

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]

**f1**

*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.

**f2**

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

3

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



**f4v**

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

{f6 is blank}

**f6v**

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

{f8 is blank}

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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.

**f11**

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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**f13v**

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

{f15 is blank}

**f15v**

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

{f17 is blank}

**f17v**

"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}

**f21v**

"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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**f23v**

& 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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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

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Our rule gives security to property: &amp; justice:

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

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Change in Civil Procedure Code wanted: that ~~the~~ 66 -  
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Economy No equality between the Zemindar & the Ryots "

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

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240 millions cannot pass away	"
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Cannot she like all other great countries give the cultivator an interest in the soil?	"
[Should this come under ]	
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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 <del>is the</del> /makes Russia really <del>dead</del> 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 <del>in all</del> /the "eating sore" of the world:	
Should/Shall she not abolish Serfdom in her own India?	"
Ryots not <del>always</del> so well off <i>bodily</i> as some slaves <del>are</del> /were	
The uneducated Ryot is utterly defenceless: but a "slumbering volcano": Note 77-78	
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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

f48

-3-

{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**

-11-

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 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

-2-

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. Cuningham: 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 earliest times engineering works were constructed India 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."

{written in the bottom margin on a diagonal

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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 Mr. C. W. McMuir tells us that Ryot in the average holding all over Oude (vide Census Report) 1873 in the is 3¼ acres to each tenant: that the rent paid "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 Two or three years ago the Chief Commissioner of the Ryots the Province circulated questions to all the in Oude Commissioners under him. "the reply to these 1871 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 consequence "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

**f116**

-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 ?

**f124**

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/tryed 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

**f45v**

[Orderlies 4 mo at Aldershot  
drill, anatomy &c &c &c  
Serjts objections  
Military General (or who answers to General)  
Hospitals  
Regimental Females p.16  
Civil Training "  
under whom to be? under Govt  
in what Presidency? p. 3  
[Orderlies to obey Nurses Regn 36 p.14  
India - All give orders  
only Coolee obeys  
is Nurse to teach Native Regn 47 p.17  
orderlies? p. 11  
What Nurse's responsibility in Wards Regn 45, 46, p.17  
Nurses must have a specified  
[position in Wards Reg 51 p.17  
? ladies  
Guy's  
bad example

ff46-50, undated and unsigned, resolution of the Government of India regarding Sanitation

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 where Village Communities do not exist? overseers & 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, 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,

f157

-5-

`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**

-7-

'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**

-8-

'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**

-9-

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]

average rate

Land not really worth anything -

per acre 2 1/2 rupees

[the rain pays revenue]

Punjab has rain

{Upper Sind

Rainfall

2,3, or 4 inch

Sind " not

Kurachee

~~3 or 4~~ 10

Hyderabad

6

*Total Unirrigated Area*

x

? 1200000

Upper Sind

? 1123105 (see little book)

x Shikarpore  
Jacobabad

(chief Quarters Collector)

17 lacs

~~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**

-3-

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

**f168**

-2-

p. 10            Decrease of population  
         Salem                 -20.7 per cent  
6 Famine Taluks -15  
         Increase  
4 Non famine Taluks + 6.1 per cent

p. 12           missing people do not account for decrease  
all natural population movements in definite direction to find food  
         from about Madras to Madras                             & work  
         from Coimbatore to Malabar or Trichinopoly  
         from Salem to Tanjore great irrigation Cenvery delta  
         from Kurnoot & N. Nellore to Kistna  
in Madras out of some 130000 in relief camps not 12 from Salem  
         great bulk from Nellore, Chingleput & N. Arcot  
from ~~in~~ Bellary & Cuddapah emigration encouraged to Buckingham  
         Canal works on Nellore coast but this was out of the  
         usual course       full of disaster & had to be abandoned

Madras famine district    pop. 20 000 000

         they did not go to Mysore because of famine

         nor into Bombay

         or the Nizam's                     worse off than Madras

         Nizam's & Mysore came into Bellary for relief

         before end of 1877         great surplus of emigrants including

those who went to Ceylon - Travancore had returned to their  
villages

Mansion House fund hastened resumption of village life

         by grants for repair of houses, purchase of implements, seed grain,  
         cattle &c

children under 10 having disappeared in double the proportion of persons

over 10         disproves the migration theory wh. fails to explain decrease of  
pop.

