir Stafford Northcote
ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

I think that I possibly may,
in a few days, unless you
forbid me, take courage &
send you Mr. Ellis' paper
(& make you a very short
Abstract of his views)
concerning a Sanitary
administration for Madras
Presidency - as it is
possible that you might

f75

think well to sanction it,
if urged by Lord Napier,
as an experiment for
Madras

[end 9:608]

F.N.

signed letter, ff134-35, pen

f134

Private Dec 30/79
{printed address:} 10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.

Dear Sir Stafford Northcote

I am afraid you have forgotten, tho' I shall never forget, your great kindness to me when you were S. of S. for India.

And I hardly venture to think it other than an intrusion my writing to you now.

It is about *Dr. Farr*, of the General Register Office, - who has resigned after 41 years' hard

134v

work there, & after having almost ~~created~~/formed the Office which he filled.

Would it be possible for you to allow him to retire on *full* pay?

Dr. Farr, as I need hardly state to *you*, as it were created that great Office, & did the work, & was there before Major Graham, as Major Graham himself

f135

would say.

Dr. Farr's name & work
were synonymous with all
rise & progress in
Sanitary & Statistical
science, whether in England, India
or Europe.

He prepared a great
part of the Statistics
for Sidney Herbert's first
R. Commission in 1857 on
the Health ("Sanitary State") of the Army:
and of his second R. Commission,
- carried on after his death
by Lord Stanley, - on the
"Sanitary state" of the Army

f135

in India.

In both of these I was
associated with Dr. Farr
& Sidney Herbert: & indeed
my only excuse for
intermeddling in this matter
is that for now 25 years
I have done much work
in Sanitary Statistics.

Forgive me: & if possible
grant our request that
Dr. Farr, after 41 years
may retire on *full* pay:
& believe me

ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

Rt. Honble

Sir Stafford Northcote M. P.
&c &c &c

Add Mss 51277, 1 letter to Lord Cross, ff104-07, draft 45807 ff227-28

Private

Confidential

Sanitary Dec 3/86

10, South Street.

[10:186-87]

Park Lane, W. [printed address]

Dear Lord Cross

In your extreme kindness
you desired me to write
to you (privately) about
your Sanitary great Indian
affairs. And you kindly
said that you were writing
to Lord Dufferin by this
mail on these.

It occurred to me to suggest
whether you would think
well to tell him your views
against the measure proposed
by the Finance committee
(in at least one Presidency)

viz 1. that the Sanitary Commissioner
should be abolished; or rather
amalgamated with the Surgeon
General, which is worse-
- mixing up the preventive
with the curative, or rather
destroying the preventive service.

2. that the Deputy Sanitary
Commissioners' salaries should
be cut down; in which case
it would be impossible, would
it not?, to keep good men in
the Department.

3. that the number of Dy Sanitary
Commissioners should be
reduced, when there are so

f105

few already for the work.

Should you think well to notice that, as the Dy Sanitary commissioners have had repeated hopes held out to them by the S. of State for India that the Sanitary Commissioner would be chosen from among them, this (Finance Commee's) proceeding has already unsettled the work to an unfortunate degree? and that, as the present remuneration has secured good Sanitaricians, & inferior men would be worse than nothing, your views are that this (too small) Sanitary Dept. should not be meddled with?

f106v

There is the other point, connected with this same subject & mooted already in Sir Jas. Fergusson's time in Bombay, but fortunately negatived by him: viz that the Sanitary supervision of Barracks & troops should be taken away from the Sanitary Commissioners, & given to the Surgeon General, H.M.'s Forces, who has neither time nor knowledge for it; and as you said it is most important that the Sanitary condition of Barracks & troops should be reported on by the Sanitary Commissioner.

f106

2

But about this last Presidency
matter of administration,
you will perhaps thin
that it scarcely comes
enough under the Governor
Genl's cognizance for you
to think well to call Lord
Dufferin's attention to it.
2. Concerning the command, -
for of course to me what
you desire me to do is
a command - which you
were so good as to give me,
viz. that the Sanitary
Commissioner of Bombay
should communicate to you

f106v

yourself on certain matters,
might I request that you
will allow me to write
to you before next mail?

f107

Would it be deemed an
impertinence if I were again
to ask as a great favour
that any enquiry for
information ordered by you,
any expression of your views,
or any steps made by you,
should be made *entirely*
in your own name, without
any reference whatever to

poor me, or any mention
at all of me?

