

Bodleian Library

1

Oxford archives, 488 pages

Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Acland Ms, indicated Acland
Bodleian Library, Oxford University, others, indicated Bodleian Library
Pusey House, Oxford, indicated Pusey, 7 letters
Balliol College, general, indicated Balliol
Balliol College, Mallet, indicated Mallet

Bold numbers in square brackets indicate the volume and page number in the
Collected Works of Florence Nightingale where the item appears.

Acland, initialed letter, ff1-2v, pen, black-edged

f1

32, South Street, {printed address:}

Grosvenor Square. W.

Dec 5/63

My dear Sir Harry

The only persons
who would be able
to give Dr. Acland the
information he desires
are Dr. Sutherland; &
Dr. Farr (of the General
Register Office) Those
two men & I wrote
the Report - But Dr.
Sutherland is the only
MAN, who has gone
through *the whole* of
the materials, on which

f1v

the two Blue Books are
founded, & which
are here in your house
at this moment. [I
have never let them
out of my hands since.]

I would propose
that Dr. Acland should
see Dr. Farr, who may
be seen at the General
Register Office almost
any day *by appointment*
(he lives at Southlands
Bromley
S.E.)

& that he Dr. A. should see
Dr. Sutherland also,

f2

who lives at
41 Finchley New Road, N.W.
& who would see him
there *any evening* by
appointment.

But as this would
probably be inconvenient
to Dr. Acland - I would
propose that he
should see Dr. Sutherland
here at your house
to luncheon some day
at one o'clock; - this
next week would be
quite impossible to
us, for we are over=
done with India
business. After the
14th, if Dr. Acland

f2v

could appoint a day?
[Of course, *I can't make*
an appointment beforehand *for*
Dr. Sutherland, who
is often called away
for whole days on
War Office business,]
& inspections.

~~I know how busy~~
a man Dr. Acland is.
But he seemed to
take kindly to this
review, which would
be an invaluable
assistance to us - And
I cannot think of
any other way which
would be *less* inconvenient
to him. Ever yours

[9:267]

F.N.

{from the top of f1}
You say nothing about writing
to the Editor of the Quarterly.

[end 9:267]

F.N.

Acland, signed letter, ff3-6, pen, black-edged, pale blue paper

f3

Private & Jan 30/67

Confidential 35 South Street, {printed address:}

Park Lane,

London. W.

My dear Sir

I believe that your
Workhouse Committee is
being put off on purpose.

[13:593-94]

I enclose you a
copy of a paper which
I was desired to draw
up by your Committee.
It went in last Friday -
of course *I* have no
right to send it you
at present. But I do.
Because it answers some
of the things you mention

f3v

about Lady=training.

Till you see it my paper officially,
please *not* to mention
it *in any way*.

I do not feel very
sanguine about your Nurse=
project - for this reason -
it is not only to "catch
your hare" but to get
your implements to
catch her that, it seems
to me, it is your (herculean)
work to do.

You say you have none

f4

of the three first
requisites -

1. a willing Matron
2. Head Nurses capable
of teaching
3. a house to lodge the pu=
pils in

I doubt its being possible
either to teach people,
as proposed "up to
"2 o'clock" - [& then for
them to be "Night Nurses,
if required" - I can
only say, I hope not.]
Night is the only time
when you can give no
training or superintendence,
And tho' Night Nursing
should always be a part

f4v

of the course, yet this
should only be when
the pupil is already
a little advanced.
But I will not pre-judge
the question. Because
you say you are going
to consider it.
Confidentially, I will tell
you that every day
convinces me more &
more that, your complete Course
of training once
considered & adopted,
it should *never* be
departed from, except
by a formal decision.
I am sure it is not possible

f5

for there to be a better
Training Matron than
ours at St. Thomas'.
Yet she is always getting
into scrapes on this
point.

She pleads people's
"necessities" & that she
has "told people the
truth".

That has nothing to do
with the matter.

It is we who ought to
make ourselves responsible
for sending out none
but good Articles

We have not, like shops,
to consult the taste
(or the "necessity") of
our customers for

f5v

a bad Article.

No more than, if a
Patient asked to have
an operation performed
one way, and your
Surgeon considered it
essential to perform
it another, he would
be justified in
consulting the taste
of the Patient.

I forget whether I
mentioned to you
that I would strongly
advise you, *not* to
have a Training=Nurse

f6

from us, even if you
could make your
Matron consent.
We never find that kind
of patch-work answers.
It is best to have all
homogeneous.

ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

Burn

[end 13:594]

Acland, signed letter, f7, pen

f7

Embley

Romsey

~~35 South Street,~~ {printed address:}

~~Park Lane,~~

~~W.~~ July 14/69

My dear Sir

I have only just
received your note.

I have come down here,
being almost worn out.

I need hardly say that
any "question" which you
may "have to put to" me,
I will do my very best to
answer if I can.

Pray believe me

ever your faithful servt.

Florence Nightingale

Henry W. Acland Esq M.D.

Acland, signed letter, ff9-20v, pen & pencil, black-edged, pale blue paper

f9

Private & Embley

[8:50-56]

Confidential Romsey

~~35 South Street,~~ [printed address]

~~Park Lane,~~

~~W.~~ July 20/69

My dear Sir

I have thought over & over
your note, & tho' when I
received it, my impression was
very strong upon the subject
on which you wrote, yet
I would not answer, - the
matter upon which you do
me the honour of consulting
me being very important -
till I had given myself
time for consideration.

I am the more anxious
to say nothing hastily,
because I am afraid I shall
differ from some of the
best men on the subject -
& because I certainly, had

f9v

you asked me the same
question 15 or 16 years ago,
before I had the experience
I have had since, should
have fallen in eagerly with
your project.

Experience then teaches me now

1. that Nursing & Medicine
must never be mixed up.

It spoils both.

If the enemy wished to ruin
our Nurses in training at
St. Thomas', it would be by
persuading me to accept
your noble offer of a female

~~Medical degree~~/special Certificate (or any degree)
for them. [And I say quite
unaffectedly that it is a noble
& generous offer.]

f10

If I were not afraid of being misunderstood
I would almost say: - the
less knowledge of Medicine
a Hospital Matron has,
the better. 1. because it
does *not* improve her
Sanitary practice - 2. because
it would make her either
miserable, or intolerable
to the Doctors - miserable,
because, in the immense diversity
between Doctors' opinions & ~~between~~
Doctors' practice, she would
fancy that she knew which
was wrong - intolerable,
because, if she were not a
woman of self-control, such
as we do not find one in a
thousand possesses, she
would let her criticisms
leak out, perhaps through

f10v

the Nurses - And this would
ruin the Nurses -
On the whole, believe me,
keep Medicine & Nursing
perfectly distinct.
Do not let a Nurse fancy
herself a Doctor.
If you have "Medical women",
let them be as entirely
distinct from Nurses as
'Medical men' are -
Let them, the "Medical women",
have as thorough an education
as 'Medical men' have -
not a smattering of lectures -
(if there are to be "Medical women")
A smattering of Nursing does
a Dr. good. A smattering
of Medicine does a Nurse
harm.

f11

-2-

I am afraid that you will
think I am making myself
as pragmatical & disagreeable
as possible.

If I had but half an hour's
more time & strength, I would
try to explain: -

that there *is* not sufficient
medical or surgical knowledge,
not sufficient scientific or
literary knowledge, in a
Nurse's or Matron's education
to form a *basis for a degree*
or registration - or certificate -
(it would be quite possible,
for the worst Matron or
Nurse to pass the best
examination)

that the real qualities of a
good Nurse or Matron are
those which are generally
comprehended under the

f11v

words "character", "practical
ability" - & developed by
practical training -

(it is true that we give
our Nurses lectures - tho'
this forms but an infinitesimally
small portion of our course
& make them take notes.
These, but much more the
notes which we make
them take of their cases,
form an item of their
Examination - But
otherwise their Examination
is entirely *current* &
practical - & bears no
kind of resemblance to a
student's examination -
that is, the Training Nurses
keep a weekly record, by a
system of marks, of the
progress each Probationer
is making in each of her ward=
duties - & in character. And

f12

the Training Matron keeps
 a similar Monthly record
 under the same heads.
 And from all this, we
 test the Probationer's
 progress. And, for the
 life of me, I cannot see
 how any other Examination,
 any *School* examination,
 would test a *Nurse*
 at all.]

Had I time, I would try to
 explain how, in my opinion,
 any "recognition" of the kind,
 so generously proposed by
 you, would fatally interfere
 with some of the essential
 points in a Nurse or Matron.
 And it would fatally
 interfere with discipline -
 because, e.g. you might
 have a bad "registered" Nurse
 placed under a first-rate

f12v

unregistered Matron - or a
 good unregistered Nurse who
 would see at once that her
 (registered) Matron did not
 know her duty - placed under such a
 Matron -
 and with what results any
 one may perceive.

[It may be said that this
 may be the case in *any*
 Civil Service examination.
 That is true. But the
 real points of a Nurse
 escape any examination but a
current one ~~Examination~~ -
 - just as the real points
 of a Hospital work escape
 any Inspection but
 a *current* one.]

I know what you will say: -
 that it is not a female Medical
 registration or a female
 Medical ~~degree~~/certificate that you

f13

-3-

propose - but rather (say) a
female Sanitary registration,
a female Sanitary examination.

But you cannot test a good
Sanitary Nursing by the
answers which can be given
but only by the work which
has been done.

It is not the rolling a few
answers trippingly off her
tongue about the chemistry
of foul air that makes
~~her~~ a good Nurse - but the
keeping her Patient's air always
fresh ~~air~~ without giving him
cold - and the thousand &
one cares which go to make
up a careful Nurse.
She has not to plan
sanitary engineering works,
or a healthy Hospital con=
struction [it would make her

f13v

miserable if she had - because all Hospitals but one or two are upon such unhealthy principles of construction] - she has not to write treatises on Hygiene - all these things do come within the domain of examinations - she has only to practise it every minute of her day & night - & this comes only within the domain of a *current* continuous examination.

[A Nurse should however certainly know the Sanitary facts of the origin of disease in defective drainage, defective water-supply &c &c

- And I have been much pleased to see lately in our Probationers' notes on cases, such notes as these: e.g.

'A came in with Typhus -
'A's husband & mother died
'of Typhus in the same house'
-(an ignorant Nurse would

f14

have added 'how contagious'
- but) this Nurse added an
account, evidently accurate,
of the defective drain
which had produced
this sweeping away of a
whole family.

But this sanitary
knowledge is only, or is
best, conveyed to a
Nurse by the practical
knowledge of her own
cases - & not by
Lectures -†

And, whatever ~~you~~/we do, let
us not commit this sort of
examination to a "Doctor" -
With 2 or 3 brilliant
exceptions, "the Doctors" are
far behind a humble,
experienced, observing Nurse,
in such matters as how
disease is produced,
"Contagion" & the like -]

Poison a Nurse with
Medical "Contagious" theories -
And ~~you~~/she will be ruined.]
{in the left margin:} For yourself alone -

f15

-4-

Private

I come now to your second question - about female "medical education" - whether it should be the same as men's -

And I will try to answer this in the way which alone would *not* be impertinent to you, viz. from the point of view of my own experience.