f169

-3-

p. 14 Table Decrease of Pop. up to March 1878  
Salem 2400960 missing  
add increase 3273527  
1 per cent  
increase  
3 ½ millions less by famine  
by March 1878  
probably 4 millions {there are 3 vertical lines from the top to this point  
in the right margin}

p. 15 but for relief losses wd have been 5 instead of 3  
millions  
compare partial famine of 33-4 2 millions disappeared  
2,205 578 -

p.16 decrease of Births

p. 17 diminish month by month in exact corresponde  
with intensity of famine 9 months previously  
causes continue to operate for a long period

p. 17 17 months returns from Nov/76 to March/78 show excess of *registered*  
*Deaths of 1140048* over average of same months in  
former years  
3000000 decrease of pop indicated by test census  
not one half of actual deaths registered in  
famine seasons disorganization of village life  
& communal administration  
1000000 diminished Births from November 1876 up to present time

losses by Death rather more than 2 millions  
diminished Births accounting for 1 million

f170

-4-

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

f174

Sind

Works so far have paid 15 per cent capital outlay 667 000 produced 100 000 a year this is ~~nearly~~ the increase ~~since~~ entirely due to work we have constructed (giving the old works the credit of revenue derived from them)

In greater part of India Irrigation works do not have to be remunerative till they have been in operation 12 years

Sind return immediate up to 5 per cent

water used as fast as it can be delivered only thing necessary works shd not be carried on too fast in order that people may be in time to properly {illeg}

1 Desert Canal - work but half made, more than {illeg doubling?} its working expences if stopped for a year would produce 5 or 6 per cent once

2 Eastern Narra has been paying 5 or 6 per cent for years

3 Bigari pays 20 per cent ~~what~~ after Irrigation fully developed valuing old work at fair rates

Sind 'rainless' can cultivate as well with its land as without water

50 000 a year spent on canals  
250 000 " " might be spent to make supply more {illeg}  
x x

Eastern Narra & heads placed at rocky barrier of Indus  
Sukkur furnished with streams  
cistern supply even during bad {written diagonally}

even with

**[space problems]** x x {illeg principle?}

Scarcely a year Indus does not fail when population people are busily irrigating present & when full irrigation necessary instead of {written in the bottom margin}

Railway steady nearly completed  
rise beginning in May: river rises suddenly throws out great quantity where not needed, leaves people inundated by silt & less able to do with (5 per cent at their beginning might

world be expected  
for by this new  
rest outlet  
of  
season

f175

-5-

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}

f177

-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 Multea Canals 99 miles

operation about 14

2 ½ years 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 Ekron Tank - dam 1½ miles long 76 ft high

failure at present 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 " 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 million or say nearly ½ 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 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	Irrigated in inches	in Rupees			
Bengal	100,000,000				No information			64 345 Lacs	
British Burmah	56,000,000	100 22000000	4200 129	52 "	4,300	2700000	3000000		
Assam	24,000,000 13000000	96	29	"	38,000	4300000	6000000		
Coorg	1,300,000 74000	500 not stated 96	3½	"	500	114000	115000		
{in margin beside next five provinces:} with Percentages on Total Area									
Madras	89,000,000	no detail 2000000	45	487 Lacs	5 p.c.	16 p.c.	21 3 p.c.		
Bombay	50,000,000	no detail	500,000 2000000	47	21500000 300 Lacs	22000000	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	8 p.c.		
Sindh	30,000,000	no detail		300,000 2,000,000 10,000,000	6 1 p.c.	1,200,000 42 Lacs 1123105	#2,300,000 4 p.c. p.c.	7 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
	11,000,000	967 Lacs				
5 Last	(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	1730000
Oudh	15,300,000		nil	3,000,000	
	3000000	5300000			
Punjab		67,000,000	1,600,000	5000000	6600000
				20,200,000	
Central		72000000	96	775000	
			775096	12 500 000	
Provinces					
Total of the 4	206300000	2,600 096	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 <u>fall:</u>
	Inches	Lacs			<u>Reven</u> <u>ue</u>
N.W. Provinces	27000000	7700000		44	425
Oudh	8200000	340000		33	138
Punjab	26900000	20000000		27	192
Central Provinces	13240000 3580000 <u>17/6820000</u>	23000000		49	62
Total of <del>827</del> the 4	<del>789/8920000</del> 78920000	54100000			817 Lacs Rupee s = 8,0 00,00 0
	% <del>38/9</del> per cent	26 per cent			



**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  
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 expence 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.

