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 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 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 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.
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}
The Land

Probably no Land Settlement question in India has been more or is more discussed, or is now more than ever, both as to the Land System of Oude. And now more than ever so -

It is impossible to give it out of any book, for in one you/we find the results of the present Settlement represented as all wrong/right; while in another they are shown to be all wrong: & there is almost the same difference of opinion: one showing the rights under the Settlement to be rights, the other to be wrongs -

In this darkness as fair a statement as after much hearing & reading can be made will be given -

1. Oude x as it is is as we know identical in soil, population, &c with the North West Provinces, surrounded by which it looks like a cup in a saucer, or a mouse in a trap, or the hole to admit the handle of a tool. Of Oude as it was at the beginning of this century one half was ceded to the East India Company, & is the main part of the present N. W. Provinces: the other half is what we now call Oude - Thus not only the people & the country but the Government & the tenures, were the same up to the first years of the present century.

see p. 213 Sir G. Campbell’s Essay on Tenures of Land: Cobden Club:

{f4 is blank}
The dispute begins even in as to the historical nature of these tenures.

But it would appear as if, while the Mahommedan 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 Mahommedan powers a new set of Zemindars arose; some, farmers of the revenue, - some, successful freebooters, a few, descendants of old Chiefs: but their position was uncertain & variable: there was no time for them to settle down.

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

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

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

x p. 213 Sir G Campbell’s Essay: Cobden Club –
It is only under the weak administration of Saadat Allee’s successors, & after the British troops had been forbidden to interfere in internal affairs, that we can date “the rise of the modern Talookdars” - “A few of these are in some sense chiefs of clans”. But just as formerly in the Highlands & in Ireland they were not really landlords but only chiefs.

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

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

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

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He happened to be on duty at the Residency, and there to attract the eye of the King who took him into his own service as an Orderly. Eventually he rose to be ‘Keeper of the Private Gate’ - a very important post under a Native Prince, & came into very high favour. As natives generally do under such circumstances, he used & 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." [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}
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

"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 in Oude is this:

the ryot cannot to “cross his landlord” without losing his land.

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

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.

3. Is it a 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 expense 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 all this an utter fiction?

{f13 is blank}
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
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 seemed

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
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.
“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}
“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 refer further on in the book. A good
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.

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

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
& troublesome Ryots, they served large numbers
 of notices of ejectment 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?

 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 ejectment 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.”
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 fallen into arrear more than in any other province of India, & we have 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

{f26 is blank}
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]
I. Are the Zemindars landlords?
   At the time By the Permanent Settlement
   Zemindars not landlords but Revenue Collectors receiving one-eleventh of collections for themselves 3
   Error concerning the right of property in the land 4
   What is our contract with the Zemindars? 4
   What our “breach of contract” with the Cultivators? 4

II. What is the “Permanent Settlement”? 4
   Regulation of 1793 “to protect all classes of people” “especially the most helpless” 4
   1871: “a duty reserved to Government as a condition of the Permanent Settlement 4
   “ “not only taxation but actual personal
   Page
   “expences of Zemindars” thrown upon lower class 5
   “least able to support th it 5
   Great & imminent political perils 5
   1793 “Lands granted for maintenance of Police &c 5
   “ Zemindars “expected to improve their estates
   “in consequence of the profit being secured to them 5
   1871 What do they do? Nothing 5
   “ Levy of new cesses repeatedly declared illegal 5
   Unparalleled & ruinous system of sub-letting 6
   1793 “Sums over & above” “engagements” to be considered extorted” 6
   “ Any new imposition punished by penalty” 6
"Exactions of every day occurrence"

1871 “Practically,” all “remedy for redress” to Ryot
“too costly & insufficient,” & ends in his “utter ruin”

Government power of extortion transferred to Zemindar

How has the Permanent Settlement been fulfilled?

See Administration Reports of Sir G. Campbell

Three Questions

(1) In what sense are the Zemindars landlords?
(2) What was the ‘contract’ made by Permanent Settlement?
(3) Would revising the ‘rights’ be ‘confiscation’?

(1) Englishman takes ‘his conception of ownership
from his own country’

Whose ‘rights’ has the Settlement ‘confiscated’?

Query: those of the cultivators

Orissa: “Contract” between Ryots & Government:
“Ryot holds land direct from Government
“”Exactions” by Zemindars:”11 kinds of annual cess:
“17 “ of occasional tax:”

“Pure impositions for what “cost them nothing”:
“for “fictitious expenses never incurred”

“Reproach to Government” if it does not “interfere effectually

to “protect Ryots” from “Illegal Exactions practised by
Zemindars”
Regulations of Orissa: 1805: “Thanee Ryots distinctly proprietors”: “Government made settlement with each”: “Zemindars only collectors”: Illegal cesses “levied from Ryots by almost every Zemindar in the country”: even in districts not under the Permanent Settlement: Enforced by violence: Instances of “illegal cesses” & “presents” “levied” - Not he who eats but who is eaten pays Ryot pays for all More instances from Government Records Zemindar “puts on the screw” Government is beaten Madras Ryotwar System Bombay Tenure of Land North West Provinces Oude Punjab Central Provinces Sir H. Maine’s provoking philosophy
Permanent Settlement: what was its intention? To put the people at the Zemindars’ mercy - Reg of 1799: Restores Power of ejectment restored to Zemindars enables them to distrain for arrears

Ryots made to pay higher rents than Settlement authorized
Could obtain no justice: by Act of 1859
None of the duties exacted required of Zemindars which were conditions of their holding the land:
‘Confiscation’ of Zemindars duties
Settlement covers rent but not taxes: Mr. Stephen - Zemindars could not legally displace Ryots who paid the then existing amount of rent
Conditions on which Zemindars’ property was created
English confusion as to whose the ‘property’ is in land in India
You can’t make an English landlord out of a Bengal Zemindar
Rack - renting
Zemindars appeal to English ideas of property;
& resist any enlightenment of Ryot:
American slave - holders superior to Bengal Zemindars:
especially in calamity, like famine
Still the Zemindar is not unlike the rest of the world
He is only what any man would be under like conditions,
Raise his civilization: & you will raise the Zemindar’s notion of his duty.
The old non-official European in India was as indifferent to the Ryot’s rights as the Zemindar
Look at the Indigo-planter. Has he not improved?

The non-official European in India is not now the Ryot’s enemy.

The old official European in India was equally indifferent to the Ryot’s rights.

This far from being the case now: the Civil Service strenuous in favour of Ryot.

Indian Zemindar may rise to sense of his duties as much as Civil Service or English non-official.

My apology p. 70 should come in here.