There is one Medical sphere which is indisputably women's and this conviction is becoming every year, I believe, more general - viz. that women should be attended by women especially in all that pertains to child-bearing.

The objection to it, of course, is that all education for Midwives in England is so bad that, if a Lying-in woman persists in preferring an Accoucheuse to an Accoucheur,

f15v

she does so at the risk of her life.

A Midwife is, in England almost a synonymous term for ignorance.

But, it seems to me, that people have taken up this cry of female "Medical education" here at the wrong end.

They cry out, at least the women do: - let women have the same Medical education as men.

Should we not rather give women a thorough scientific & practical education in a branch which is indisputably their own, viz. Midwifery - disputed by no men, so far as I am aware, on general grounds, but only on the accidental ground

f16

that there is no proper Midwifery
education for women in England?

THEN it will be very easy to
find out whether *ultimately*
women may "receive the same
Medical education as men."
[Midwifery may, I need not
say, be made to include the special
diseases of women & children.]

But what has England done,
since this new movement has
arisen? - Some things -
which call themselves "Female
Medical Colleges", (*à non* being
Colleges, I suppose) - give a
superficial course of Lectures,
leaving the female students
to "pick up" the practice, as
they can - a Lying-in Hospital
gives a certificate after a
month's attendance - And
these women go out, sometimes
to India, to practise as Accoucheuses.

f16v

what but disaster can
follow such ideas?

And is it not ridiculous in the
most practical nation of the
earth?

Yet it is the fashion for these
new "female Doctors" (in England,)
to "despise Midwifery" - (and,
I believe, in America.)

What has France done? -
For 67 years she has had
a School for Midwives who
go thro' a *two years'* course
of scientific & practical
education in Midwifery,
as good as, or better than
any education for men.

[I take this, of course, not
on my own word but
on that of the best men]

Without a certificate, which
cannot be had except after

f17

-5-

this 2 years' course, Midwives
cannot practise.

All the Professors are women,
excepting, I believe, one.

This School has produced a
succession of lady-heads -
second to no Accoucheurs in
Europe - either in their
practice or their writings-

[This, again, I take on the word
of men - I am not an
Accoucheuse-] I wish I were -
There is nothing I should wish
to do so much as to go thro'
a 2 years' course at that
School.]

The Sanitary practice & the pupil=
=discipline at this Maternité
are abominable.

This I take on my own word -
But is this not curious? -The
Sanitary work, which is

f17v

essentially women's work, is
neglected - whereas (the turning,)
the operations (in short) in)
difficult & abnormal cases,
which it is said women have
not the science, the nerve, not even
the strength to perform, are
all performed there to perfection
by women - taught by women.

The high Death=rate is from
Puerperal Fever &c - not from
surgical Accidents in Childbirth.

Now it appears to me that
something of this kind,
(not Sanitarily) should be
done in England.

Why not?

But then it must be done
thoroughly, as they do it.

{note in another hand: omit (the turning) line 2,
omit from
childbirth &
begin again on
sheet 6.}

f18

You would scarcely believe how many propositions we have had, to ally our St. Thomas' Nurse= School with "Female Medical Colleges" - always steadily refused by us - on the ground, 'we are not "Medical women", we are Nurses - all attempts to confuse Nursing with Medicine must prove fatal to both.'

You would scarcely believe how many applications I have had from ladies who, having had the smattering of Lectures, begged to be admitted as *Nurses*, nominally - to "pick up" as "the Students do" - then *to go out to practise*, perhaps in India. You would scarcely believe how hard these applications were to refuse - nor how angry they were at being refused.

f18v

Yet I need hardly say it would have been ruin both to them & to their future Patients (to say nothing of our Nurses) - had such been admitted -

One of these ladies, after having been refused by us, took out a *month's* certificate from one of the Lying-in Hospitals in London, & went out to India to *practise* - this, *plus* a few Lectures, being her *whole course of Medical education.*

[I do not blame these poor silly women. It is the men who are to blame. If this is the idea of Medical education, which physicians & surgeons who *are* educated, allow women to have, certify them upon - who is to blame the poor women who accept the certificates? -]

f19

-6-

In my humble little Midwifery
 School at Kings College Hospital,
 we gave a not less than
 6 months' practical course,
plus Lectures. Yet we
 would not certify the pupils
 as *Midwives*, but only as
Midwifery Nurses - i.e. they
 were to know enough to know
 when a case of 'abnormal
 parturition' was past their
 skill, in their future practice.
 (And that is more than most
 English Midwives know) - & to
 call in 'the Doctor', Yet we were frequently
 applied to by ladies for one month's, 2 months' instruction there-
 [I was obliged to close that School
 on account of the high
 Lying-in Death-rate - tho'
 not so high as at some
 London & all Paris Lying-in
 Hospls. But we mean to
 open it again under happier
 Sanitary conditions]

f19v

This - viz. the examination
 & registration of *Midwives*
 (Accoucheuses) - laying down
 your conditions & course, which
 should certainly be not less
 than that of the French
 in scientific & practical
 things - & a great deal more
 in Sanitary things - for every
 Midwife should certainly
 know the causes of Puerperal
 fever - & those conditions
 which generate the long train
 of Puerperal diseases - &
 that Child=birth is *not* a
 disease -
 this, it appears to me, would
 be the proper function of
 such a machinery as you
 propose.

f20

Afterwards, it may be left
to public "opinion" to decide
whether "women shall be
Doctors like men." shall be
"admitted to the ordinary Medical & Surgical Diplomas".

Let me have my beef before
my mustard - And do not
give me mustard without
my beef. Let me have my
Midwifery diploma - first - &
a good one - & then I can
think whether I will have
"the ordinary Medl & Surgl
diplomas."

I must apologize for this letter,
as being both too long & too
short - i.e. too abrupt. It is
impossible to me to lay my
experience before you - in any compact form
& therefore my conclusions
may seem jerky. Time &
strength are very short with
me. I am often almost unable to write

f20v

~~me~~ And I am thankful
when I am able to write even
one additional letter to my
most pressing business.
I hope however that you will
give me credit for having
done my best.

I thank you for your Proof
on "State Medicine". I will,
if you please, say something
about that in a separate
letter.

This is too long already.

[end 8:56]

Pray believe me

my dear Sir

ever your faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

Henry W. Acland Esq MD

&c &c

Acland, signed letter, ff21-22, pen, black-edged, pale blue paper

f21

Embley

Romsey

~~35 South Street,~~ printed address:}

~~Park Lane,~~ Aug 9/69

W.

My dear Sir

In your note of July 24,
you say: -

"When I do write I mean
to ask you about another
subject - the Registration
of disease in public
Institutions"

And you ask me for "a copy
of your "model Forms for
this purpose".

[I am not sure whether you
did not mean me to
answer this question at once]

I believe that I have one or
two copies of these "model

f21v

Forms" left (at my house in
London.)

But they are now no longer
of use since the new
Nomenclature came into
operation.

The only full account of
the method is in ~~my~~/the 4th
Edition (Longmans) of my
"Notes on Hospitals" -
last Chapter.

But you have a man who
is also on the "Sanitary
Commission", Mr. Paget,
who knows more about all
this than any man in
Europe.

f22

Let him give you a copy
of the back St. Bartholomew's
Reports.

The method, described by
me - & embodied in St.
Bartholomew's Reports, as
introduced by Mr. Paget, -
is the only one to give
results - subject, however, to
the use of the new
Nomenclature of diseases -

Excuse shortness of words,
which means shortness of
strength - & Pray believe me
ever your faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

Dr. Acland

Acland, signed letter, f23, pen, black-edged paper

f23

London June 19/71

My dear Sir

Pray accept my best thanks
for your kindness in thinking
of me & sending me your
pamphlet on National Health
(which I have just received)
& for your kind note -

I need not say that I
will read your paper with the
utmost care & interest - And
I may perhaps then trouble you
with another note on the subject -

Excuse meanwhile this too
brief acknowledgment - for writing
becomes more & more of a
difficulty to me from increasing
business & illness - And believe me
with warm thanks, ever your faithful servt,
Florence Nightingale

Henry W. Acland Esq
&c &c

Acland, signed letter, ff25-28, pen & pencil

[8:359-61]

f25*Private*

{printed address:} ~~35 South Street, Embley, Romsey~~
~~Park Lane,~~ Feb 27/72
 W.

My dear Sir

Your note with its enclosure addressed to me at my brother-in-law's, Sir Harry Verney's, has only just reached me here where I am come to be with my mother during my father's absence - she being somewhat infirm, tho' I may really say with joy not so much so as I am - I fear that this delay may be inconvenient to you, tho' I hope by writing for the early post, this answer may still reach you in time to be of use.

NURSING You will perhaps remember that you asked me this question as far as NURSING is concerned about two years ago - I *think* in the autumn of 1869 - & that I answered at a length which must have been tedious to you, endeavouring to shew that Nursing does not

H.W. Acland Esq MD
 &c &c &c

f25v

come within the category of those Arts (or Sciences) which may be usefully "examined" or "certified" by the agency proposed. In other words that the worst Nurse ~~may~~/might often obtain the best "Qualification" - & that an Examination in *Nursing* is that which no Council or Committee could ~~do~~/make -

[I have often laboured & often in vain to shew *ladies* the essential difference between the Medical & the Nursing Art.]

There is nothing in my experience since 1869 but what has only confirmed this view - viz. that the proposed Examination as far as *Nursing* is concerned would be not only useless but mischievous -

[MIDWIFERY is in quite a different category.]

If I am obliged again to give my reasons, I will ask to be allowed, leaving aside minor ones, to give only two: -

f26

1. It is generally admitted now that Examinations on Clinical subjects cannot be made from books.

The pupil must be at the bed-side & his acquirements must be judged of by bed-side physicians or Surgeons.

Now of all things nursing is the most clinical of all Arts.

The 'Doctor' is a judge no doubt of the results But he is no judge, indeed he has no knowledge of the processes by which the result is arrived at.

[Ask any really eminent Clinical Physician like yourself. You all say this, & most ~~truly~~/justly.]

Only the long practised, *trained & training* Matron (Superintendent) can do this: and even she cannot certify with confidence, except after farther long years of experience of each individual Nurse, whether the Nurse can so comport herself as to meet the many emergencies incident to her calling - or whether she has the patience,

f26v

judgment, firmness, gentleness under all
troubles & oppositions - [And this will bring
me to my second reason.]

(essential for the recovery of Patients.)

Hence it happens, alas! but too often, that the
(apparently) best Nurse sometimes does not
succeed - even after having been certified - on
sufficient after=trial.

A really good but diffident Nurse might fail
in being placed on the Register at all, while
a forward glib bad Nurse might stand high
in the Examination.