unsigned notes, ff210-11v, pencil

**f210**

Mr. Bright	May 7/88
Land Banks	
Decentralization	Local Govt
	all depends on Local bodies
	but G.G. must keep watch, guide,
	not drive

Strachey  
principal questions for a G.G. to  
consider  
G.G. thinks he may consider when he likes

Finance	Famine
	Military
Poverty =	Sanitary
Local Self Govt	
Land Tenure	
Employment of natives:	Strachey
Education:	Technical
	Agricultural
Irrigation	
Reform of Legislative Council	

**f210v**

Two years ago  
question arose of  
Schism in Ireland  
remaining R. Cathcs separating  
from the Pope - Patriarch  
Mons Persico, a very superior man  
then sent by Pope -

Sir B. Frere for separation of Presidencies

{f211 is blank}



**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
	to
Cranbrook	- 80
Hartington }	{80
	to
Kimberley	85
Churchill	- 85
Kimberley	- 86
Cross	- 86
Kimberley	- 92
Ld. Geo. Hamilton	- 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

BL21ind 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  
form for local application x  
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

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

**[15:263]**

**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 me,  
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

[16:264]

W

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 labors 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  
Fevers, & 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

signed letter, ff145-46v, pencil, no copy

**f145**

35 South St  
Park Lane W.

April 24/  
73

My dear Sir

Though I regret your  
loss with more than April  
tears - indeed, very inconsolably,  
so excellent is the service  
you have done it - & the  
whole world - yet I  
should be a 'curmudgeon'  
if I did not give you joy  
on the 'promotion' which  
you desired & so well  
deserved.

I hope & do not doubt  
T. Graham Balfour Esq

**f145v**

but that you will keep a  
(helping) hand over the  
Reports - as long as you  
can -

I should think well of your  
successor as I am sure  
that you would not have  
put forward an inefficient  
man -

Your promotion is 'as well  
as could be expected'  
an ambiguous phrase which  
may mean a bad or a  
good - or half of both.  
Excuse this stupid pencil note

**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

ff160-63 SH letter to Balfour from printed 49 Belgrave Square May 7 1857  
Private. I believe you have been in communication with the War Dept on the  
subject of the commission on the Sanitary State of the Army, and of the  
status of the hospitals, Barracks Medical dept &c which is about to  
commence its sittings and for which Lord Panmure told me he intended to  
request you to act as secretary.

I am in hopes that the commission will appear in the Gazette tomorrow  
and I shd be glad to commence our sittings as soon as possible. But before  
we do so, I am anxious to have some communication with you wh might  
facilitate our preliminary proceedings. I wd have called at Chelsea today  
but was prevented by business. Could you call here tomorrow morning at 10  
o'clock or could you make it convenient to see me if I call at Chelsea at  
eleven? Wh I can do without inconvenience & with much pleasure.

F164 SH to Balfour, printed 49 Belgrave Square May 26 1857

Will you be so good as to write a circular to chair of the London  
Hospital asking the width of bed & the distance between the beds on the  
sides the distance apart from foot to foot. Also to cubic contents allowed  
each patient. Also a copy of the diet table. I think an... first question.  
forms all our principal military hospitals general and regiments.

ff166-7 SH to Balfour, Savernake Forrest Marlboro June 2 1857

The enclosed note is from Mr Paget. It would be advantageous to add  
the substance of it to his Evidence and it wd come in perfectly at the end  
of his answer to question 681.

But as he did not write the note with a view to publication, wold you  
kindly send it to him and ask him whether he objects to its being reprinted  
with his evidence or if he wishes it altered, ask him to alter it, without  
the substance of it the answer is incomplete.

No sign yet of any printed draft report. I hope however it will turn  
up soon, tomorrow. In the meanwhile I am working on the with the General  
hospitals hope to get to "supply" ....

Ff168- Savernake Forest June 3 1857 I return to town tomorrow morning &  
will be at yr service any time after. I have got some more draft report  
ready. I am glad to see how much shorter it looks when printed.

Many thanks for Dr Farr's paper wh is very interesting. I think you have the paper which illeg it ... Dir Gen's office. It will be useful in the report illeg if you could get a illeg I hope Mr illeg is getting on with the paper giving the history of the ration & stoppages. I saw Mr Neison the actuary on Saturday afternoon before I left town as also Dr Farr. Illeg's introduction, statistics

Can you let me have Dr A smith's printed paper giving the description of the army hospitals & urging the creation of new general hospl?

f170 printed 49 Belgrave Square June 8 [1857] You have forgotten to send me the War Office paper containing the history of the rations and stoppages.