[end 10:187]

And, thanking you again
for your great kindness,
pray believe me, dear Lord
Cross, your devoted servant
Florence Nightingale
The Viscount Cross

Add Mss 51278, correspondence with Lord Cross, paper copies, two letters
signed letter, ff46-51v, pen, draft is 45809 f38
check 10:added

f46

Private

Confidential

Draft November 12/88

"Bombay Village } {printed address: 10, South Street,
Sanitation Bill"} Park Lane. W.
"1888" }

Dear Lord Cross

I have just received your kind **[10:345]**
commands to write to you on
the subject of the latest Draft
Bill, entitled the "Bombay Village
"Sanitation Bill, 1888" - the which
was given me to read - And
I hasten to obey your desire.

This Draft contains two
excellent provisions: 1: that
all the moneys raised in the
Village for the Sanitary improvement of
the Village shall be spent IN
THE VILLAGE: [the reverse of this
has been an universal village
complaint] and 2. the village
menial servants (Mhars & Mangs)

f46v

are to have Govt lands - & their
village dues are to be recoverable
as part of the land -revenue

The defects of the Bill are:

that it is a return to stringent
absolutism

that it leaves no initiative in
the hands of the villagers, but
is a Bill of active interference
by Govt Officers

that it gives great opportunities
for being dishonestly worked

Has not your movement been
latterly in the direction of
putting power into the hands
of the people - of allowing
them to choose their own way
of doing, what was ordered as necessary
for their own interests - provided

f47

it was done to the satisfaction
of the Officers Govt would
appoint to supervise the work -
of reviving their own immemorial
Village organisation, e. g. the
Village Panchayat -
of raising funds thro' these means
for the Village
of substituting, in short, the decent
villager for the corrupt petty
native official?

This is a Bill in the retrograde
direction: it puts the whole
power & Executive into the
hands of the Collector, who has
too much to do already. And
the Collectors, with some
brilliant exceptions, do not know
where to look for filth &
disease=causes.

f47v

A "Sanitary Committee", as it is called, nominated out of the village residents by the Collector himself is to do the work instead of a Panchayat. The Collector is to assess a rate on the inhabitants with the concurrence of his Sanitary *Committee*

Is it not to be feared that the Bill will be an engine for private malice, & that the Committee man will like to be able to spy out all his neighbour's or enemy's shortcomings, & summon him before themselves? as is enacted.

Should not this power be put into the hands of the Police Patel & the recognised Headman of the village?

f48

-2-

It was hoped by some of the best authorities that Governmt would do this work

by *re-establishing* by law the position of the *village Panchayat*

by allowing them to raise the funds, as the people know much better than we how to do this *without causing irritation*

by giving the village Headman authority to punish those who disobeyed the order of the village Panchayat

[the re-establishment of the Mhars & Mangs - from time immemorial the village menial servants - is done in the present Draft]

Government of course reserving **[end]** power to itself, if the Panchayat is recalcitrant, neglectful or obstructive.

f48v

The *people* want to get the Govt to pass an Act to enable them to do it themselves

No doubt pressure would have to be put on the leading Village men to establish a Panchayat. But the villagers would believe they were doing it themselves. And they would raise the funds necessary for the purpose.

This *has* been done *proprio motu* in some villages

[A Draft Bill was actually framed in 1885 embodying the desired provisions.]

Part III of the present '1888' Draft goes on to enact, if the proposed Sanitary Committee *does not do its work,*? then the Govt of Bombay is to have power to order a "Sanitary Board"

f49

selected &
appointed over two or more villages,
(not necessarily of residents,) by the Collector - & with Mamlutdars - (magistrates) - on it.

The Sanitary Commissioner & his Dept are ignored.

The Mamlutdars as a rule know nothing of sanitation, except to keep the road clean thro' which the Collector or the Assisitt Collr is to pass.

It is not said who is to decide whether the village is clean - or whether it is *dirty enough* to put Part III in execution.

The Collector is to have power to appoint Sanitary Inspectors (officials, above all, dreaded by the people) under Part III - who will be natives, of course.

f49v

But what their training,
what their qualification, is
not named.

The sanitary work to be done
is to secure: a "pure x potable"
water supply:
& village surface cleansing &c.

But of course power to make
Village rules is given.

The work is to be done by
village menial servants
Contracted " "
voluntary village labour

I fear I am getting too minute

But ought not power to be
taken to pay the "village menial
"servants" farther than by Govt lands
& dues? Ought they to be expected

{in another hand: (We *can't* afford it. The cost wd be immense)

[printed address, upside down:]

10, South Street, x But who is to say

Park Lane. W. whether it *is* "pure"?

Some villages never know what it
is to drink any but impure water
(out of the tank).

f50

-3-

to do more for these recognised
dues than their forefathers
did before them under native
rule - & if more is demanded
of them - and *must* not more
be demanded of them if the
village is to be properly cleaned?
they ought to be paid proportionately

Then, is not the Contracting
System a way to defeat the
wishes of Govt? It was found
so in Bombay City. And the
Sanitary ~~cleansing~~/work there ~~is now~~/ has ever since been
done by the labour of Municipal
servants - & it is to be hoped
it will be done in villages by
paid village servants - [the Mhars
& the Mangs are too few].