How can any mere Examination tell what even
Patients, Matrons, Physicians learn of their
Nurses only by experience? -

The parallel between Nursing & Art will stand:

- a woman applying for the office of Music=teacher
might be examined on the principles of harmony
& if she knew them thoroughly be certified.
But only a judge of Music & of Musical tuition
could tell whether she was fit, *even after
hearing her performance.*

The same in Painting - No Academician
was ever elected except *on his work* - never on
his *technical verbal* knowledge.

f27

-2-

2. I come now to my second reason, which I must pray to be allowed to give very shortly: -
Nursing is not only an art *but a character*.
And how can this be arrived at by Examination?
It cannot.

Nursing depends more than any other occupation,
(except the charge of teaching children -
perhaps even more than *that* -) on the
woman as a CHARACTER - not merely on her
learning the technical details of her trade.

This is so obvious that, to one like yourself,
I feel it would be presumptuous to insist
on it further.

Rather, I would ask you to insist upon it
with the Poor Law authorities, with whom the
question is now becoming one of such importance

These reasons appear to be final, do not they?,
as against any *Examination* & Registration
by the Medical Council.

[There might possibly arise the question: -
suppose any Nurse-training Committee,
after sufficient experience should decide

f27v

that such & such women had really
the Nurse's calling -

It might become a question whether
these should not be placed on the
Register merely on certificate? -
i.e. without Examination by the Council?

RULES FOR TRAINING.

It is scarcely possible, is it? for these to be
made by a Medical Council.

They might adopt the Rules of the best
Training=Institution they know -

But I speak for ourselves - we have to
alter, I hope *improve*, our Rules from
time to time as we gather more & more
experience & as we improve ourselves.

[I should be very much shocked at *us*, if
we did not.]

Besides which, no rules could tell a
Training=Matron whether a woman
would make a good Nurse.

This is a matter of penetration - of insight -
the result of personal ability & experience.
Hence the only Registration, such as the one
contemplated, of any use would be: -

f28

on certificate of training

competence at the bed=side
qualities of character.

MIDWIFERY

This stands, for obvious reasons, on a different ground from Nursing -
But, As Midwifery training for women is still in its infancy, & has never yet been properly introduced into this country, would you not think it well to defer your question from coming on just at present?

The babe, (Midwives' training), is yet unborn or hardly born in England.

[You doubtless know that, last month, at the "Obstetrical Society" in London a Resolution was carried upon the Examination of "Midwives" -

I will only say that, even with such experience as I have in training Midwives, it tells me that a woman might answer all those questions & conditions & be

in no sense that a *Lying-in woman* (the *true examiner*) would

f28v

recognise, a 'Midwife']

MEDICAL DEGREES

I have taken for granted that the contemplated "Rules for "female Education" do not relate to *Medical Degrees*.

If the "rules" contemplate such a purpose, the COUNCIL can best decide for themselves what the *curricula* ought to be.

Last line but one

of proposed {illeg} Motion.

I do not quite understand what is here contemplated

The "superintendence" of a ~~Hospital~~/"Medical Institution", as conducted by a woman, includes Sanitary knowledge, knowledge of management, administration, house keeping, - above all training & management of women, both as to character & skill

To propose to {printed address, upside down:} examine on these things can scarcely {35 South Street,} come within the province of a Medical {Park Lane,} Council.

(in great press of business & {W.} illness) ever believe me your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

Acland, signed letter, f29/57, pen, pale blue paper

f29/57

35 South Street, April 4/72
Park Lane, [printed address]
W.

My dear Sir

I am glad if my letter
asked for by you about
the Nurse & Medical Council
question was of any use

& glad that you think your
Committee will collect
valuable information.

But -- I consider myself
a defrauded person - i.e. one
who has been persuaded on
false pretences.

Your definite bribe to
Henry W. Acland Esq MD
&c &c

f29v/57v

induce me to answer was

(in your letter of Feb 22)
that you "would then write"
to me about my poor
little "book on Lying-in
Institutions" - & in the same
letter you repeated this
promise at the end.

I am now suffering under
'breach of promise' -
Has 'the Law' no remedy? -
ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

f32/30

& Licensing system

[But how can we in such
a hurry give a judgment?]

There cannot be a doubt that
- A most effective impulse
might be given by you to
the *Education of Midwives*,
if only there be time &
patience to consider & consult.
- that as to a mere *license*
to *Midwives*, acting as a
prohibition rather to the
non-licensed than as a
certificate of competency
to the licensed some
steps appear desirable
- also as to *dispensing* -

f32v/30v

but that in the
existing void of proper
means of enabling women
to obtain the requisite
experience

it requires great care &
consideration

3. [The future however is
of far more importance-]
I could fancy you, if you
were asked, giving the
following wise advice,-
or something like it, -
with regard especially to
the *Midwifery* subject: -
'You are not yet in a position

f33/31

-2-

`to move at all -

 `You have no feet.

 `What you ought to report
`to the Council is simply
the information which you
have collected, - & the
information collected is not
sufficient to enable any
steps to be taken -

 `If you attempt to walk
without feet, either you
will stand still or fall over' -

So far Dr. Acland -

Would you not limit your
 Report simply to a résumé
 of existing information -
 - cut out all advice -
 - ask the Council to continue

f33v/31v

 the powers of the Committee?

[There are so many important
 considerations in the Draft
 Report that no one
 would, would he? be
 justified in adopting it
 without long time for
 consideration]

If you decide to take this course,
 I will gladly try to do my
 very (tho' poor) best to meet
 your wishes expressed in
 your note as to
 advising on practical steps
 &c -

f34/32

And, before your Report is printed or adopted, I shall be obliged to you to *give me full opportunity of looking it over* - as at present my "views" do not appear to be correctly represented.

[You kindly say: that I may "object to some of the "statements in the Draft."]

So I do -

f34v/32v

[4. I could have wished, to save you trouble, & myself hurry, - -that Miss Lees had told me that you were considering those Russian Regulations (which were procured for me by Dr. von Arneth of Vienna, who is now blind but, with his wife's help, he translated them into German for me - & which I lent to *Miss Lees*-) & - which ~~you~~/are now sent to me in print, ten minutes before I ought to be answering you -

As a matter of practical consideration, & as you do

f35/33

-3-

me the honour of quoting
me in your private
(official) document,

I might possibly have saved
you some trouble, had I
been given as many days
for this reply as I
have now minutes -]

5. Possibly you may like to
glance at the enclosed
note from Dr. Shrimpton
(late of Paris) - which I
have just received.

Please return it to me -
with your remarks, if possible

f35v/33v

6. *Your Draft - p. 6 -
"As to Nursing" -*

I cannot think that this
represents my "views" -
[I am unable to leave my
room & cannot at the moment
tell any one where to find
the "Cubic Space" Report
quoted from -]

This is one of the matters I
will ask you to give me
full opportunity to look into -

a. I do not think that "all Nurses
after training" shd be
"certificated by some proper
"body" - since I think
that the only "proper" body

f36/34

- is a thoroughly competent
Training Institution - where
they have been trained -
And the expression used
might be construed to
mean a *public* (certificating)
body.
- b. I have always opposed
"certificating" "superintendents"
except in the above sense -
that is, that a Superintendt
& her Nursing Staff should
all be trained together &
recommended by the competent
Training=Institution which
trains, selects (both before &
after training) & sends them
out.

36v/34v

- c. I do not think that I
ever recommended at all
that Nurses shd be "certificated"
by the "Poor Law Board".
- d. The last line *p. 6 of your Draft* occurs, I think, [red und]
in my paper - But I did
not expect to remedy this
deficiency by any process
of "certificating" =
On the contrary -
I followed up that line
at once by stating: -
-that the only way to supply
the deficiency was to train
& complete a Nursing Staff
for a Workhouse Infirmary -

f37/35

-4-

-& then for each of these so trained & completed Nursing Staffs to train
in its turn - other Staffs -

The only places in England
that I am aware of
where this has been done
are:

Liverpool } Workhouse
Highgate } Infirmary

And upon each of these I
should have a word to say,
if I had time -

7 I sent up to Mr. Bonham
Carter in my hurry - for
information

He sends me *his letter to* [red und]
you of March 1872
(when you applied to him.)

f37v/35v~~pt~~

So far as *Nurses & Superintendts*
are concerned, most [red und]
distinctly I adhere to
what is there said.

[Please return me this letter for
Mr. Hy B.C.]

[N.B. -
Mixing up the two
very different cases of [red unds]
Midwives
with

Supts of Nursing
I think especially hurtful.]

f38/36

My dear Sir
 I must send this *as it is*
 (if I am to send anything)
 - as you are so good as to
 desire it
 & as you require it by tomorrow
 I will write if possible
 something more in the
 morning -

Pray believe me
 tho' in haste
 ever your faithful servt
 Florence Nightingale

Acland, signed letter, ff39-40/37-38, pencil, black-edged pale blue paper

f39

35 South St March 27/73
 Park Lane. W.

My dear Sir
 Yesterday I sent the accompanying
 packet, - the moment the
 ink was dry & the hurry
 over, - to the Athenaeum,
 according to your behest - as
 you wanted it before your to-day's Meeting.

But they returned it to me,
 saying that you would not
 be there till to-night!!!

I ~~would~~ will not re-open it
 however, for I am afraid
 it would take me more days
 than you have given me
 minutes, to consider & write
 Henry W. Acland Esq MD

f39v/37v

anything on so complex
 a subject worthy your
 attention -

I will therefore only add: -
 - did Miss Lees show you
 a very able letter of
 Dr. von Arneth, of *St. Petersburg*
 & Vienna (- he resided, as
 you know, many years in
 Russia) to me, - throwing
 much light on the Russian
 Midwives' School Regulations & the way they
 may work - which
 accompanied his 'envoi'
 to me of the Russian
 (School for {Midwives
 {Accoucheuses)

f40/38

Regulations, - done into German,
 by himself -

- & which I lent to
 Miss Lees with the said
 Russian Regulations -
 (in haste)

Pray believe me
 ever your faithful servt
 Florence Nightingale

Acland, signed letter, ff41-45/39-43, pencil, pale blue paper

f41

35 South St March 31/73
 Park Lane. W.

[8:363-64]

My dear Sir

I have to thank you for your
 (four) kind notes & for a
 copy of the "First Revise" -

I had better not detain
 you except by an answer made
 as short as I can.

Without seeing the *revised*
Revise, I have difficulty in
 adding anything further to mine
 of the 26th to you.