F171 Dover June 26 1857 I return you Dr Whitfield's letter. I believe he is right about light. We do not know the laws or the powers by wh it is effected. But there is little doubt that the sun's rays have a direct effect upon atmosphere & upon human health and no one but an engineer would ever have dreamed of so constructing a hospital as to disbar the wards from being visited by the sun's rays.

I will return illegs's report when I have made an abstract from it.

A illeg's Genl's return will answer to purpose as you propose.

I should certainly be glad to do without a re-examination of Genl Maxwell?

We have now in Mr Barrington Mr Farnall & Dr Sutherland, Captain Laffan and Dr Arnott to examine. We will finish hospitals and barracks & Dr Farr & Dr Neison Will you be so good s to send a copy of our barrack return to Dr Farr illeg

f173 SH to Balfour Doer, June 28 1857 I am afraid I forgot the other day to say that I shall be much obliged if you will get from the Medl Dept a return of the numbers of A surgeons appointed with numbers of all ranks on full pay so as to compare with the Navy & SSCo [?]. We ought also to learn the *strength* of the forces they treat. I will return the report of Army Commission's tomorrow when we meet as I hope to be in Belgrave Square at eleven if you illegs

What with Tulloch in Kingston & Farnall & Dr Sutherland will come a full day. Will you be so good as to send a copy of our Barrack return to Dr Farr with my compte.

f175- SH to Balfour printed 49 Belgrave Square July 2 1857 I return you Ld Parnmure's answer to Ld Shaftesbury also the Report of the San com on Fort Pitt Lunatic Hospital.

I send also some returns from Haslar with a note & table appended by Dr Conolly.

F176 SH to Balfour printed 49 Belgrave Square July 5 185 I send you a fresh mass of the MS for the Printer.

Will you specify wh it shd be printed with the last on one side only of the paper.

I have no doubt it will require much alteration when printed as the

parts were written separately & no doubt we had changes not always joined in the best way.

I expect Dr Beatson tomorrow at 11 o'clock.

F178 SH to Balfour printed 49 Belgrave Square July 7 1857

Sir John McNeill will be with us either on Wednesday or Friday next.

Have you sent him the evidence. If not I suggest that you at once send him the first half. By the time he has read that, the remainder or a part of it will be ready. Can you give him another copy of the printed papers illeg the subjects of our enquiry

F180 SH TO Balfour printed 49 Belgrave Square n.d.

There can be no objection to your showing the clothing recommendations to Panmure

I enclose Dr Dartnells's letter to the commission. Will you answer it saying that not having any power to deal with the cases of officers we have not visited any patients of alleged grievance and are not competent to give any opinion on the statement which he has illeg

f182 SH to Balfour printed 49 Belgrave square July 18 1857 The additional pages follow the MS which was sent this morning to complete the subject.

Will you insert & re Asylum. Illeg

F183 SH to Balfour 49 Belgrave Sq Saty July 18

I made a mistake yesterday about the printing. The reprint with the corrected portions ought to be printed on both sides the paper with the usual type of blue book reports.

If only printed on one side, the commission will be frightened at the apparent volume.

But the MS is I hope to send to the printers today to be printed like the last one side of single sheets. If I am not ready (which I will not be at 10.30) I will ask your messenger to come back for the MS letter.

F185 SH to Balfour printed 49 Belgrave Square July 23 1857 I shall be very glad if you can get me for the report as Showing the claims of the Army Medical Dept with rates of mortality of the A.M. officers compared with civil practitioners. I think too that it illeg paper telling the mortality army doctors at Scutari, in the Crimea if it is also important for the claim of the former for honors.

You have certainly spurred on the printers with some effect. I have from them the reprint of the com and the newly printed portion in illeg and if tomorrow whether before or after the com sits I could go then to Chelsea with you, where corrections & alterations are to be made we could get a reprint of it made in time for an early day next week.

I hope to be in Belgrave Square at ½ past eleven but probably it will be too late to do much.

We ought to have from the Department the letter from Ld Shaftesbury demanding the question, J.S. Mill, Lunatic asylum & Ld Panmure's letter we have get as an assurance. We ought to get from Sir B Hawes a return showing the length of service of the mily lunatics. He says they can all illeg

F188 SH to Balfour printed Belgrave Square July 26 1857, This is quite hopeless. The only thing to do is to return it to Dr Gibson with a fresh copy of his Evidence and inform him that he is at liberty to strike out any accidental mis statement or to correct any error but that the commission are unable to accept other evidence than that actually given before them.