What Zemindars were under Mahommedan régime 62, 23

English idea that any body/class might be lawfully chosen as collector of Revenue Maine then, that the class to be settled with had ‘right of property’ in soil/land: then that they, the English, found out that they did not know what proprietary ‘right of property’ over Indian soil/land consisted in: Maine:

Depopulation of country under Mohammedan oppression led to Lord Cornwallis’ “unlucky experiment”: He took his landlords from the Mahommedan’s tax-gatherers -- 25

Zemindars had all the waste lands: a third of the country: handed over to them:

Village Communities had the only right to Indian land 25

Outrageous overthrow of rights of cultivators 25

Litigation: the weapon of Bengal Zemindars 25

Landlord ideas carried yet farther in Oude:

Oude the most extreme case: rebellion imminent 27
Indian Press in the interest of the Zemindars:

‘Friend of India’: exception:

Settlements transfers right of extortion from Government to landholders & sacrifice of revenue to us:

People paying the uttermost farthing in rent illegal cesses & on salt

Salt Tax: “Poor Man’s Income Tax”

6 millions of Salt Tax: official account:

salt a necessity of life:

consumption of salt one half of what is necessary for health in consequence of tax:

people’s indifference no test as to any measure

improvements made as to Customs line

Poor have no representation: no advocate:

Ryot a ‘dumb animal’: Zemindar has a voice & a very loud one: Uproar about Income Tax:

Silence about Salt Tax: “Untaxed upper classes”.

Village Communities

unlike cities, suffer in silence:

“But the Ryot’s day is coming”:

Peasant proprietorship & Village Commune must be inseparable

Combination against Feudalism: Long:

Peasant proprietor: architect of his own fortune: Laing

Social more important than Legal Institutions: Campbell

Village Institutions the way to Representative Freedom:

Campbell

The Headman: Maine

Settlement of Government estates now made with Village Headman

Plan for Village: District: Provincial Council: Sir B. Frere

English know little of public opinion in India:

Danger to our Government from this:

Russian Village, District, Provincial Assembly: Long: Note:

Panchayat: (Village Jury): Munro: Malcolm: Long;
Municipalities & Panchayats: N. W. Provinces:

Chankidari Act:

What use made by our Government of Panchayat:

£34

Old Indian spirit extinct: what have we English substituted for it?

Compare Mogul rule & our own in Public Works:

in Architecture:

Native Managing Power:

India cheapest workman in the world

English idea of Public Works in India 40 years ago:

How could we enforce duties upon Zemindars when we ignored our own? Par II

Public Works: how to be paid for: “P. Works”

Localizing Taxation:

Loans - tr to p. 55

Public Works side of the question

Irrigation

Application of subject to Irrigation:

Essential point in Indian finance: to increase wealth of people

Average Taxation: 2 ½ Rupees a head:

Irrigated Districts: can pay over 3 Rupees: & their income is increased far above their taxation:

If all India paid 3 rupees a head, Treasury would be overflowing:

A district tax - free & without irrigation miserably poor: with higher taxes & with irrigation, rich

Railway Taxation:

Comparative cost of Transit on Railways & Canals

Revenue due to Irrigation

Railways for Military purposes: Canals for food:
Note on Education: make separate Section

1. Ryot’s objection: that Zemindar takes whole profits of water:
   Zemindar adds 3 - 6- times the Government charge for water to Ryot’s rent:
   Details of progress of Irrigation & Navigation in Orissa

   For want of Canal transit: distress from low price of grain in Orissa, at the same time as famine from high price of grain in Behar:
   Irrigation by stealth: without paying water - rate:

2. Water-carriage: cheapness of extent of: 3000 miles in Bengal:
   readiness of Bengali to take advantage of:
   Bengal boat owner is a petty merchant on his own account:
   Canals require no Stations:
   Additional expence small: for making Irrigation Canals navigable
   Irrigation means communication by canal:
   Large Ganges trade: even by side of Railway:
   Canal carries at one fifth the cost of River:

3. Cost of water immeasurably less than value of water:
   Unfinished Sone works grew half a million sterling more grain:
   Irrigation on Godavery & elsewhere has set the cultivator free from money-lender:
   [cp Part II p.

4. Ryots’ labours “incredible” in procuring water:
   Zemindars “do nothing”:
   but rack-rent the Ryots for their ‘incredible’ labour: and for “ improving the
And we English talk about ‘breach of faith’ with the Zemindar!

5. Results of Irrigation in Rajahmundry: 1854
Pays 48000 more Revenue: has 127000 more income: cp. p. 40
Confusion of Revenue:
No basis for Revenue system or collection: 45-46
whole of additional revenue levied on lands that already paid tax:
All the Government servants (Brahmans) hold their lands rent-free: one-third of the whole Delta: not an acre has been assessed for the improvements.
Yet these owners had raised the rents to their tenants
Causes of water not being used:
Arbitrary rules for taking the Water

Engineers Not allowed to sell a field full of water nor by
Engineers not allowed to sell water: Zemindars raise rent: even when paying no Water-Rate
Remedies

1. Irrigation
   Thorough reform needed in system of collecting water- rents:
   Note
   Minister of Public Works:
   to be not an Engineer but a Statesman:
To relieve Viceroy overworked:
To deal with Delays & irresponsibilities
   “Educated Natives” objections
   Note to 51

2. To give the Cultivator definite rights 51
3. Proprietorship:
   Native virtues: native ‘helplessness:
4. Experiments of Proprietorship might be tried: 52
   Sold up Zemindaries might be let out to Villages: thro’ Headmen.
   [cp p 31 Sir G. Campbell did so]

Land Tax cannot be permanent: as expences of civilized
   Governments
   must increase 52
Sir John Strachey: Minute
   on alteration of conditions of Settlement: 53
4. Survey 53
   Survey of
   Bengal
   Bombay
   Madras
   N.W. Provinces

Village system: 54
   [? tr Sir B Frere’s plan & Village Jury among the Remedies]
   [qy. tr to p. 35] or
   tr. p. 35 among the

   Remedies ] 54
Village Registrar: to record subordinate rights in land:
   recommended for Bengal: Long
Native land surveyor: his measurements regulated by bribes: 54
Allotment of land: in Russian Village Municipality: 55
5. Loans [qy tr. from p. 39] 55
   What has been proposed:
   lending fund administered by Trustees: 55 -
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6. What are the Zemindars to do? 56
   Manufactures:
   Spirit of manufacturing Enterprise:

Note:
"One Zemindar family has set up Co-operative system
   of labour among their tenantry"
Sir G. Campbell on India’s future Manufactories: 57
Lord Salisbury’s answer to Manchester Deputation 58
7. qy tr. from p. 69
8. Sir B. Frere’s plan
   qy tr. from p. 35
9. Panchayat Village Jury
   qy tr. from p. 35
Starvation & Land Tenure Difficulties fettering the Ryot, who would work 58

[Semi-Starvation the Ryot’s chronic state]

Col: Haig on the “disintegrated & disorganized state of Society”

in of rural Bengal:

where “wealth accumulates & men decay”:

High rents no index of prosperity nor high prices:

Necessity of supplementing rain-fall by Irrigation

“ of regulating water by Irrigation & drainage

The miserable Bengali hut & his hut:

Who raises his rents? the Government or the Zemindar? Who breaks the Contract? Why is it made ‘breach of faith’ in Government to raise the taxes & not made ‘breach of faith’ in Zemindars to raise the rents?