I conclude from your two
 of March 28, & that of March 29,
 Hy W. Acland Esq MD.

f41v/39v

that you have omitted or altered
all the passages I marked in
the former *Revise*, - including
the passage at p. 13 of *this*
Revise

I must ask you kindly to let
me see the *final Revise*
before printed for the Minutes.
The essence of the criticism which
you have kindly asked me
to make would be: -
that the Report attempts to
put - or at any rate
throughout suggests the putting-
the cart before the horse -

f42/40

- that instead of citing both [red unds]
as to *Nursing* &

&

Midwifery

what is merely being attempted
in Germany

&

Russia

[it is very useful to give an
account of what is actually
done as to teaching &
licensing Midwives in
Germany -

but nothing is said as to the
Midwifery School in *Paris* -
(an established Government
Institution for 70 years.)]

f43/41

-2-

would it not be better to
 show 1. *that means of*
 TRAINING do not exist
 in England

2. what that training should
 consist of -

[red unds]

whether *Midwives*
Dispensers
 or

Nurses

(not merely of Lectures
 Examinations
 &c

and not merely of what is
 represented as "systematic"
 at Dublin -)

- then to add what Dr. Aveling
 says so well that "it is

f43v-41v

"useless to provide for
 "examination, licensing,
 "registration & supervision",
 "unless" you provide the means
 of EDUCATION -

that therefore the time is not
 yet come for the Council
 to consider whether
certificates & examinations
 are desirable -

- that probably some licensing
 of *Midwives & Dispensers*
 might be desirable *after*
 the means of *instruction*
 had been provided -

that possibly under the same
 conditions some certifying

f44/42

of *Nurses* might be
advantageously introduced -
- that any certifying of
SUPERINTENDENTS of *Nurses*
appears *impracticable*; & this
from the very nature of the thing -
- that "*Superintendents of*
Medical Institutions" is
an unknown & undefinable
profession -

[end 8:864]

in haste
Pray believe me
my dear Sir
ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

f45-43

-3-

P.S. From your kind letter,

I conclude that the "First Revise" (which I return with notes) has *already* been further revised by the omission of passages which I "might object to" & by embodying the "alterations" suggested -

It seems therefore only troubling you to attempt any criticism of ~~the~~ particular passages of this "First Revise" -

which I re-inclose with Notes, - only because it appeared to have been sent to me for that purpose.

31/3/73 F.N.

Acland, signed letter, ff47-58/59-70, pencil, mainly red und

f47/59

Your Report

"Special Education of Women" 35 South St
Park Lane. W.
May 3/73

My dear Sir

I am afraid to count the numbers & dates
of your kind letters & enclosures unanswered -
It is hard for me to tell you how sorry &
ashamed I am for my delay, as you were good
enough to ask me for "advice" - And I have
only my usual excuse: - pressure of business &
illness.

I will rush at once "in medias res" -
Your question: date?? - (that is to save my
confusion) it is "April 7/5" -

WHAT TO DO NEXT" -

This, like many others in this weary world, is not [red & pencil
und]

easy to answer

Do not the whole papers put you much in mind
of a glorious Irish 'row', in which there is
'no end' of opportunity of breaking heads, simply
Hy W. Acland Esq MD.

&c &c

f47v/59v

because the issue of the quarrel has not been clearly raised?

Does not every thing in the discussion depend on what the combatants mean by "Midwife"?

As the question stands, some of them mean a *fully educated* woman: others mean a woman who has "assisted" *at a few Lyings=in* -

Does the "Committee" propose to enquire here & there what opportunities exist for *training* - & to act accordingly?

This is a very good object: to master the existing state of *training*, & its opportunities as fully as they can, & report on these - also: to obtain thro' Lord Granville or otherwise what has been the result of the *first year's* training (when there *has* been a "first year") at *St. Petersburg* -

Does Dublin really afford any help?

Does not ~~Mr.~~/Dr. Sinclair's letter only show that the writer does not mean by a "midwife" what Society requires? - or what we mean?

Do you not think it likely that little else will

f48/60

come out of any other School, except perhaps at Edinburgh? -

[Is there not an old Midwifery School at Edinburgh? -
- But you will enquire into this -]

In the present state of things, most cordially do I echo Dr. Aveling: - that there is *no ground* for *Examination* or

Registration

They must choose one of two courses, either Mr. Lowe's plan of doing *nothing* but examine

[and in this case they must pitch their requirements as high for *women* as for *men*]

Or they must in some way provide at the universities or by a separate School (~~such as I/we propose~~) for a *complete scheme of training* in Medicine & the allied Sciences with special reference to *Midwifery* -

f49/61

-2-

There are absolutely no other
courses, are there?

And practically does not
this bring us back to the
"Medical women" status?

~~[It is effectively my own proposal]~~

How would it do to register
"Medical women", IF they come
up to the mark as

"Physician Accoucheuses"?

The other way is: that the
Council should try their
hands at a

Midwifery Institution
(such as I have proposed)
Of this farther on

f49v/61v

Any way, please, will you
not stand by my proposals:

1. for *fully educated Midwives*
2. for *trained Midwifery Nurses*

[Your "Midwife's" letter at
p.106 is good & shows
practical knowledge]

I entirely agree that

there is quite enough for
your Committee to do for a
year in making a searching
enquiry into the present state

f50/62

of *Midwifery training* -

And should not this be
reported to the Council
before anything else is done?

1 P.S.] Will the Committee's
Report help Mr. Stansfeld
in the least as he
anticipated? -

Its 'conclusion' is, as it ought
to be, that they have
nothing practical to propose,
& are going to enquire -
[of this farther on]

f51/63

-3-

2 P.S.

With regard to a *Midwives'*
School, will any good
 be done - as to *Midwives*
 unless Government forms
 a *School*?

But whom ~~filleg~~/have they to
 undertake the thing - to set
 it a-going?

They would no doubt
 prefer to subsidize some
 existing Institution - following
 out the example suggested
 by Mr. Sinclair at Sir Patrick
 Dun's Hospital -

[*That, we* must we not

f51v/63v

bear in mind?, appears to
 the uninitiated what
 Mr. Sinclair (whose Irish
 idea of a *Midwife* is
 truly striking) describes
 it - viz. as affording ALL *that*
 can be desired -

& is confirmed by Prof: Parkes
 who reports the Army *Midwives*
 trained there & elsewhere
 to be: - all efficient & sufficient

!!

f52/64

Prima facie, one is averse
 to Government Schools -

But, where we have a Poor
 Law Department whose
 duty it is (inter alia)
 to receive Lying-in women
 into their Workhouses -
 they ought to provide some
 proper means in default
 of other of attending to
 them

A *site* might, might it not?
 possibly be found by Govt
 in London *for a Lying-in*

f52v/64v

Hospital - {diagonal lines through the rest of the paragraph} e.g. there is
a vacant space attached
to a Lunatic Asylum
at Bethnal Green

f53/65

-4-

3.P.S.

"Mr. Stansfeld's desire
"for some system of *Registration*
"at all events of the *Midwives*
"that who they are and
"where they are may be known"

[Dr. Acland to F.N.
April 14/73]

Is not the reply to Mr. Stansfeld
given by your Committee itself?
After the reception of your Report,
CAN THE QUESTION OF REGISTRATION
except in the case of
Lady Physicians desirous of
entering themselves as

f53v/65v

Midwives - be entertained?

If Mr. Stansfeld must
have an answer, must
it not be that, *except*
in these cases, THERE IS
NOBODY TO REGISTER.

Mr. Sinclair is the only
man at all eloquent on the
prowess of his *uneducated*
Women - *And surely*
you would not advise

Mr. Stansfeld TO REGISTER
THESE.

f54/66

But, if your Committee
 can be induced by you
 to take the common=sense
 course of enquiring into
 the teaching capacities of
 the *existing Midwifery Schools*
 - & will select from among
 them those who give a
 proper education (IF ANY)
 - then might not the Council
 on its own responsibility
 recommend a *Form of*
Register to Mr. Stansfeld?

f54v/66v

But up to the present time
 have we any knowledge
 - or have you -
 that there are *any* women
 (except Lady Doctors)
 who ought to be on a
 Midwifery Register?

f55/67

-5-

N.B.

[Dr. Aveling says so well: -
 "Unless this is done" - (i.e.-
 Midwives *instructed*) "it is
 useless to provide for their
 (Midwives') examination,
 licensing, registration &
 supervision" -
 Suppose an Oxford Professor
 were to go to Khiva, &
 propose a system of
 'examination' & 'registration'
 of Graduates in Classical
 Literature & Philosophy! -
 It is much the same thing]

{f56/68 is blank}

f57/69

-6-

Letters lent

Mr. Hy Bonham Carter would like to have his copy letter to you back, [N.B. He has expressed his surprise at seeing it printed in the Report, as it was not intended for publication]

Please also send me back *Dr. Shrimpton's* note to me -

[P. Turn Over -

f57v/69v

SUPTS OF "MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS" -

I will not bore you or myself with repeating all that I have said before against any examination or registration of these - at present -

I entirely adhere to the statements in Mr. H. Bonham Carter's letter - tho' I am sorry that it has been published, because it conveys rather the impression of 'throwing dirt' upon people & Institutions, many of whom are sincerely doing their best. I confess that I think if
1. *Dr. Humphrey's Amendment*, p. 116, had been carried, it would have been the wise course.

f58/70

My "Notes on Nursing" {p. 14 of
 {Dr. Acland's
 {Report

~~In this~~/In my little book I can find nothing about
 "Training", unless (under a
 wide acceptance of the word)
 the thing to be learnt, &
 not only the way to teach it
 be intended.

I will not keep you one
 moment longer with apologies
 but pray believe me
 ever your faithful servant
 Florence Nightingale
 Dr. Acland 3/5/73

Acland, signed letter, ff45-50, pen, black-edged paper

f45

35 South St
 Park Lane. W.
 June 24/74

My dear Sir

I am very sorry that you should
 have been troubled by Miss Lees thro' my
 means; & that it is quite impossible
 to me to "see" you, as you kindly propose
 or even to write to you at length upon the
 "subject" (which is not mine at all)

[13:730-32]

I "understand" as little as you do: &
 therefore can only suggest the following explanation.

f46

Miss Lees having been written to incidentally about ~~the~~/your Meeting for the "Nurses for the Sick Poor" tomorrow at Willis' Rooms writes - not to her correspondent but to me - to ask "all about it" & whether I advise her to go to it.

[It has been advertised in all the newspapers: & with your name as one of the Speakers ~~to~~ at the proposed Meeting]

I have nothing whatever to do with the Meeting - & have only - in answer to very urgent requests - drawn upon my already exhausted strength to write at some length recommending ~~urging~~ 1. that full information should be first obtained as to *what* District Nurses are employed in London and *by whom*?

2. that the Association should begin with organizing a Training School attached to a Hospital - not to *any* Hospital unorganized - - under a Lady Supt - for training District Nurses as alone they can be trained -

3. that they should begin District Nursing, on a small scale, in London: proposing that of Liverpool as a Model

f46v

I need not point out to your experience the great danger of the vague & immense beginning which they proposed to make -

I believe that Sir E. Lechmere's letter in yesterday's "Times" was the result of a joint remonstrance.

To you I need not say that even that limited & more reasonable scheme does not meet the question: for when *organized*

f47

-2-

Training Schools can only keep up the standard by constant effort & careful supervision, what can be more absurd than to attach Nurses to be trained (?) any how at any Hospital without any organization for training?

II.

Upon another point, that of "certifying" & "registering", I also stated to the gentleman who consulted me that I had fully entered with yourself into

f48

essential objections against it -

"trained" where?

"Nurses "certified" by whom?