F189 SH to Balfour printed 49 Belgrave square July 26 [1857] This is the corrected copy of the draft report, but I have been obliged to tear off at last pages. I have so much to alter.

f190 SH to Balfour printed Wilton House Salisbury Aug 7 1857 I think the printing of Sir J Clark's "ev" is that he drew up a plan wh he showed to Miss Nightingale and Dr Sutherland, also I believe thought much alteration necessary & I suppose that it is undergoing the process

I have asked Dr Farr to make for the appendix a coloured diagram giving the Army causes compared with civil. I think it will make the case more intelligible to those whose eyes are a little parted to the trains than the cart. I hope you will put yr

f192 SH to Balfour printed Wilton House Salisbury Aug 11 1857 Many thanks for the report whi I have read thus! There are one or two Illegs

I have some doubt about the "Return" being so completely cut off from Hospitals by the interruption of "Invaliding" which is altogether disconnected with the subject of Hospitals.

I go up to town tomorrow morning on the 8 o.c train and shall be in Belgrave Sq soon after then. Would you meet me there?

F194 printed 49 Belgrave Square Aug 114 1857 I have agreed with Lord Panmure that we should in our report finish the recapitulation of our Recommendations with the following sentence "with a view to give immediate effect to these recommendations we beg to suggest the appointment of a sub-commission to inspect the Barracks Hospitals ton order the execution of such works as by illeg immediately illeg and which would not exceed a certain financial limit and to report on the further actuarial limit which in required.

We also recommend the appointment of committees to draw up a scheme for the reorganization of the office of the Dir Genl and a warrant regulating illeg to , to draw up a scheme for the proposed medical school and to revise the Regulations and whether to arrange illegs

PS will you send Mr Tulloch's tables if tomorrow to Mount illeg Co Dublin if later to Delphi Westport Co Mayo, Ireland.

f196 Delphi Westport Co Mayo Aug 29 1857 Before we can send the new A.R. Council with the revision of the old, the continuation of the new Regulations, we must know how it will be compared. Illegs Here is a letter from illeg . Panmure with the enclosed note I shall be glad to learn Tulloch's latest.

I think you had better at once send in a corrected copy of the Report to Lord Panmure with the enclosed note from me wh please to date.

I shall be glad to have Tulloch's tables.

I found yr letter was sent without illegs  
PS illegs  
Ld Panmure is anxious for ample reference to Williams which we can prepare  
for illeg copies

f198 Delphi, Westport, Co Mayo Aug 22 1857 I enclose a note of Lord Cowley.  
In looking over the report I am more than ever struck with the necessity of  
dealing much more in detail on the invaliding. I answered illeg by large

I do not know that I had illeg detail Instruction as to the Paris  
hospital & for illegs

PS I am sorry in thinking that Lord Cowley has been made an Earl.  
Please fob off the envelope & put on

f200 Annington Hall, Tamworth [A'Court residence] Sept 26 1857, I write a  
line to you at Chelsea for the chance of your being returned to say that I  
go to town tomorrow afternoon and if you are at Chelsea I wd be glad to see  
you on Tuesday morning at ½ past 10 to go thro' Sir T Philip's corrections  
and any others that you may have from other commissioners.

F202 Manchester Oct 4 1857 I shall go to town by a late train tonight so as  
to get all tomorrow and as much as Tuesday as I can for our work. My  
division of time tomorrow would depend a good deal on Lord Panmure, but I  
shd hope to see you in the afternoon when we could finish our corrections  
if you are unengaged say at 2 o'clock.

f204 printed Wilton House Salisbury Oct 11 1857 Undeterred by the threefold  
balance of the remainder of the sanitary papers, I think it most important  
that we should have them.

If they are in print that will save great trouble but in the AM Dep or  
to those who have to lead them. Illeg

I think that Miss Nightingale's evidence shd be unaltered. But she  
should look it over carefully first. If anything in it seems to you  
objectionable I wish you would show her the passages for consideration.