(2) A short Chapter on keeping Contracts

(3) On ‘Confiscation’ whose property do we ‘confiscate? The Zemindar’s? Or the Cultivator’s? Is not ‘the confiscation’ the other way? ‘Confiscation’ of the Ryot’s labour on the land? For the Zemindar ‘Confiscation of the Cultivator’s ‘right of property in the land: of the ‘rights’ of the whole body of the people?

Zemindars under the Mogul rule

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
first by Mohammedans: then by English

Dacoits Expelled Ryots turned ing Dacoits:

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:
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 Mahometan Ryots of
Eastern Bengal, might, but for Sir G. Campbell,
have become a Jacquerie
[Insert M. S. at p. 63]
Rent league & M. S. at end of Part II.
The Ryot’s Evils

1. Usury.
   Our rule gives security to property: & justice:
   Is it/our justice “a helpless agent in the hands of grasping usurers”: our security, security to the usurers/money-lender’s property? “

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

Usury under British rule
Non-employment of natives in Bengal
Native Executive Establishment in Upper Provinces
Honour the great object of life in India
Honour among the natives the result of want of confidence
Change in Civil Procedure Code wanted: that the courts may be/not be confined/tied down to the ‘four corners of a bond’:

Evils of Land Sales in Central & N. W. Provinces
No ‘shaking of burdens’

2. Excessive population:
   early marriages: physical deterioration:

Lord Napier of Magdale’s General Order:

Remedies tr. to p. 58(7)

Some of Sir G. Campbell’s (illeg)/opinion:

The Ryot’s wrongs:
The Zemindar has all the rights:

Political Economy
No equality between the Zemindar & the Ryots
“Rights of property” in England for the benefit of the poor as well as of the rich - Not so in India
Example of Russia & Japan, Prussia & Austria

Common sense the sense of the common interest

Hindoos not a barbarous nation

240 millions cannot pass away

What *is* can England *do*?

Cannot she like all other great countries
give the cultivator an interest in the soil?

[Should this come under ]
[ Remedies? ]

IV. Are we afraid of the Zemindars?

Perhaps it is the cultivators who are to be feared:
How can we ‘force’ them to feel our Christianity? Note to 73
Should we not sum up the Ryot’s rights
as well as the Zemindar’s? What are they?

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.

We are starving an industrious people.

Cannot England do what Russia has done?

What *is the* makes Russia really dread formidable to England in India
Conclusion

Arguments with English people: 76

Humanity:
Safety of Government:

Would the Railway or the Emancipation of the Ryots be our best insurance of India? "

If we do not emancipate the Ryot, May not the Ryots attempt to emancipate themselves/himself? 77

England has abolished Slavery in all/the “eating sore” of the world:

Should/Shall she not abolish Serfdom in her own India? "

Ryots not always so well off bodily as some slaves are/were

The uneducated Ryot is utterly defenceless: but a “slumbering volcano”: Note 77-78

Famine; no consequence of an abnormal or bad season but an index of 78

of a normal state of things (semi-starvation)

“Thou art the Man” 79

Irrigation a Starting point for reform of Zemindari system "

Proposed Commission of Enquiry: to report

One Man would do more: if an Arthur Young or a Statesman knowing India on Violation of Contract of Permanent Settlement 79-80

Caste Note p. 80

Appendix on Reforms in Abolition of Serfdom 80

in Prussia 81

in Austria 82

in Russia 83

in these countries The legislator broke through older & better authenticated & more/established rights fixed than the rights of the Zemindars 84
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 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” –

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?
We in England are always talking about land-owners’s 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:

- 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
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 be Empress of the Seas by saying there shall be no 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 to their Office &c &c work in the most monstrous manner.
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 Government 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
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

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?
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 mode of enquiry - say 3 members - two of them non-Indian?

unsigned notes, ff58-59, pencil

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

{this f is substantially the same as f45}
"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 “abwahs” & “illegal cesses” are so astonishing that we recommend every one to get No. 46 of “Records of the Government of Bengal” & study for themselves.

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 το 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 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 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 expenses”: “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
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.

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.
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.
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 expenses? 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 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
abolition of more taxes?

We have saved increased the income 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 & 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!

1. Village

Russian Reform
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 2000 families: they have a head aided by the village heads, 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. 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 arra the levying of taxes imposed by law, mutual
insurances,
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)
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 suv-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 —
“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?
Can it be wondered at that the natives say that they had Usury under British rule. rather have one of their own "magnificent despots" who 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 '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 manufactures & 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:

(ff82-83 are printed material, not transcribed)
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 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 Mahommedan 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.
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 nation 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?
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!
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
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?
Wages & the ‘Indian Economist’, 1874, says: “Wages in money seem to have undergone little or no change for the last 20 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 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.”
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 Jacobund   The Blue Book of 1873 tells us that “Jacobund 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 Trevewanna once fertilised a vast tract; but, owing to neglect, the feeding-channels & the Trevewanna 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 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 everywhere too - all over India. How the Ryots never have money.

Canals from Akin to the political effect of Canals, a Military Point of View, 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 of irrigation works becomes a matter of public policy as well as humanity, for the wide-spread distress 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
“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.
“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”

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

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

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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 Province circulated questions to all the Commissioners under him. “the reply to these inquiries”, says the “India Economist”, “was uniform & heart-breaking. The cultivator consumes nothing of the produce of his labour but the very coarsest grain. Everything goes into the hands of the bunniah, & deliverance seems hopeless. Having let down our plummet, & sounded the depths of this misery, are we to sit still & look wistfully “to time & general laws,” and coldly take leave of it?

“In the name of God, no!

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

There can be but one echo, & that universal, to these words.
Godavery Delta “there has not been the smallest fear of famine for 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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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 we mean, we will shortly tell. Has not the first attempt at improving the communications been the railway for transporting Government grain from the Ganges ghant to Durbunga?