I was astonished that they had not consulted Miss Lees.

It was absolutely impossible for me to answer Miss Lees' questions: as it is almost ~~so~~ for me to write this: Knowing your kindness to her: & that you were the best referee: I telegraphed to her: "write to your friend Dr. Acland of Oxford about the "Meeting for a National Association".

(she had written to me, as I have explained)

"to provide Trained Nurses for the Sick poor:
"he is to speak at the Meeting: it is no meeting
"of mine - except to prevent it."

This is all the explanation I can afford you of what puzzles me as well as you -

- I suppose she did not explain to you that my Telegram was only an answer to what she had ~~said~~ asked.

I will ask you to excuse me : I am in the very thick of my Indian business: also, of Nurse business: I have a little more to do

f60 {numbering is confused}
 than can be done in the 24 hours: and
 I am much more ill than usual: my
 sorrows this year have been heavy indeed,
 & my cares distracting
 Pray believe me, dear Sir.
 with this apology
 yours ffully
 Florence Nightingale

[end 13:732]

Dr. Acland

Acland, signed letter, ff49-50, pencil, black-edged paper

f49

35 South St
 Park Lane. W.
 July 20/7

[13:735]

My dear Sir
 I entirely agree with you about
 Miss Lees.
 There is scarcely anything in this
 world that I wish so much as to see
 her at work: & this even more for her
 own sake than for that of the work -
 In another year it may be too late:
 I mean her habits will have become such

f50

as to render her unfit for harness -
 Agnes Jones had done her work, &/fought
 the good fight & finished her course at
 the age that Miss Lees is now: not yet
 having begun hers tho' with such a
 training & such powers as no woman has
 ever had given ~~them~~/her before -
 But I believe she *has* accepted the
 "Secretary ship": witness the enclosed
 letters -
 At least if ~~anything~~ new change has taken place
~~transpired~~, they have not told *me*.
 Forgive overwork & illness for this
 wretched note: I feel most gratefully
 your kindness for Miss Lees.

[end 13:735]

& am ever yours
 F. Nightingale

Dr. Acland

Acland, igned letter, ff51-56, pencil, red und mainly

f51

ARMY MEDICAL SCHOOL: NETLEY

PRIVATE 35 South St.
& Confidential Park Lane. W.

March 31/76

My dear Sir

I am sure I scarcely need to ask your indulgence
for telling you that the *danger of the abolition*
of this School has become *urgent*:

for as you so truly say: "when Mr. Hardy has made
"up his mind, it will be too late"

Its abolition is now seriously contemplated at the
W.O. And as I understand ~~the~~ *the Under Secy of S. Mr. Vivian*, tho' only
in conversation, & principally thro' the Chief Clerk has made a
communication on the
subject to *Sir Wm Muir*, the Director=Genl. [I am

£52/62

aware that Sir Wm Muir has had a letter from
you.] He is *quite* against any change: but can do no more than
he *is* doing-]

1. The view taken by the *Under S. of S.* is, as far as I know,
this: -

that, as the *pay of the Surgeons* was about to be
greatly increased,
& as circumstances had greatly changed since the
School was established by Sidney Herbert,
the Candidates ought to come armed with all
necessary professional education
& ought not to get part of it *at Government*
expençe -

[the answer to which might be, (F.N.): -

[~~there will in a few years~~/if the School be continued, be a great influx
of 10 years' men - They will get £250 a year at
once - If, after passing their initial examination,
they are gazetted & sent for 4 months to Netley,
might they not PAY FOR THEIR BOARD?

The School itself is a mere trifle - F.N.]

2.

The *Under War Off.* pursues:

since they are now only to be engaged for
10 years' service, the Government ought not to
lose 4 months out of this period *by their*
attending the A.M. School.

f62

[That is to say, (F.N.)
that *short service* = *Netley training* -

One would think the argument was just the
other way:

viz. that 4 months' training was *too little* for a
man who has to gain his experience & do his
work all in 10 years -

I have heard the best of the old men say that
10 years' ~~experience~~ was not too much for them
to gain their experience in to take care of
the Army - when there was *no School*.

F.N.]

f53

-2-

3. The *Under W.O.* pursues:

there are now *Chairs of Hygiene* established
at various places to which students can go
for information on that topic:

the *Govt* is ready to subsidize certain of these
chairs:

& as to the routine of Military duty, that can be
learned during the first year of service *at any*
Station Hospl.

[It seems, (F.N.) as if this were - the most
difficult of all things to answer - a mere begging the
whole question:

f54

as regards the *acquirement by students in any Civil School or at any Civil Chair of the SPECIAL knowledge which has been imparted at the Army Medical School*, it is simply IMPRACTICABLE:

as to the rest, it is simply recurring to the old rude rule-of-thumb practice, that every man & woman is to puzzle out his or her own experience by his or her own blunders (which we thought was done away with)-

Besides - the whole Medical profession of the Army, Navy & Indian Services is so different from *civil medical practice* These *Army Doctors* are to *keep the men in health*: not only to be called in to them in sickness:

they are to keep the *Camps, Barracks, Ships, daily life, food & equipment in health*: of our Army, Navy & Indian Services:

Is this to be learnt "at any *Station Hospital*", - where soon those they have to learn of will be as ignorant as their pupils?

F.N.]

And all this to save the keep &c of the Short Service men!]

f54v/63

4. The D.G. (Sir Wm Muir), I understand, on being asked to make observations on the proposed change, declined doing so, without consulting the Professors of the School.

And this ~~is to be done~~: he did at once: ~~but~~ the "Observations" are, I believe, to go in next week.

5[You are probably aware that Sidney Herbert made the School directly dependent upon the *Sec of State* himself: &, always, he, as did Lord de Grey, initialed & annotated its Minutes himself -

No subsequent ~~Under~~ *S. of S.* for War has done so:

f55

-3-

And Sir John Pakington, on going down to Netley without notice, declared himself "ignorant" that "there was a School"!! This was after he had been S. of S. a year.

The proceedings of the School Senate do *not* now go beyond an *Under Secy of State*.

This allows fine play to be made *against* the School, when the S. of S. for War knows so little about it

F.N.]

I believe that Sir Wm Muir has desired Professors Longmore, Aitken, & De Chaumont (Dr. Parkes' adjoint) to draw up remarks: &, on Professor Maclean's return from the Continent (*beginning of next week*) to have a Senate

f56

Meeting; & advise him on his answer to the W.O.
6. I feel that the best interests of the Army Medical Department: & thro' it *the health & efficiency of the Army at large* are threatened with a deadly blow:

& all for the merest trifle of economy:
But if the abolition of the School is determined upon, the Senate's arguments (in their own defence) will be counted ~~upon~~ as nothing -

7. I cannot find out that Mr. Hardy has said one word to any body about it:

I therefore conclude that it is simply an *Under Secy of State's* affair.

but this, from the last 10 years' experience, increases, instead of diminishing my fears.

8. A kind of semi-official notice from a quite subordinate Officer reached Netley that "the Candidates entering on the 10 years' service plan were *not to come to Netley*"!!!

As *all* Candidates (F.N.) by the new arrangements are to enter on the 10 years' plan, this was of course tantamount to saying that the School at Netley was to cease.

f56v/64

9. It was only *officially* mentioned to the Dirr=Genl
on the 28th I believe (F.N. March 31.)

I wish that Sir Wm Jenner were in England:
but I suppose he is with the Queen - Possibly
you may be in communication with him.

Dr. Parkes commended the School to him -
I thank God that this did not come a month
ago to disturb Dr. Parkes' last hours:
it was then only a rumour -

Excuse pencil: & believe me
ever most truly yours
Florence Nightingale

Dr. Acland

Acland, signed letter, ff71-74, pen & pencil

f71

Army Medical School: Netley} 35 South St.
[red und] Park Lane W.

April 8/76

[15:508-09]

My dear Sir

⚡/We cannot thank you enough -

- I had heard both from Professor Longmore
& Dr. Maclean at Netley of your visit
there: & they seemed to derive fresh hope
& encouragement from it: (as do I.)

I am sure that, if the School *can* be
saved, it will be by you -

The Professors come to London to-day to

f72

present their Memorandum to the Senate
 before submitting it to the S. of S.
*The great necessity, of course, is that they
 should REACH Mr. Hardy HIMSELF -*
 [We all know what stopping at Chief Clerks
 & Under Secies means]
 I feel that I can say nothing more which
 you have not already said much better
 to yourself with the Netley information
 now at your ~~command/finger~~ command -
 If Mr. Hardy could be induced to say:
 'refer the new arrangements of the Army
 Medical Department (the 10 years' ~~men~~/Surgeons),
 in their relations to the Army Medical School,
 to the School Senate for them Senate to submit
 to me information as to what should
 be ~~settled about~~ these ~~their~~ relations to the School':
 the game is won.
 If not, in a few years nearly the
 whole medical Staff of the Army, Navy
 & Indian Services will be men utterly
 untrained in ~~the~~ special Military Hygiene
 Field Service, special Military Surgery,

f72v/65

INDIAN & tropical Hygiene & Medicine
 (both ~~so~~ VERY 'special' & peculiar) & Pathology
 Nothing but the experience of one's own
 blunders - the saddest of all - will ever
 remedy this lacking training:
 and half of what Sidney Herbert did
 for the health & improvement, material
 & moral, of the Army will be lost -
 Indeed I do feel that we shall know Dr.
 Parkes' loss only by the years in which more

f73

-2-

& more it will make its length & depth felt.
 I dare say Prof. Longmore showed you a touching
German tribute to ~~him~~/Dr. Parkes dated Vienna -
 [N.B. There is some mistake: I am not "going
 "to see Mr. Hardy": Sir H. Verney seems to have
 told you so -]
 As you have been so kind as to wish it, I
 would gladly see you on Tuesday, (when

f74

you say you will be in London,) for a few minutes at 4.30, or any other hour you will be so good as to mention beforehand, if not too inconvenient to you: & if there is anything particular to serve the *Army Medical School* in thereby: but would much prefer having the pleasure of seeing you when you are in London: & you & I might be less hurried: & I a little better -

[end 15:509]

Pray believe me
my dear Sir
ever yours faithfully
Florence Nightingale

Dr. Acland

Acland, signed letter, ff75-76v, pen & pencil, red und

f75*Army Medical School: Netley* 35 South St.

[15:509]

PRIVATE [und 3 times] Park Lane W.

April 10/76

My dear Sir

Our affairs are 'looking up'

On Saturday when the Senate met to consider their protest (which was already drawn up), Sir Wm Muir received a letter from Mr. Hardy, altering the question to: *how to adapt the School & the new state of things* (in the new Army Medl Warrant) to each other -

This was the very question we wished the S. of S.

f76

to refer to the Senate -
 [Evidently Mr. Hardy is not of the same mind now
 as his Under Secy.]
 This afternoon the Professors are to add to their protest
 remarks on the new point: -
 "supposing the School to be maintained, *how is*
"the Short Service arrangement to be adapted
"to it?"

This is not without difficulties. [But no difficulties
 are insuperable, except a decree of abolition.]