The *voluntary* labour is
surely mythical?

f50v

But I am getting too much
into detail: I ask your
pardon - & will stop.
I meant only to lay before
you the *main* features
of this latest Draft Bill,
which I should perhaps
mention is quite open to
alteration. The Govt of Bombay
must already be receiving
letters upon it. And I ought
perhaps to say that I was
invited to criticize it, & have
done so, & sent my remarks
to Bombay. as I was desired.
It must therefore be far from
being decided upon - as even
a final Draft.

f51

Would it be deemed an
impertinence if I were to
repeat a request your
kindness once granted me,
- namely that whatever you
may think well to do in the
way of "impressing any
"suggestions" upon others
that may commend themselves
to you, or of any enquiry for
information or any steps ordered,
may be put forward entirely
in the *Secy of State's name*
alone, without any reference
whatever to me of course or any words
I may have used?

f51v

Thanking you for the kind
opportunity you have given
me, pray believe me
 dear Lord Cross
ever yours faithfully & gratefully
 Florence Nightingale

I have been too long
already - Otherwise
there were one or two
more things about
Indian Sanitation I
should have troubled
your kindness with.

F.N.

The Viscount Cross
{printed address, upside down:} &c &c &c
10, South Street,
 Park Lane. W.

ff58-63v, notes on FN's remarks on the Bombay Village Sanitation Bill. The criticisms made on the bill are:

1. That it wd have been better to work thro the village panchayet and police patel, rather than to constitute a new org of san committees (Part II) or san boards (Part III);
2. That the bill places too much in the hands and on the shoulders of the officials (the collectors etc) and leaves too little to the people;
3. That san inspectors (as contemplated by Part III) wd be objectionable, and that the Br shd provide for paying all village san servants and for directing their work acc to san sc;
4. That the org under the bill wd be an engine of petty oppression.

These are the main criticisms made by Miss Nightingale; these and other criticisms were made by Dr Hewlett, late san commr of Bombay, at page 118 of the report below.

I submit that the reply wd be or posit:

1. That the panchayet has disappeared for all practical purposes; that the san com will be an attempt to revive the panch for san objects. The village san com will consist of 3 to 5 repr villagers, the sort of men who wd have formed the panch. The collector will indeed choose; them, but he is certain to take repr, leading men acc to the best of his info. It wd be practically imposs to get the members elected by vote. The com so constituted will be less likely to commit acts of oppression or malice than a single police patel, thereby in all prob the police patel, and perhaps the land revenue patel, too, will if they can be got to undertake the duty, be often made members of the com. A repr com will be more amenable to village opinion than a single patel. It was probably some reason of this kind that induced the Bombay govt to alter Act VIII 4 1867 which gave small magisterial powers in these san matters to the police patel.

It will be seen that the comees are to publish their proposed rules, and to exercise their magisterial and preventive jurisdiction before and in face of the whole village (Sections 12 and 14).

2. It is true that the collector has not time to do very much personably for the san of each village. But still his influence and the influ of his subordinates *must* be exercised if any san improvement is to be achieved. Ordinary villagers do not understand or believe in san at all. If the initiative were left to them nothing wd be done. Pressure or influence must come from outside to st the villagers going in the direction of san reform, w/o the maintenance of such pressure they wd hardly continue any san work they mt begin. We cannot afford more officers of the illeg calibre, but we must enlist his influence on the repr of the govt in the cause. If the comees were left at the outset to run alone, they wd not run at all.

3. San inspectors will be est only occasionally and under sanitary boards, not under comees. They will be of the same class that are employed in mun towns. If much or important san work goes on, some supervision must be reqd for a time at any rate.

It is much better to get as much as poss done by the people, each for himself, than to pay regular servants to do the work. For instance it will be better that each illeg in a village shd carry outside the village the sweepings of his cow house, shd keep the fence round his ground (compound)

in order, shd maintain the surface drain in front of his house, than that we shd attempt to do all such work by paid servants. The village cd never afford to pay the nec staff. Even in England house owners are compelled to shovel away the snow from the pathway or pavement before their dwellings. It is better to promote self help in such matters than to lead the people to think such work ought to be done for them. As a matter of fact, if they don't do it themselves, no one else can be paid to do it. When big works of vill drainage or water supply are taken in hand, that labour wd had to be paid, because no volunteers wd do such things.

4. It is quite true that oppression may indeed that it will sometimes be practised by commees. But they are prob less likely to commit oppression than the police patels who act alone. As the people are becoming educated many of them get to know their rts and oppression gradually becomes less common.