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

Trichinopoly

The gigantic Ponnairy 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 gigantic ‘stupendous’ error & the tank at the same time?

“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.”
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.”

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, Maj/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) 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 Ryots from “In connection with the subject of loss of revenue from want of water be forgotten that for every hundred rupees of 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."
“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”

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.

“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 "The first question of course is, as matters business now are, how can the next money be expended to connect 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
"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 proportionately productive."

But, if what ‘remains to be done’ is not done, it will be proportionately unproductive.

"can hardly be over-estimated, & when we find that cotton from Saharanpore, 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."
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, says: “I assert without any hesitation that there is no country 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 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 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
"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.*

"And yet fodder crops are entirely neglected by the ryot."

Insert 3a

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

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?
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.

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 they 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
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

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.”
“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”

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 undertake the construction of such works; and 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 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
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 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:

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/
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 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.
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 fails 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 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.
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?

[archivist: F.N.
Notes on Ryots 1880
or 1872

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<td>Cultivating Ryots</td>
<td>1151940296</td>
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<td>Zemindars</td>
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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 knowledge 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 -
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
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 necessaries 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 feeding sheep & that a flock of sheep has been seen to be actually driven into a latrine.

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
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
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?

Commn of Health would if competent to give advice, give it to both authorities. But they are not competent.
A series of proposed standard plans was 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?

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?

Sanitary powers?
to take outlets for drainage & to carry drains on particular directions - also to supply water - to pave & drain houses -
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.
3. The proposed Presidency local Magistrates

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.
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 -

Bks & Hospl was
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

6. For it to publish information & instructive matter on Sanitary subjects for the use of the Local Comms

7. To afford opportunities of training Engineers & Clerks of Works in Sanitary constructions
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.

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.
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 Comms & then to leave them.

This, tho’ apparently a better plan, would
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

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.
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
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
plans of Barracks, Hospitals &c, and it might be consulted & advise on all subjects connected with the improvement of Stations & of towns, including drainage, water supply, improved construction & Sanitary procedure. It might draw up & furnish information & instructive matter for the use of the local Commissions. It might attend to the training of Engineers & Clerks of Works to supply Officers for the local Commissions. Its functions would be simply advising & consultative thereby bringing European experience to bear upon Indian questions.
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
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.
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 neither interference nor control is proposed in this case - but simply to offer to the India Commissions our own accumulated experience.
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 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
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 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.

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
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.

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.
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.

{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.
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 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
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
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
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 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
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 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. 

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. 

ff27-37v, {archivist: [bef. Nov 1867]} memorandum on Sanitary improvement in India, in Dr. Sutherland’s hand
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 -
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
Orderlies 4 mo at Aldershot

drill, anatomy &c &c &c

Serjts objections

Military General (or who answers to General)

Hospitals

Regimental Females

Civil Training p.16

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
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

£52

[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
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.
note “Sanitary Works” none new
Necessity of private scavenging
decline of revenue Mofussil municipalities
Private filth - cesspools back yards
more hopes (illeg there/nort) facts of progress
p. 104 District Local Fund Boards
frequent change of San: Commrs
p.105 appeal of skilled Sanitary Engineering advice expert
p.106 Village Sanitation at bottom of effective sanitation in Presidency
M simple rules on Sanitation in vernaculars to all
M village school masters (to enlist people in
advised
Sanitary matters) Dy Insp - of Vaccination to
advised explain to people dangers of their habits. 
visiting & reporting on Sanitation of all schools &
colleges (Govt local Board, Municipal & those
drawing grants in aid)
Foreshadowing
M Village Sanitation at bottom of effective sanitation in Presidency
sanctioned - sanitary defects brought to notice of
Director of Public Instruction
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
We criticize 2 years afterwards - & for a Mem 2
afterwards & for a Mem 2
year do not know the result p. 107 food supplies of people
till 2 years more 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}
necessary to have
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 everywhere -
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.

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

Cholera Epidemics
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}

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

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
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]
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?
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?
notes on Recommendations in Mr. H. S. Cunningham's "Confidential Note" on "Sanitary Administration of India"

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 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 Comms, 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

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

same machinery is to be tried again
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
& has had to defend its own subjects against its own Dept.

3b.

{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

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
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”

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 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
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

Don’t multiply
Doctors

Home Secy England
not Board of Health

Muckerji’s
24 Perquisites
Village Conservancy Bill
Water Supply
Removal of manure heaps
Bombay

Imperial Institute

Robertson Madras

W.H. Smith
& 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 &c 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
PRIVATE Sanitary Executive Boards in India

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
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

Ahmedabad
water supply practically inexhaustible
sewerage scheme to be carried out

{f77 is blank}

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
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

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 it is: service of the sick
of the age, as the highest
far as women service of the noblest love
are concerned Why should not
We all consider that women have the same
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,
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 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?

B 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
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}

Madras Genl Hospital

Miss Dent
Mrs. Nisbet
Miss Dent

unsigned notes, f85, pencil

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
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
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  
further 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

{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}
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 day are reckless & without any 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
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

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

Simla - July 1

H.C.C
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<th>No.</th>
<th>Task</th>
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<td>Revise Map</td>
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<td>Bombay Telegram</td>
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<td>revise article XIX Centry</td>
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<td>Irrigation Rate Bill Bombay</td>
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<td>Merriman</td>
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<td>ask him about his competitive native Engineer lecture</td>
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<td>Shotapore water supply &amp; Neera</td>
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<td>Area not irrigated - yet to be surveyed in Sind</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Poona to Pundipore - Famine relief work</td>
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Chap 1 - Para 9  "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 expenses & 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?
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?

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
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 Panchayâts?
(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? 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? 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. 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.
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.
Panchayâts

how far are Panchayâts 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 Panchayâts?
what means should you propose to create a public opinion against native giving & taking of bribes? whether by Panchayâts? 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?

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?
Education

how far advanced is education generally in your district?

what proportion (beside the Sowkars & village dealers) can read & write & 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?

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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 Indapare 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?
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:

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?

The increase of emigration by sea is suppose known to have only doubled in the years 1876-77 - this is very little:

was the increased migration by land in your district supposed to be only in like proportion?
How far is estimate of increase or decrease of population based on increase of 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?
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

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?

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 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?
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 belties of trees of their own? 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?
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?
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?
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}
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 - 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 then = 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?
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?  

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}
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
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?
Bengal: what the difference where the Zemindar has an interest in the land between Govt & cultivator had the Ryot anything to pledge?