The difficulties are:

1. the new Warrant (excluding all reference
 to a probationary period & course of instruction) is gone in to the

Queen
 for signature.

2. Under the new system, 90 CANDIDATES ANNUALLY
 for the A.M. Dept alone, without counting the
 Cands for commissions in the *Indian & R.N.*
 services, will be required .

The accomodn in the *Laboratory & Microscopic*
 rooms is only for 36.

The numbers at the School have often
 been very much greater already. w/When the Navy Cands
 were added, & even before: Dr. Parkes & the Senate ~~have~~
 repeatedly pressed for the additional accommn
 necessary for practical teaching; but to no purpose,
 - altho' the expence would have been only the
 first outlay for room -

The *Hygienic & Pathological classes* have thus often

f76v/67

had to be divided into two sections: so giving to
 each only half the amount of practical instruction
~~due~~ otherwise to be ~~had~~ given.

This additional room must be granted now:
 for efficiency's sake -

But, thank God, the first step is gained.

ever yours faithfully & gratefully

Florence Nightingale

I send a duplicate of this to Sir H. Verney's, in
 case you should have left Oxford before this
 post comes in.

[end]

Dr. Acland

Acland, signed letter, ff77-78, pen, red und

f77

Private Army Medical School} 35 South St.
 Netley } Park Lane W.
 April 13/76

My dear Sir

I am bound &/as I am delighted to keep
 your kindness 'au courant' of our
 progress: -

The Professors' statement was received
 by post yesterday morning in Whitehall
 Yard. We hope that Sir Wm Muir
 (as Pres of School Senate) has signed it: & sent it

f78

*in to Mr. Hardy, & that Mr. Hardy himself will
 consider it.*

The 'statement' consists of 3 parts:

1. (now, we trust, quite superfluous:)
 effect of abolishing the School:
2. (now, we hope, the only part wanted:)
*best mode of adapting the new short service
 system of the Department to the School.*
3. Financial statement
If Mr. Hardy himself sees this statement,
 I am sure that you will feel that he can
 only come to one conclusion

Believe me ever yours faithfully
 & gratefully
 Florence Nightingale

Dr. Acland

Acland, signed letter, ff79-80, pencil, red und

f79

Netley: A.M. School 35 South St.
 Park Lane W.

Dr. Acland Easter Sunday: April 16/76

My dear Sir

Very many thanks for your two letters:
 - PRAY do NOT *send me the 'Army Medical School'
 statement, till you have QUITE done with it.*
 [If you do, I shall send it you back again.]

It is of immeasurably more importance that you
 should have it than that I should.

I am not likely, & you are, to have communication

f80

with Mr. Hardy at this present.

It is *much* more valuable in your hands than mine.

[I had a note from Professor Longmore late last night telling me that he had sent it you.]

I shall anticipate the greatest good to our cause from *your having it* - & reading it *at your leisure: before you see the Minister* on whom our fate depends -

I will write about the other subjects in your first note: In the mean time

pray believe me yrs hopefully & gratefully
Florence Nightingale

We should think that the day was won if Mr. Hardy would appoint a Committee to go to Netley & examine into the *teaching means* of the School: & then to report on the best way of adapting the School work to the new 'Short Service' system: if only you yourself could be appointed on such a Committee & would consent to serve on it: the thing would be done. & the School perhaps placed on a securer basis than [F.N. it has been for years.

[15:511]

Acland, signed letter, ff81-82, pen, red und

f81

Army Medical School: Netley 35 South St. [address blue pencil]

Private April 21/76

My dear Sir

In pursuance of *your suggestion*, Sir Harry Verney, furnished with a letter from me, went to the W.O. on Wednesday, to see Mr. Hardy, in order that he might appoint a Ctee consisting of *yourself Sir James Paget, Capt. Galton*, and perhaps Dr. Sutherland, to go to Netley, examine into the *teaching means* of the

[15:511]

f82

School: & report to him, Mr. Hardy,
 as to the best method of adapting
 these to the increased numbers &c &c
 under the new Army Medical Warrant.

[Of course there was no one at the
 W.O.]

And I believe Sir Harry wrote to
 Mr. Hardy, enclosing my letter:]

I look forward with the greatest
 confidence to *your interview* to-morrow
with Mr. Hardy & I do hope
 the ground is prepared *for the Ctee:*
 which will make all things straight:

[end]

ever your faithful & grateful servt
 F. Nightingale

I returned *the Professors' statement*
 to you ~~on~~/by Wednesday's post.

F.N.

Acland, signed letter, ff83-84, pen, red und

f83

Army Medical School: Netley} 35 South St.
 Park Lane W.

Private April 28/76

My dear Sir

I cannot thank you enough for your
 kindness about this whole matter:
 nor for your Telegram of yesterday:

[15:513]

I had also a (private) intimation from Mr.
 Hardy to the same effect: he said nothing
 about the proposed *Ctee:* to go to Netley
 & report to him on the teaching means
 of the School. I conclude that he is

f84

taking time to consider of it. I earnestly
hope that he *will* appoint it, *as proposed*.

2. There is a point in one part of Sidney Herbert's
scheme which I may just refer to; tho' it
has probably not escaped your attention.

Dr. Parkes' death has caused a vacancy in the
body of *London Examiners of Candidates*
for the *Army, Indian, & R.N. Medical Services*.
You know how important it is that these
Examiners should be Surgeons & Physicians
having an independent standing of their own:
& holding a sufficiently eminent position
in civil life for them to have the confidence
of the Profession at large, & also of all the
Examining bodies - so that their selections
& rejections of Candidates at the Competitive
examinations might be beyond all cavil.

I do not in the least know who is to be
appointed in our dear friend's, Dr. Parkes's
place: but it is very important for all
concerned that whoever is appointed should
be chosen on the same principles.

[end 15:513]

f84v/70 (ult)

Pray believe me my dear Sir.

yours most sincerely

Florence Nightingale

Dr. Acland

signed letter, ff85-86, pen, red und

f85

London Examiners for the Military Services {arch: Florence Nightingale}

35 South St.

Park Lane W.

PRIVATE

April 30/76

[15:513]

My dear Sir

Many thanks for your letter.

I received a private intimation last night
that *Dr. Aitken* has been recommended
to fill the vacancy among the *London Examnrs*
caused by *Dr. Parkes's* death -
Dr. Aitken acted for *Dr. Parkes* on more
than one occasion.

The selection of the man is not a matter

f86

in which my judgment can be worth much.

I should be very glad if you thought that he has the required professional prestige for giving confidence to the Civil profession in general in the character of his Examinations: & that his acquaintance with the needs of the Service & with the practical deficiencies observed in candidates in the Wards &c may make his position as an Examiner useful

I hear nothing of our proposed *Ctee* for *reporting* on the teaching means of Netley School:

but I hear that *orders* have already gone forth to *increase the accommodations for Candidates*:

[end]

Pray believe me
ever yrs ffully & gratefully
Florence Nightingale

Dr. Acland

Acland, signed letter, ff87-92, pen & pencil, red und

f87

Netley Army Medical School:

35 South St.
Park Lane W.

Confidential July 12/76

[15:514-16]

My dear Sir: In obedience to your kind telegram:

~~Are you there?~~—and if so might I write to you fully about the above School - threatened, as you know, in its existence after Dr. Parkes's death -
- rescued by Mr. Hardy, ~~being~~ made acquainted with the facts of the case:
- now again threatened, Mr. Hardy being

f88

probably not aware (at this ~~time~~/period when

Ministers have scarcely time to breathe)
that his orders have not been carried out.

~~Till I know where you are,~~ I will only
trouble you now with the bare skeleton of
the case; as you desire: - in order to save this post:

1. *No successor has been appointed to
Dr. Parkes at Netley.*

And it is rumoured: which seems incredible
- that Govt are to subsidize the proposed
University=College Hygienic=Laboratory
(*"Memorial to Dr. Parkes"*) &/with the view of transferring the
Netley Hygiene there.

[I have taken the utmost interest in the
University College affair: it is so miserably
wanted in London, where there is nothing:
but I need not tell you - that even to think
of it - as a *substitute* for Netley would
be like thinking of teaching Camp life or Sea life
on my London leads.]

Two months ago, Mr. Hardy most kindly
said to Sir Harry Verney: "tell Miss

f88v/72

Nightingale that *I have appointed*
(not: 'I am going to appoint')

*"Dr. De Chaumont to succeed Dr. Parkes
at Netley."*

If the *Netley chair is again threatened*, it is
because *Mr. Hardy does not know it.*

2. *Nothing whatever is being done at
Netley to provide accommodation for the
greatly increased numbers of candidates*

f89

-2-

expected there on October 1.

I have Sir William Muir's statement
- in writing - to me that "orders have
"been given" (not "are to be given")
"to provide *immediately* the *increased accommodation*
"for Candidates at Netley *needed*:
"at *Mr. Hardy's own desire*."

Mr. Hardy cannot know that this
has not been done: Yet Sir Wm Muir now says that
the "question of *accommodation is still under consideration*
"at the War Office".

3. It has always been an essential element

f90

in the Constitution of the *School* that it should depend directly from the *Secretary of State of War*: & not from the Medical or any Department:

& that its *Senate* should have *monthly Meetings*.

[The S. of S. always examined its Minutes himself.]

All this has gradually slipped out of gear: - the consequence is: the precarious tenure of the *School*.

It was understood two months ago that Mr. Hardy meant to resume this direct dependence upon himself:

& call for the Minutes: the only way to give the *School* a satisfactory footing.

The *Monthly Meetings* of the *Senate* have long since become *Quarterly*: & now it does *not* appear that they are even to be *Quarterly*.

The Quarterly Meeting ought to be on the 29th of this month. No answer, except that "it would be premature to hold a *Senate Meeting* "until the question of accommodation is decided."

f90v/73

has been returned to the proposal to hold one on the 29th/~~it~~. [It is always held in London.] The *Senate Meetings* are a *most* essential element in the original constitution of the *School*: & if they are done away with the *School* will come to an end.

If they Senate do not have their Meeting on the 29th of this month as usual, they can make no arrangements for the next Session.

f91

-3-

These *three* are the main or most pressing points: but there are others not so large indeed but essential.

These all: the greater & the less: main points: would have been probably settled at once had we pressed at once for the *Committee of enquiry* with you at the head: Capt. Galton: Sir James Paget & Dr. Sutherland. [Mr. Hardy would almost certainly

f92

have granted it. But Capt. Galton's
 absence at Philadelphia as an umpire
 -[he will soon be back] - made me
 ask Sir Harry Verney to ask you
 whether we should press for it
 till Capt. Galton's return.

To this I had no reply:

Sir Harry Verney is thank God! *much*
 recovered from his accident Still I
 could not trouble him with business.

Our need of you is urgent: the "29th" is near:
 When you saw Mr. Hardy at Oxford, you probably came
 to some conclusions with him: I will say no
 more at present. Pray believe me

[end 15:516]

my dear Sir
 ever your faithful servt
 Florence Nightingale

Dr. Acland

Acland, signed letter, ff95-94, pen and pencil, red und

f95

Netley Army Medical School:}

35 South St.

Park Lane W.