I think Tulloch's returns ought illeg

I shall be in town at the end of the week. I will send you my copy of  
the report tomorrow, with the last recommendations for Sir T.P.'s copy

F206 printed Wilton Hose Salisbury Oct 11 1857. Dear Dr Balfour, I return  
the French medical rates. They interest me very much and show an identity  
of evil & of proposed remedy so far as any remedy is indicated, wh is  
corroborative of our conclusions in England. The article in four books of  
Annales d'Hygiène is still more valuable for the same reasons.

I think Miss Nightingale wd be much interested in the latest - will  
you send them to her. PS re a sketch

f208 printed Wilton House Salisbury Oct 16 1857 My letter to Tulloch was to  
make an appointment with him for Monday and in the letter had therefore but  
to write the time. I shall be in town tomorrow but am not very sure of my  
time. Would you mind taking the chance of finding me at three o'clock. I am  
very anxious to see the returns about the invaliding &c -. If we should not

meet tomorrow could you have the report with you and call in Belgrave Sq after church at 2 oc' on Sunday

f210 Belgrave Sq Sunday night [18 Oct 1857] These are Miss Nightingale's answers to the written queries. She wishes to see them printed in order to redraw them afterwards when correcting the proofs, so no copies must go out.

f211 printed Wilton House Salisbury Oct 25 1857 I return the Indian Return minute. I think it wd be worth publishing tho' I do not know that it must differ from the system elsewhere adapted & at last ordered. But I cannot see how a selection of paragraphs could be much.

Tulloch's return is very interesting and inspiring, that the troops should be healthier than in England at the Cape, at St Helens & throughout the Mediterranean and throughout N America and that at Mauritius they should be no worse than in England is unexplained.

I will be in London three weeks to try a fortnight.

f213 printed Wilton House Salisbury Oct 27 1857 I have undertaken to collect the different proposals of members of the const of a medical school.

Illegs

Would you get the corrected papers printed for me in half margin so as to leave room for alterations - half a dozen copies will be enough.

I do not come to town till Monday

F215 printed Wilton House Salisbury Oct 29 1857 I return your paper on the towns. Illegs appendix

I think you had better send the printed papers to Belgrave Square where I will be on Monday morning at eleven.

Illegs evidence of Sir R Martin. If you can include a portion of his evidence I shall be glad as he sets [breaks off]

f217 SH to Balfour printed Wilton House Salisbury Oct 31 1857, illegs, appointment re returns. I think it would be quite well illegs

f218 SH to Balfour printed 49 Belgrave Square Nov 11 1857 I return abstract & medical field equipment. You will see that I have added some more to his PS wh I think makes the paper clearer. I can make some other verbal corrections wh please to look over.

I think it wd strengthen the paper if the weights were given, & it would show that it is a practical & not a mere theoretical proposal. PS I also return illeg's paper for printing in the appendix,

f220 SH to Balfour printed 49 Belgrave Square Nov 17 1857 These illeg returns are excellent tho' the materials from illeg re regiments

f222 SH TO Balfour printed 49 Belgrave Sq Nov 26 1857 I am not sure that I am right about the proportion of invaliding in the different arms. Would you make me a table as per enclosed heading?

In the printed return rates per 1000 illegs strength & deaths of the Artillery the addition of the rates per 1000

f224 SH to Balfour printed 49 Belgrave Square Nov 26 1857 Dr Farr has got in his head that the bad ventilation of barracks tell especially in the jails and second illegs I think he is quite wrong but I have no data to prove it. Could you anywhere find the rates of mortality among the illegs during two years of service. Illeg

Sir A Tulloch is quite right about the naval statistics but I think I can satisfy him upon all the other points.

F226 SH to Balfour printed 49 Belgrave Square Dec 1 1857 I have altered the note to yr table & thereby improved it. It is true that the same system of calculation is used for invaliding, and is used by Dr Farr for the civil population. I do not think it is greater in one case than the other but inasmuch as there is a larger interval between the entrance illeges

I enclose some very useful returns wh Taylor has sent me & wh I think *shd* be printed in an appendix. I return also the two returns of mortality.

In the medical mortality return, over the last column contain the rates

per 1000 *per annum* illegs In the hospital expenditure returns the illeg

In the Hospitals expenditure return the illeg...

f232 SH to Balfour printed 49 Belgrave Square Dec 8 1857 will return at ½ past 3. I shall be here then

f233 SH to Balfour printed 49 Belgrave Square Dec 10 [1857]

I forgot to give you the enclosed whi is one of Taylor's returns.

f233 Dec 10 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  
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Add Mss 51279 f15 FN cover letter to Lord Cross