The work on the rules will be under the control and advice of the san commissioner and his subordinates. But this wd be arr by the govt and wd not be put into the statue. In some parts of India native doctors in charge of dispensaries vaccinators and such like people are enlisted and san officers of their circles. But the number of such persons is not large.

Perhaps any reply to Miss Nightingale mt run somewhat thus.:

I thank you warmly for your valuable criticisms on the Bombay Village Sanitation Bill, and I am glad that you have been able to send an expression of your views to the Bombay govt. The bill is at present only a project of law; it has not been brought before the leg and no doubt Lord Reay will carefully consider your advice.

I am told that the old panch system has practically died out of our bombay villages and the present proposal revives the panchayets under another name for san work; the committee members will of the very same type of men that used to compose the panchayets. Often the police patel will be on the com, who sitting in open conclave in the village *chavdi* wd be more amenable to village opinion, and less likely to commit oppression than the police patel.

It is true that the bill lays much resp on the collector and his staff who cannot personally do very much more than they already perform. But as ordinary village opinion now runs in bombay, little initiative in san matters can be expected from the villagers themselves; the initiative and influence to secure reform must come from outside and with the weight of got authority. The collector and his staff represent the govt; so they are called in to help. They are less likely to cause oppression than the police agency wd be. They will act on the advice of the prov and district san officers, but it was not nec to recite this in the bill. Such arrs are better made by executive order.

Much of the village san work will at the outset be of a petty household kind, such as removing cow house sweepings from the village, repairing and keeping clean the water sources, and maintaining the surface water drains. Most of this can best be done by each householder for himself; it will not be a serious tax on his labour or time. It is better to enc self help in such matters than to lead the villagers to leave them to a paid agency. Indeed in most villages no paid agency cd be afforded for such business; the staff if maintained wd have to be paid by a village rate

which wd set the people more than ever against san. For big works of water supply or drainage paid labour wd be needed, and the money wd have to come partly from existing local rates and partly form a special rate on the village.

I purpose to tell the Bombay govt that I am glad they are taking up the qu of village san in a methodical way, that I do not object to their bill, but that I anticipate that local and native opinions, if carefully stated [?], may lead them to modifications which will make the bill still better suited to secure the excellent object they have in view. C.E.B.

signed letter, ff84-86, pen, draft 45809 f137

f84

CONFIDENTIAL

May 4/89

[10:218]

{printed address:} 10, South Street,

Park Lane. W.

{written in another hand on top of the letter: Is there any proposal before the Govt having

any 8/5/89

Reports examined by

one for IO?

Dear Lord Cross

Your extreme kindness to me in matters that lie so near my heart as the Sanitary interests of India encourage me to venture once more to trouble you with a question: Might I trespass upon you so far as to ask if you have decided yet what steps are to be taken to preserve some control over the Sanitation of India?

Would it not in any case take some time to bring Lord

f84v

Dufferin's proposal - the Sanitary

"Resolution of the Govt of India"

[Simla, July 27, 1888.] - even if it be carried out, - into working order in the several Presidencies & Provinces? And, until it be in working order, will you not retain the important power of using some means to criticize Sanitary Reports from India such as was afforded by the Army Sanitary Comme, and

of quickening too these means?
Was it ever more important in
India than now?

It would be in the last degree

f85

impertinent of me to be suggesting considerations to you, did I not believe that I am only echoing your own view in asking:

would not a "expert" be an 'uncanny' substitute at the W. O. for the re-organized Committee- to include, as heretofore, representatives of the different aspects of Sanitary questions Medical, Engineering, general & especially Indian? And, should a solitary "expert" at the W. O. be permitted to exercise the same supervision over Indian reports - would not the least evil be that it should

f85v

come to nothing? [The W. O. "expert" may be quite without Indian experience or the capacity to review Indian conditions] Except as the same echo, it also would be too presumptuous of me to ask: is not your view that, if the W. O. were to abolish the Army Sanitary Comm:. you would yourself appoint one for India, the only right & safe one?

Forgive my intrusion. It is your own kindness that is in fault.

I need hardly say that it would be my highest privilege if you could spare one quarter of an hour,

f86

-2-

hour, & would be so very
good as to make an
appointment to see me
some afternoon on these
matters. but I am not so
unprincipled as to look for it
in these your busy times.

[end]

Pray believe me
your faithful & grateful servt
Florence Nightingale

The
Viscount Cross
&c &c

f86v, notes for letter, unsigned and undated

Miss Nightingale
Army San Commn
Indian illeg
Df 4 May }
R 5 " } 89
9 18 " }

apology for
delay - Ld C however
has not neglected
to read it carefully
& will take an
early opp of
calling to see
her

Add Mss 51279 f15 FN cover letter to Lord Cross