July 14/76

[15:516-17]

My dear Sir:

Thank you for your Telegram:

I augur all success from your seeing *Mr. Hardy*:

I have heard nothing more but that,
 if the Senate do not hear from Sir W. Muir
by Monday next, they intend to write again
 & insist on the right on their part to have
 the Meeting on the 29th: apart altogether of
 its absolute necessity.

This is a perilous proceeding: this insisting upon
 rights; tho' inevitable, if nothing intervenes. I

f94

should be very thankful *if you could*
kindly *let me have any sort of intelligence*
on Saturday or Sunday : which
would enable me *to telegraph to them*
on Monday morning: 'don't insist
on ~~the~~/your right to the Meeting, till you
hear again': Possibly *Mr. Hardy* may himself order one:
(a Senate Meeting) to be held: ever yrs gratefully

Florence Nightingale

Dr. Acland

Acland, signed letter, ff95-95v/76-76v, pen & pencil, black-edged paper

f95/76

10 South St.
Park Lane W.
July 12/80

Dear Dr. Acland

You were so good as
to tell my little maid
that you wished for
an appointment to see
me.

I cannot tell you how
sorry I am to be
compelled to say I
cannot make one this
week. I have so
often wished for one with
you. I would have made
that possible which
is all but impossible

f95v/76v

if it were of great
importance.
I am more seriously ill
& overworked than
ever just now. And
I have a rather alarming
case of illness in the
house.
I bid you 'God speed' in
all your works.
& pray believe me
regretfully but
ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

Acland, signed letter, ff97-104/78-84, pen & pencil, black-edged paper

f97

Netley Army Medical School: 10 South St.
Park Lane W.

Jan 29, 1881 [15:528-30]

My dear Sir

Before answering your kind
letter on the Netley Medical
School, in which you
proposed several questions,
I was obliged, of course, to
consult my "colleagues" -
- now alas! so few surviving
- on Sidney Herbert's old R.
Commissions & Committees,
one of which established
the School.

It is necessary for me to
recall to your recollection
the past history which may
enable you to judge whether
any steps such as you
Hy W. Acland Esq M.D.

f97v/78v

mention: can be taken

by us: -

The School was established by Lord Herbert for one purpose & one purpose only, viz. the practical education of Army Medical Officers. And so he left it behind him. It was the recommendation of the R. Commission of 1857.

When Netley Hospital was completed, the then Director Genl, Sir James Clark & Dr. Sutherland were requested by the Secretary of State to advise him as to the future of the School; because all the Invalids would then go to Netley; - and these Invalids were all from diseases contracted

f98/79

in the *British & Indian*

Army service

Somewhat against their judgment, they felt it right to decide that the School should follow the Invalids for the sake of experience.

Next: the Indian Army R. Commission

(Sidney Herbert's which reported in 1863 after

his death: Lord Derby, then Lord Stanley, was his successor as Chairman.)

advised that Indian cadets should go to Netley for training: All the School machinery & all the necessary Invalids were there:

And this was done.

The Royal Commissions had

f98v/79v

seen their advice adopted.
 And the surviving members
 were without any further
 office in the matter:
 And so they have continued.
 All their contemplated work
 was done.
 Several years afterwards,
 Dr. Macdonald sent Dr.
 Sutherland, (the only
 Surviving member of
 Sidney Herbert's "Army
 Medl Sch" Committee) a
 copy of a book; & on the
 title page he learned for
 the first time that Naval
 cadets were admitted to
 Netley, & that he Dr. Macdonald, was
 Assistant Professor of Naval
 Hygiene.

f99/80a

-2-

The arrangement was made
 apparently between the
 War Office & Admiralty:
 & it afterwards appeared
 that the latter had a
 representative on the Senate.
 Now If the original
 members, including Sidney
 Herbert, had been alive
 & had been asked whether
 such a step would be
 useful for the Public Service,
 I think they would have
 said, as I know Dr.
 Sutherland who does survive
 does say:
 where are your sailor Invalids?
 where are your sick men=
 of=war's men?
 is the study of *sailors'* ship &

f99v/88av

coast & climate diseases
best studied on the bodies
of *soldiers*?

I need not say what the answer
would have been

And again:

Ship hygiene can only be
taught where there are *ships*.
It is even a more purely
practical matter than
Army hygiene.

The objection to Netley
all along has been that
there has been too much
stress laid on lecturing -
& too little on the practice
& experience, which was
Sidney Herbert's main
principle in founding
the School.

f100/80b(a11)

{in another hand:}

Sheet 2. omit page 3 write p. 4
down to No.

Sheet 3 p. 2 "We understandeclipse Netley
p. 3 begin

The Naval Service to deal

with.

Sheet 4 "my sympathy
omit after signature.

f101/81

note:

[The same fatal mistake in a far more fatal form is now being made in the Training of *Nurses* there.] Hence it has been proposed more than once in India to withdraw the Indian candidates & to train them practically in hygiene in India.

This Dr. Sutherland has always opposed, because the deficiency could be supplied at home; and will be partly so, for our Army, at Aldershot under the late Warrant.

f101v/81v

We rejoice to hear all that you claim for the Netley course, & joyfully corroborate it as far as we know.

If Sidney Herbert's late Committee survived & were asked whether they considered the Netley course (admitting all that you claim for it) as the best possible arrangement for Naval cadets, they, I believe, (as I know Dr. Sutherland, the only survivor, does) could only say: No.

When they were looking for a site for the new Naval School, Dr. Sutherland put this question to the

f102/82

-3-

Committee:

as these boys are to spend their lives on board ship, ought they not to be entirely trained there?

And they admitted it - It might nevertheless be possible to give part of their training to the Naval Medical Cadets at Netley. But, as he thinks, the real practical training in treating disease & wounds, & in Naval Hygiene, could best be given at Haslar.

f102v/82v

I did not lose an hour after I received your second kind letter, in consulting & enquiring:

we understand that a proper Naval Medical School is to be formed at Haslar exclusively for Naval Medical Officers on the report of an Admiralty Committee -

And I most earnestly trust, with you, that this School will have the highest standard ~~for~~/of "Pathological, Hygienic & Scientific Studies", will be "well-endowed & fully equipped" - & above all will give the best & most complete *practical* training May it "rival & perhaps eclipse Netley."

f103/83

P.S.

One point about Netley
in your letter may afford
some explanation of the
proposed change:

The Naval Service has
always been ~~much~~ less
popular than the Army:
But since we obtained
the new advantages for
Army men, the difference
has been greater. The
Naval men are more kept
down than the Army men:
and it is just possible
that the objection to their
being associated with the
Army & Indian men may
be a disciplinary one -

At Netley they are equals -
What are they on board ship?
No Army Medical Officer

f103v-83v

has to rough it in berths
or at the bed side, as the
Naval man has, who in
our experience has always
been a more rough & ready,
handy & able Officer
than the Army man -
a ~~much~~ better man to deal
with -

Now ought this to be
sacrificed - if indeed there
be any reason for
sacrificing it at Netley?

Dear Dr. Acland: I am afraid

I can say no more to enable
you to judge. My deepest
wishes are with the welfare
of the Army Medical School,
as founded with what I
know to have been Sidney

f104/84

-4-

Herbert's intentions
 and my sympathy is with
 whatever good you may
 propose to do, as I need not
 say - with *all* your good plans -
 Pray believe me
 ever your faithful servt
 Florence Nightingale
 I find from Sir Harry Verney
 that you wish him to see
 your letter: I shall
 therefore send this answer
 thro' him.

F.N.

God speed your Artillery
 son in S. Africa.

[end 15:530]

Acland, signed letter, ff106-07v/86-87v, pen

f106

Nov 7[/1882]

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

My dear Sir:

I am extremely obliged
 to you for writing to me.
 Your recommendation
 of Mr. Nettleship for the
 Ophthalmic Hospl would
 have been of course enough
 for me [I do not usually
 vote in Elections of this sort,
 because I know I cannot
 form an opinion: &
 printed Testimonials are so
 much the same on both sides]
 But Mr. Bowman, the
 Oculist, an old friend, *had*
 already recommended Mr. Nettleship

f106v/86v

for my vote: so I had
 already sent in my Proxy.
 I am VERY grateful to you
 for writing to me about
 my Sister, Lady Verney.
 You may be sure that
 we are all most anxious
 about her. I should
 esteem it a great favour
 if you would on *Thursday*
 or *Friday*, when you
 will be so good as to see
 her, give me a few
 minutes afterwards about
 her.

f107/87

X

Yes: indeed this Committee
 of Enquiry into Army Medical
 & Hospital Corps matters
 is a great boon, if only
 the Medical Officers
 will speak out: say
 what took place
 what failed
 if there were failures
 why it failed
 what they want
 to prevent future failure
 &c &c
 Some good evidence
 (independent) has been
 taken already.
 The Army Med. Dept

f107v/87v

may come in on the wave
 if they choose,
 instead of being stranded
 They have the ball at
 their feet, if they will
 but kick it.

Yours most sincerely

F. Nightingale

Dr. Acland

printed title page, f88, printed

f88

Florence Nightingale
to the
Probationer-Nurses
in the
"Nightingale Fund" Training School
at
St. Thomas's Hospital
and to the
Nurses who were formerly trained there.
23rd May, 1883.

signed address, ff89-95, pen

f89

-1-

My very dear friends
Here is my love with
all my heart. I hope
to make the acquaintance
of every one of you. And
that will be better even
than being one of you
to day in body. I *am*
with you in spirit - That
is nothing new. That is
always, always - the old, old
story.

And it is the old, old
question too: Are we all
of us on our mettle in
our life's work? - Joy
to us if we are. If not,
there *can* only be disappointment

-2-

f89v

To ♣/those of us in earnest
 in our desire to be
 thorough workers - thorough
 women - thorough Nurses -
 [and no woman can be a
 Good Nurse unless she is
 a good woman.] We say:
 watch & persevere to do
 well your appointed work,
 to fill thoroughly your
 present place: don't
 give in to the prevailing
 spirit of the day hurry,
 bustle, change.

To those of us who are
 half hearted - [I do not
 know any - but there may
 be such] we say: pause

f90

-3-

either turn over a new leaf -
 or give up the work altogether
 For if we remain half-hearted,
 [& no one can do the work,
 unless she put her whole
 heart in it.] we are taking
 up the room of better
 women, better workers.
 The eyes of England &
 perhaps of a still farther
 & larger world are
 upon us to pick out our
 inconsistencies & short-comings
 Many sneering remarks are
 made unworthy of notice
 But (let this old woman
 whisper, just between ourselves:
 I have got my profit all my
 life out of sneering remarks):
 is there not *some*

f90v

-4-

foundation for the epithets,
'conceited Nightingales',
&c &c &c?