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 Municipal Loan Funds Pawnbroker Acts or private Associations for Monts de Piété or combinations of native gentlemen Acts Limiting rate of interest

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?
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 some 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 -

... 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?
What private enterprise is there in factories? or manufactures? in trade or commerce? what new industries recently introduced? Does all money lending? To what extent? Are the profits guaranteed 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? what instances are there of borrowing money for trade or profitable small manufacturing? small weaving looms & the like? or for improved farming, as in Scotland?

In what way if any Do our Courts guarantee & encourage money lending? Who are the best & most improving landlords landlords, money lenders or the bell Zemindars or Government?

What 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? 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?

Have you any Agricultural Societies, Gov or official or private, for getting & selling at cost price improved seeds, giving prizes for improved breeds &c? 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}
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?
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?
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}
4. by the majority of cultivators & of Govt revenue Officers? & with what limitations & safe guards if any?

If capital is required, to what extent will 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?
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 the cultivators?

percolation

does it produce fever?

Silt?
in Moota Moola Works?
in Skrook (rain) nil?
in Krishna?

Water power: mills?

what mills?
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

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
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 (at will-GW) unless the patience of the debtor becomes exhausted & he absconds forsaking the country for ever

The Hindu law favoured credit by making debts payable from generation to generation but it

{f151 is blank}
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 at all allowed
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, leave 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 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

* 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,'
(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,
'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
'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.
'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 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

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
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 ½ lacs

[you can as soon grow anything without the water

as without the land] average rate

Land not really worth anything - per acre 2 ½ rupees

[the rain pays revenue]

Punjab has rain (Upper Sind 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 (chief Quarters Collector) 17 lacs

Jacobabad

Annual Admini
Total Irrigated Area minus Kurachee & Hyderabad
but these make the 300000 acres
into at least 1000000 acres irrigated
including Kurachee & Hyderabad
  6 lacs Reve  12 lacs Re {the preceding
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}
Sind 1. Does Total Culturable Area exclude all land for a time unculturable?
see next page
2. Does total Cultivated x Area exclude 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
\begin{align*}
1 & \text{ fallow} \\
2 & \text{ then there would be more than 300000 for Bayrami & Saylabi & Well Cultivation} \\
& \text{(2,300 000)}
\end{align*}

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 Cants Col Fife has been recommending for years 1. Rahrea - Hyderabad Cen 2. Jurruck - Kurrachee

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
Famine of 1876-7: greatest since 1770
includes 9 revenue divisions of Bombay

14 Districts (out of 21) of Madras
nearly all S. & E. of Nizam’s dominions

includes 9 revenue divisions of Bombay {written on a slant in pen }price of
food

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
Decrease of population

Salem -20.7 per cent

6 Famine Taluks -15

Increase

4 Non famine Taluks + 6.1 per cent

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 Kurnool & 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 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.
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}

but for relief losses wd have been 5 instead of 3

compare partial famine of 33-4 2 millions disappeared
2,205 578 -

decrease of Births

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

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
Table of Causes of Mortality

1876 (written on as slant in pen) 3 fourths in relief camps
1877 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
Col Fife Chief Engineer for the whole of the Irrigation Works in Western India & 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 heavi
ly 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

fallowing process as follows
(following) 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

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
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 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
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
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 expenses
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}

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?}
Scarcelly 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
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
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

expence 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
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 drought & famine
Dekkan: our new works

Hathmath Canal: 20 miles long, 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 miles
Wadali: -11 miles
Ojhar: 8½ miles
Lakh: 10 miles
Bhaladi Tank: 149,000,000 cu ft

Multea Canals: 99 miles operated about 2½ years
Tank: waste weir nearly 1 mile long 99 ft high 522,600,000 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
Indapure
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 expenses 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 expense repairs clearance of canal & her quarters estt unaffected
Dekkan works will for first year or two not pay working expenses
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.
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 Examin 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 resposny 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 resposny of to raising money & paying its annual interest, they wd study economy instead of wasting the money
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.
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 Khandush 15000 acres
4 Wheat
48 for the three crops
{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}
¾ 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

Collectors
man goes to him with a
t 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
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

50 70 100 200 miles in length that would be 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 Great was there as only a {illeg third?} work of the high level

Canals

are really ?

more expensive
Of these Bengal is altogether wanting
we have no details & nothing that will serve us.

Burmah
sufficient details but scarcely needed as Rainfall
Assam
is 129 inches in Burmah & 96 in Assam, so that
Drainage instead of Irrign schemes are required

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 7 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

excludes
all from wells
& all from water
courses
made by
people themselves
no Irrign
in Deccan
{outside of marginal notes, in pencil, written vertically:} Ask Col Fife
Over a million
will be protected
by works now
completed
or commenced
ask Col Fife

The details are not given: but I can find
trace only of 170,000 acres having been irrigated
by state works, which is altogether inadequate
for so flourishing a province & one which
has been so long under our immediate care.
Here under the 'Ryotwari' tenure the State
is said to be the real owner: takes 4 Millions
sterling out of the Ryots as Land Revenue,
& has spent what (?) for the paltry area of
170,000 acres protected against Famines?
The Rainfall averages only 47 inch
while 30 inch are enough to produce rice in
unirrigated lands. What would not be added
by 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?
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Irrigated from</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Revenue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>640,000</td>
<td>38 Lacs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Anicuts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Hill Channels (4 Dists)</td>
<td>15 600</td>
<td>3/4 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Rivers (8 &quot; )</td>
<td>1,070,000</td>
<td>62 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; Colais Lake (1 &quot; )</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>1/5 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 1369 Tanks (4 &quot; )</td>
<td>415 000</td>
<td>19 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,142,000</td>
<td>120 Lacs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

{written in pencil on a slant}

would necessitate
2 long canals
50 to 200 miles X

se old Canals
were there
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 4¾ millions of Land Reve in this Province is no small matter.

If this has been done so far, & nearly ¾ 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?
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 170,000 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Increase of Reve to State</th>
<th>Increase of Food &amp; Profits to People</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sind</td>
<td>1/3 million</td>
<td>1/3 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>2 &quot;</td>
<td>2 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>1 &quot;</td>
<td>1 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

as a safeguard against future famines

{f189 is blank}
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provinces</th>
<th>Total Area</th>
<th>Irrigated Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in order area</td>
<td>By Govt</td>
<td>By private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area not Area</td>
<td>Area</td>
<td>Area</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Average Rainfall
- Land Revenue
- Revenue of importance in acres
- Cultivated in inches
- Culturable in Rupees

**Bengal**

| 100,000,000 | No information |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>British Burmah</th>
<th>56,000,000</th>
<th>100</th>
<th>4200</th>
<th>4,300</th>
<th>2700000</th>
<th>3000000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22000000</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Assam**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>24,000,000</th>
<th>13000000</th>
<th>96</th>
<th>29</th>
<th></th>
<th>38,000</th>
<th>4300000</th>
<th>6000000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
{in margin beside next five provinces:} with Percentages on Total Area

**Madras**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>89,000,000</th>
<th>20000000</th>
<th>45</th>
<th>487 Lacs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4,000,000</td>
<td>14000000</td>
<td>1800000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 p.c.</td>
<td>16 p.c.</td>
<td>21 p.c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 p.c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Bombay**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>50,000,000</th>
<th>no detail</th>
<th>500,000</th>
<th>21500000</th>
<th>22000000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000000</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>300 Lacs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 p.c.</td>
<td>43 p.c.</td>
<td>44 p.c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 p.c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mysore**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>19,000,000</th>
<th>2200000</th>
<th>78000</th>
<th>300,000</th>
<th>1,600,000</th>
<th>5,000,000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3,000,000</td>
<td>74 Lacs</td>
<td>72 p.c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 p.c.</td>
<td>8 p.c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sindh**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>30,000,000</th>
<th>no detail</th>
<th>300,000</th>
<th>1,200,000</th>
<th>2,300,000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>42 Lacs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000,000</td>
<td>1123105</td>
<td>8 p.c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 p.c.</td>
<td>4 p.c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Berars**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>11,000,000</th>
<th>250</th>
<th>74000</th>
<th>74250</th>
<th>6,000,000</th>
<th>7,000,000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>64 p.c.</td>
<td>19 p.c.</td>
<td>¼ p.c.</td>
<td>55 p.c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>64 Lacs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 say if this is correct

E. H. P.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>The Rainfall in these 3 being about or above 100 inches, Drainage rather than Irrigation schemes are required</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Burmah</td>
<td>of which *25 Lacs are State Water Revenue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>of which *5 Lacs are Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coorg</td>
<td>of which *23 Lacs are Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>of which 79 Lacs are Do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of 5 Last</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

{f191 is blank}
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}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Province</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Total By Government</th>
<th>By Private Individuals</th>
<th>Total Irrigated Unirrigated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.W. Provinces</td>
<td>52,000,000</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>8,646,000</td>
<td>967000 173000 (46000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oudh</td>
<td>15,300,000</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>3,000,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30000000</td>
<td></td>
<td>5300000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>67,000,000</td>
<td>1,600,000</td>
<td>5000000</td>
<td>6600000 20,200,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Provinces</td>
<td>7200000</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>775096</td>
<td>12 500 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>775096</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of the 4</td>
<td>206300000</td>
<td>2,600 096</td>
<td>17421000</td>
<td>20045096 55,300,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

% I per cent 9 per cent 10 per cent 27 per cent 27 Result: as the Total Area?

In other words out of 200 millions acres of land

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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Total Area</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Cultivated</th>
<th>Total Culturable is cultivated</th>
<th>Rain Total fall:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inches</td>
<td>Lacs</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.W. Provinces</td>
<td>27000000</td>
<td>7700000</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>425</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oudh</td>
<td>8200000</td>
<td>340000</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>138</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>26900000</td>
<td>20000000</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>192</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Provinces</td>
<td>13240000</td>
<td>23000000</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3580000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of</td>
<td>78920000</td>
<td>54100000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the 4</td>
<td>78920000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

% 38/9 per cent 26 per cent
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.
Madras | Mysore | Bombay
--- | --- | ---
Registration | not 50 per cent | better than usual
not 22 per cent | according to Mr. more accurate
Elliott’s Test Census | than in preceding years
saw the people &c | owing
to increased supervision
village he came under village inspection
under native District officer
under European “ “
Small pox | worst in least
result of relief camps
Cholera | famine districts
anything against result of Famine
Small pox | real Cholera
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 no peculation unchecked possible European supervisors saw the money (daily pay) served out
Mysore
Famine from Nov./76 in Jan/78 Famine from Jan to March/78 still intense 1877 over in Nov/77
Increase of pop at 1 per cent Increase of pop forbidden to be by S. of S.
Mr. Lawrence Commissioner of Jullundhur Doab
just annexed, detached from Sikh kingdom
& in charge of the newly acquired trans-Sutlej
territory

1846-9

relief to people of 15 to 30 p.

reformed payment of land tax: fixed & moderate assessment
of soil: no

administration of justice dependent on caprice
simple code translated into Punjarbee
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
Sir F. Currie sends Agnew & Anderson as a Representation to Moulun against Sir Mr. John Lawrence’s opinion
They are murdered by Mouraj 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}
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 {illeg} 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”
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 Moultun?} to Calcutta under his charge & splendid plain of magnificent land for 1600 miles unequalled in the world Parrots Palmtrees alligators Sone Canal Col Haig 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 do all the various operations themselves steam launch Revenue of 7 to 9 millions 1/6 of whole annual Revenue of India 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
Collector desired to raise assessment 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 ¾ 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 everyone body admits to the full the {illeg picture?} of our authority it presents
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 &
Aught 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

{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
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?
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
Punchayats 1. In every District Court there shall be kept a list of the respectable & intelligent inhabitants of the vicinity competent (to be) a Punchayatdar.

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.

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 Punchayat of 5 persons be appointed to try the case.

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 life of an European devoted to that object would not place him on a level with an intelligent Punchayat— 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 Punchayat may appear to have decided erroneously.

1. (the Presiding Judge: the head of the Court)
Caird
? Assn Work cultural
Peacock Societies
all over India
4 why 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 &c
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
propr

to the degree he was out of the usurer’s clutches

3. E. Mysoreans
  But in private infn from officials the exacting of
behaved so admirably bribes & corruption of the P.W. overseers (natives)
seems
at beginning of Famine the real reason of the slowness of the cultivator
  how? (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
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 Punchayatdars 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.

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 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)
Polish peasant (emancipated serf) much better off under Russian than under their own landlords.

Tcherkasski

Men in the Dekkan So of Mahableshwur, 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.

Crimean War gave us reform & killed Nicolas.

---

Low assessment on rich land

Mr. Caird

3 rupees an acre  June 21

High assessment on poor land

2 rupees an acre

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 Sir George Yule

won’t join the Council

India

Most fertile land

natives so teachable

Mr. Campbell brother of Sir Geo

Introduction of jute followed every where

---

Inland Customs (Sugar) abolished

Mr. Stanhope  June 19
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

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}
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 & 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**

{archivist: [1888 bef. Nov]}

To see

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
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

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
“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

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

Occupancy rights or Fixity of Tenure
- every resident ryot to have occupancy rights
- 3 years’ cultivation to make a resident ryot

Fair Rents: here where ryots’ payments fixed by authority of Govt ? Right of Enhancement

Complete public record of holdings of ryots

Free sale - if sale be to another cultivator

Take from Ryot power of contracting himself out of his rights: e.g. his occupancy rights

Effective penalties for illegal exacting

Regular survey - re-establishment of public accountants

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
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

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}

Urith - to an Engineer at Ihansi
Ld Rosebery
dancing
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
It is stated, and I believe truly, that a very few of the Mahomedans 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]
Viceroys 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

What so much of/constitutes my responsibility in India?

Viceroys

'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

1863 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
Viceroys

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
Viceroy

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.

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

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

Lord Lytton no communication at all tho’ he had employed me when Col: Secy I was very glad not to be employed by him.
very decided policy inaugurated quite a new policy/era in India - It was to take the actual administration 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 -

Land Tenures va sans dire

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

I have still printed copies of this paper -
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 District.

What are the causes by which the Raiyats fall so quickly during the first dry season? One is: the Civil Courts interfering between raiyats & money lenders.

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.

Lord Ripon Sketch of Viceroy’s Policy Pamphlet “The Dumb shall Speak”

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’s & Secretaries of State for India Since the Mutiny & Sanitary Commissioners
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.
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.

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
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.
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
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) 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)
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.
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 Barracks & Hospitals
2. these principles were approved & sent to India in a detailed form for local application to suit local circumstances.
   - by the India Office as “Suggestions in regard to Sanitary works required for improving Indian Stations.” July 15, 1864.
   [These “Suggestions” were prepared at the request of the S. of S. for India in Council, conveyed in letters dated Dec. 8, 1863 & May 20, 1864 - which again were written at the request of the Indian authorities.]
3. The Government in India, instead of proceeding to apply the principles, by the assistance of their three Health Commissions, sent the whole subject abroad all over India to the following authorities:

I. Local Governments & administrators
II. Local Sanitary Commissions
III. Local Medical authorities
IV. Local Military authorities
V. Local Public Works Officers
VI. Local Committees.
   All over Bombay - Madras,
   Bengal - N. W. Provinces,
   Punjab, - Straits, -
   British Burmah, -
   Central Provinces, -
   Oudh, - Mysore, -
   Hyderabad, - Rajpootana, -
   Central India,
   the foolscap wanders
   collecting opinions on
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
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
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

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

Dear Sir Stafford Northcote

I am very much alive to
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
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

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
outcry 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
circumstances, they threw
the question broadcast
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

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
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
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.
& 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 everywhere, because 35 South Street, Park Lane, London. W.
what the natural laws are
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
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

£300

-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

allowed to communicate
with you on the subject,
at any time or in any
way least inconvenient
to yourself -

Pray believe me
ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

Rt. Honble
Sir Stafford H. Northcote Bart.
&c &c M.P.
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]
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 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.
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
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.
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 -
(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 denomination; & 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
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 -
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.

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.

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.
(the parts between brackets were interpolated 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 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
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

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 shew/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

to find how/out for what diseases these men were discharged?

Believe me ever faithfully yours

Florence Nightingale

30 Old Burlington St

Aug 18/57
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

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 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 [14:537]
Oct 7/57
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.
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 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.

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 hair is an animal.
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

thankfully accepted - Because they really amuse me now - And by & bye I shall have more to do - ever yours faithfully
F. Nightingale

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 -

Yours very faithfully
F. Nightingale

Oct 16/57
Burl. St
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

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 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
My dear Sir,

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.

Yours ever faithfully

Thursday, F. Nightingale

{archivist:} [22 Oct 1857]

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Great Malvern

Oct 29/57

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.

Believe me for the same ever faithfully your periods.

Florence Nightingale
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 as to the loss of efficiency from Invaliding.

The three first columns & the fifth give us correct information - 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
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.
With kind regards
to Mrs. Balfour, believe me
ever faithfully yours
F. Nightingale
T.O.

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?
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 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 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. &
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 difference 391.

With kindest regards to Mrs. Balfour believe me very truly yours

F. Nightingale

30 Old Burln St
Nov 17/57

Have you received Proofs yet of the work Di Tivoli was doing? [end 14:545]

signed letter, f25, pen

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
**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.

**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,
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”

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.

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
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 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

Gt Malvern [16:256-57]
Jan 14/58
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
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

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?

signed letter, ff35-36v, pen, typed copy 45772 f233

Gt Malvern
   Feb 5/58
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 –
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 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
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

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
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 showed me

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 -

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]
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 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 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
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 2½ per 1000 less in the Scots Fus. than in the Gren.

It appears that the Loss from Consumptive Deaths and Invaliding amounts to no less than 19 per 1000 in the Gren. while it is 11½ per 1000 in the Colds & 12½ per 1000 in the Scots Fus.  
Can you give the facts to shew why the Grenrs should be so much more liable to Consumption?

Could you assist us, by obtaining the position of each Battalion of the three Regiments during the years included in the Return?

Believe me very sincerely yours Florence Nightingale
30 Old Burlington St  
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 you have yourselves recommended in your great Report & what you & Colonel Storks 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 systematically itself
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 particularly anxious to hear from you all your objections & propositions

With regard to the sentiment I do

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

What has Dr. Smith done with his great Blue Book? He has been a long while writing it. He must be learning to write.
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 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
“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 wayside 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.

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
Dr. Greenhow compares the density within the dotted circles, & not within the black circles & concludes that, inasmuch 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.

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 information, but merely in order that we may be all one about it.
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?

I hope that Mrs Balfour is pretty well — Please give her my very 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
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

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

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
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

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

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.
It has been industriously (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 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 rated the Mortality by that amount of Deaths, hitherto
unaccountable for?

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 stated in my Evidence -

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
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 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
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 (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
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

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 -
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}

Dr. Balfour

signed letter, ff63-64v, pen, pale mauve, black-edged paper, typed copy
45772 f234

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
Diary, which I think, from its/his good sense, simplicity & unalterable 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 -

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,
& by the personal command of the Queen, it was not printed by Govt, but only by myself at my own expense 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

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 -
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-

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
& carry out, for the first time, a system of Sanitary Statistics i.e. 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 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 we be able to administer the laws of health with that certainty with which we know they are capable of being administered.

Yours very sincerely with kind regards to Mrs. Balfour & the bab.

F. Nightingale
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.

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,

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
dition 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
on Saturday at 12 o’clock? I have no business, only gossip. I hope Mrs. Balfour & your son are well - And believe me ever faithfully yours F. Nightingale

with three books T. Graham Balfour Royal Military Asylum Chelsea

My dear Sir I have read the enclosed Document carefully through & I think you have left nothing that is unintelligible at the same time it is so full 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 -
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

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

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 -
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.

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 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
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

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 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
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)

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

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
My dear Sir,

Do you remember sometimes talking to me about the your Caledonian Asylum at Holloway? I have lately had occasion to see something of the children - And the master, Mr. Davidson,

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
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
Office before it comes
Do you know how
these things are
managed?
    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

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.
    [Why do you not
include in it the
R. Artillery now?]
    The results are
still far from what
we could wish, are they not? (26 and 18 days in sick per annum for strong healthy men)

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

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.
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 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.
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 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}
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

With kind regards to Mrs. Balfour & the “son”, believe me ever sincerely yours

F. Nightingale
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.

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
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 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.
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,

Regiment by Regiment, and Station by Station. Or I would state fully that you are fully 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
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

30 Old Burlington St
W. Jan 20/61

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
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 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 [end]
believe me Yours ever sincerely

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
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

30 Old Burl St W.
Mar 1/61

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
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 -

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 nothing farther in detail ever yours sincerely F.N.
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 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...
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

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 -

ever yours sincerely F. Nightingale
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, 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 -
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
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
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

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
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 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 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: &

say I am very glad to hear the “young doctor” is coming all right.

Believe me ever yours sincerely

Florence Nightingale
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 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 the subject for some Meeting.

Ever sincerely yours

F. Nightingale
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 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

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<tr>
<th>Years</th>
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<td>1862</td>
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A similar table for Fort Guards at home for Household Cavalry for Dragoon Guards & Dragoons for Totals for all these Arms

[end]
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

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,
of the business=like manner of bringing things straight, than of the subjective effect of these trials to his own idiosyncracy sic!!! 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

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
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 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
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.

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

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
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

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
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, 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.
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

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.

signed letter, ff124-25, pen, black-edged paper, no copy

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
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” 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 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?
[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 administration, no favour 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 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
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

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?
signed letter, ff130-31, pen, black-edged paper, typed copy 45772 f267

34 South Street
Park Lane W.
July 29/65
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 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
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.

[I go to Hampstead for a short time]

signed letter, ff132-35, pen, black-edged paper, no copy

CONFIDENTIAL Dec 19/66

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 disappointment & much of bitter sorrow, yet it is, if possible, more constant & eager an object with me than ever.

I need scarcely say that
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]

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
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 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 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 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...
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 -

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

Embley Sept 10/72

Romsey

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!
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? -

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 abréger”. Do not you think that it is applicable here? Are not the cases too long? more condensation of style wanted? papers not
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.
Will you remember me to Dr. Muir (tho’ I have never seen him) if he remembers me?

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 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.’]
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 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 egotistical word. I must however be back in South Street soon - Pray believe me dear Dr. Balfour ever yours most truly Florence Nightingale
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

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
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

& 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.
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. -
and how careful we should be not to support any body’s peculiar views.

Burns well said that “Facts are chiels that downa ding”. You can’t knock them over. Opinions on the contrary are the scriptural “fowls of the air”

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
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 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.
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 your great work now mainly consist.

‘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: —

- 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?
My dear Dr. Balfour

No overwork or illness could prevent me from writing to bid you ‘God speed.’

You have done admirable service at Netley, as everywhere: and the things you have done which ought never to have required doing show that you have 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.

I wrote an answer to you last kind letter & mislaid it!

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

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
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 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
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

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
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.

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:
Weren’t 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
Quarters are farther off in the future than the 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,

{archivist: [March 13, 1876 to Dr. T. Graham Balfour.]}  

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:]}
You have done wonders. Your representations should never cease - They will bear fruit: they do bear fruit.

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.

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.
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

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. &
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’c 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 which 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 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 hosp? 

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’cl.

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 ha not visited any patients of alleged grievance and are not competent to give any opinion on the statement which he as illeg

f182 SH to Balfour printed 49 Belgrave square July 18 1857 The additional pages follow the MS wh was sent this morning to complete the subject.
Will you insert & re Asylum. Illegs

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 (wh 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 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 House 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

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. Illegs

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 wh is one of Taylor’s returns.

f235 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,

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
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.

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
men from Cholera as

usually fall in

a great battle.

We have besides had a
great many papers
(after Indian fashion)
on the subject, which show
that the Sanitary arrangements
are just as unsatisfactory
now as they were years
ago - & that there
is no reasonable hope of
anything really efficient
being done, unless there
be established a properly
constituted Public Health
Department at the India
Office and in India -
as a recognised branch of
permanent administration
On this general subject, printed papers sent to me from India in answer to my own letters - all shew that, whatever has been done in the way of improving the Public Health, has been done by fits & starts - & without any system.

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

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

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

It is obvious that such calamities ought not to recur - neither in the Army, nor in the Civil population.

Our present position is simply this: - that, 4 years ago, the Report
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.
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.
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
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
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.
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
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, Pray believe me
never Park Lane, dear Sir Stafford Northcote
have London. W. ever your faithful servt
again. Florence Nightingale [end
9:603]
Dear Sir Stafford Northcote,

I have kept the papers which 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
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.

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
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

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
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

think well to sanction it, if urged by Lord Napier, as an experiment for Madras

F.N. [end 9:608]
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 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
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 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
Private Confidential
Sanitary Dec 3/86
10, South Street. 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
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 Sanitarians, & inferior men would be worse than nothing, your views are that this (too small) Sanitary Dept. should not be meddled with?

There is the other point, connected with this same subject & mooted already in Sir Jas. Fergusson’s time in Bombay, but fortunately negated 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.
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.

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 yourself on certain matters, might I request that you will allow me to write to you before next mail?

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?

And, thanking you again for your great kindness, pray believe me, dear Lord Cross, your devoted servant Florence Nightingale

The Viscount Cross
Dear Lord Cross

I have just received your kind 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)
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

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.
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?
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 power to itself, if the Panchayat is recalcitrant, neglectful or obstructive.
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”
selected & appointed over two or more villages, (not necessarily of residents,) by the Collector - & with Mamludars - (magistrates) - on it. The Sanitary Commissioner & his Dept are ignored.

The Mamludars as a rule know nothing of sanitation, except to keep the road clean thro’ which the Collector or the Assistt 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.
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).
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?

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.
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?

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

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 commer 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 impos 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 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
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 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,
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.

Pray believe me
your faithful & grateful servt
Florence Nightingale

The
Viscount Cross
&c &c

Miss Nightingale
Army San Commn
Indian illeg
Df 4 May }
R 5 "     } 89
9 18 "   }
apology for
delay - Ld C however
has not neglected
to read it carefully
& will take an
early opp of
calling to see
her

Add Mss 51279 f15 FN cover letter to Lord Cross