2. What is training? WE
can't put into you what is
not there. We want to
bring out what is there -
Training is enabling you to
use the means you have in
yourselves. Training is
drawing out what you know
yourselves - Learn your work
thoroughly in your year of
training. Store it up &
practise it in your brain,
eyes & hands, so that you may
always know where to find
it, - & these - brain, eyes &
hands - may always be your
ready servants.

f91

-5-

But don't depend on - don't
stop at your year's training.

If you don't go on, you will
fall back. Aim higher. In
the second year & the third
year & all your lives, you
will have to train yourselves
on the foundation you have
had in your first. And -
you will find, if you are
a true Nurse, you have
only just begun.

But - when you have put
your hand to the plough,
don't look back.

3. We here below cannot
judge the motives which
bring you into the work.
Let us all have the benefit

f91v

-6-

of the opinion that some
high resolve or pure
motive actuated us.
But how when we become
Nurses do we keep that
high resolve, that pure motive
ever in view? - are we
proud to be Nurses? - to
be called *Nurses*? not simply
to take pride in dressings
& work which will bring us
notice & praise? Remember,
the Nurse is wanted most
by the most helpless &
often most disagreeable cases;
- in one sense there is no
credit in nursing pleasant
patients.

f92

-7-

And don't despise what
some of you call 'housemaid's
work'. If you thought of
its extreme importance, you
would not mind doing it.
As you know, without thorough
housemaid's work, everything
in the Ward or Sick room
becomes permeated with
organic matter.

The greatest compliment I
ever thought I, as a Hospital nurse,
received was: that I was put
to clean & "do" the Special Ward,
with the severest Medical or
Surgical case which I was
nursing, every day: because I
did it thoroughly & without
disturbing the Patient. That
was the first Hospital I
ever served in. [I think I could
give a

f92v

-8-

lesson in Hospital housemaid's
work now]

We Nurses should remember

- to help our suffering fellow=
creatures is our calling - not
to amuse ourselves, Let us
make our 'calling' 'sure'.

Sisters, Nurses, Probationers
shall we start afresh?
shall we all renew - as
we every morning need to do
- our resolve? As a friend,
a Nurse, abroad, said to me,
one must be converted not once but
every day. Shall it be our aim to be
more thorough workers, more
thorough women, more thorough
Nurses every day, till we
become *most* thorough, & so

f93

-9-

live down any spiteful
sneers & epithets?

4. One word more: Year by
year our numbers increase

We are becoming a large band.
See that we are banded
together by mutual good will.
And remember the conduct
of each member reflects
credit or discredit on the
whole. We cannot isolate
ourselves if we would.

Thank God there are
numerous other Training Schools
now in existence. Let us
give them the right hand
of fellowship - Wherever we
see thorough work, let us feel
- those are our Sisters.
Let us run the race where

f93v

-10-

all may win: rejoicing
in their successes, as our
own, & mourning their
failures, wherever they are,
as our own. We are *all*
one Nurse.

But see that we fall not
off. We must fight the
good fight steadily, with
all our heart & all our
mind & all our strengths.
Or they may beat us.
And *that* they *will* do
if we do not hold to our
colours to be true workers,
true women, true Nurses -

f94

5. We are volunteers.
Don't let us forget that. We
have chosen our path. Don't
let us be worse soldiers in God's
army, than those who are enlisted
or compulsory conscripts.

For the first time for 25 years,
I went out last winter to see
the return of a Regiment of
foot from Egypt.

[And we have Nurses too
who volunteered for Egypt
& two of them still are there,
working hard. They all
worked hard & well.]

Anybody might have been
proud of these men's appearance,
- shabby skeletons they were -
campaigning uniform worn out
but well-cleaned - not spruce

f94v

-12-

or smart or showy: but
alert, silent, steady in discipline.

And not a man of them all,
I am sure, but thought he had
nothing to be proud of in
what he had done, *tho'* we
might well be proud of *them*.

Now, we don't say - Volunteers,
take example by this. *Assuredly*
we will be their true
comrades in faithfulness to
reality & duty. It is the
same spirit: the spirit
of the nation. Let us
stick to it. The great
Duke of Wellington said:
- 'all for duty, & nothing
for reward.'

f95

-13-

So may *all* we volunteers
& Nurses, *tho'* different in
many things, be fellows in
duty. So may we raise the
standard, higher & higher,
of thoroughness - (& with
thoroughness always goes
humility) - of steady, patient,
silent, cheerful work. So may
we *all* be on the alert -
always on our mettle.
Let *us* be always in the
van of wise & noiseless
high training & progress.

God bless you all.

Florence Nightingale

May 23/83

Acland, signed letter, ff100-06, pen, black-edged paper

f100

10 South St.

Feb 4/84

My dear Sir

Many thanks for your
kind note: & for its
admirable speech on
"East London Nursing Society"
- & let me take this
opportunity of thanking
you again for your
invaluable King's College
Students' Address, of which
I have made great use
with our Probationers.

[13:780-82]

I have jotted down
as well as I was able
something in answer to

f100v

your questions - ~~not that~~

I scarcely hope to be of
any use of you - but
because you ask me -

If your Mansion House
speech could give me time,
I shall see on Thursday
a person of great & varied experience
in the District Nursing
question. And I could
then get more exact
information as to whether
she thinks that in *any*
District in large towns,
such as Liverpool,
Manchester & London,
there can be need for an

f101

"organization of ladies" to
 give charity for Patients - or whether
 there are not already
 "organizations" & associations,
 parish, clerical & charitable,
 enough & to spare for
 this often needful purpose.

By hook or by crook I
 keep up corresponde with
 trained ladies we send out
 to be at the head of
 District Homes in these
 places; & to our joy
 I find that what we
 consider the ~~peculiar~~/essential
 characteristics of ~~our~~/the new
 trained District Nursing

f101v

- viz. the substituting
 real *Nursing* for relief
 - the "getting" relief, where
 necessary, from the *existing*
 agencies - the taking *Doctors'* cases
 only & not setting up as petty doctors themselves -
 - the training the Patients
 & *families* to cleanliness
 & order & to put their
rooms in order - the
 nursing the Patients' *HOMES*
 - this to be done first by
 the nurse herself - example,
 not precept -
 is gradually becoming the rule,
after a struggle.

-And the struggle is as often the
 result of the "organization of *ladies*"
 as of the Patients' indifference
 to these, as not being *essential* to
 the work.

f102

Notes on Dr. Acland's questions:

-1-

1. With regard to District Nurses
giving any thing to Patients
beyond actual nursing:
people of experience doubt
there being any districts,
especially in London where
the wants of destitute (or
very poor) sick, e.g. as to
"food & clothing", (not
cooking), cannot be supplied
by the various agencies
which abound - too much
almost in London if
applied to by the Nurse
or her Head. These agencies
are: the parish authorities,
the clergy, District Visitors,
Charitable Missions & Societies,
Lying in Charities &c &c &c

f102v

E.g. upon the written order
of the Parish Doctor, meat,
stimulants &c &c can always
be obtained from the Workhouse
authorities: or ~~these~~, together
with linen & other necessaries,
from the Clergy, District
Visitors, & charitable Associations.
Invalid Cooking may sometimes
have to be done by the Nurses.
But usually Medical comforts
may be had *prepared* as
well as given by District Visitors.

It is unhappily found
that, without constant supervision,
District Nurses. even where
they *had* possessed full
knowledge & a ~~constant~~/prescribed habit

f103

of applying & knowing where
to apply ~~th~~/to these existing
authorities ~~that they~~
have allowed it to fall into
disuse - probably because
it is so much easier to
apply to ladies - [& ladies
are so willing to give -]
for the money to provide such
articles -

It is said that in some
places an "organization"
"of ladies must be formed,
"to provide (not give)
"money" with which the
District Nurses must
supply these wants among
their destitute Patients -

We speak with caution

f103v

but such practical
experience as we have
leads us to ask: - was this
not done rather because
it is more pleasant to
have an "organization"
of ladies to provide the
money than it is
to hunt up the various
Societies & authorities -
some of them not very
pleasant to deal with -
of which there are as
a rule too many already
- & to "organize" THESE,
as the Charity Organization
Socy professes to do -
instead of adding another

f104

-2-

Agency to the already too
numerous ones, as it
seems an almost
inveterate habit in
Englishmen & especially
Englishwomen to do -

[The '*non-sens*' in England
which you are perpetually
meeting with, & in no
other country, is: you
organize an immense
Poor Law machinery, &
then you organize
charitable machineries
without number to
keep people 'off the
Poor Law' - If the

f104v

District Nurses did
nothing else but utilize
the parish authorities to
keep their sick 'off the
parish' & 'out of the
Workhouse' - to de-pauperize
them, in fact - it
would be a thing well
done -
Another agency to give
is surely more mischievous
than useful.

f105

2. With regard to making the
HOME of the sick poor
what it ought to be -
to putting the ROOM into
nursing order -
& to bringing such Sanitary
defects ~~which~~/as the Nurse
cannot remedy to the
notice of the Public Officer
whom it concerns -
& to know *who he is* -
this is not even of
secondary importance
to the Nursing; this
is *must*, not *may*:
this the District Nurse
& her Head *must* do
or have their Nursing
rightly condemned as almost worthless

f105v

A District Nurse must
bring to the notice of
the Officer of health or
proper authority sanitary
defects, which he alone
can remedy: e.g. emptying
of dust bins, cleaning of
water-butts, examining
& remedying water supply
& drainage &c &c &c.

And in general she
will find the proper
authorities eager to help
& glad of information
if she has knowledge &
discretion ~~to~~

f106

-5-

And - I would press this point -
 would it not be far better
 for the "Ladies' organizations"
 to provide money not
 for pauperizing Patients
 but for more de-pauperizing
 Nurses - who must be
 always, as we have said,
 an expensive article? {double lines in margin beside last 3 lines}
 I have not time to make
 this shorter. Pardon these repetitions -
 I must not make this already
 too long letter longer - I ~~have~~/am
 not able *now* to write about
 the matters I most want to
 write to your great kindness
 about. ever your grateful servt
 Dr. AclandF. Nightingale [end 13:782]

Acland, signed letter, ff108-10, pen & pencil

f108

PRIVATE Gordon } [und 4 times]
 Boys }
 Home } July 14/85
 10, South Street, {printed address:
 Park Lane.

Dear Sir Henry Acland

I did your behest with Mrs.
 Hawthorne ~~but~~/asking whether she
 could not *begin* this Gordon Home
 in ~~one~~-or two or three Govt
 cottages near them at Chatham.
 (Col. Hawthorne's new command)
 at once, with a Sergt & his
 wife, village tailor, village
 Board School - till they could
 have a Schoolmaster of their
 own, Sergt with a trade &c
 - her husband acting as
 Commandt while the thing
 was so small. She thought they

f108v

could- Col & Mrs. Hawthorne
have taken ~~a~~ their own house at
Rochester which however
they cannot enter upon till
October; tho' Col. Hawthorne
assumes his command at
once (living at the R.E.s
mess) But *she* would go
backwards & forwards from
Woolwich, if she could thereby
be useful in carrying out
this beginning according to
your plan of the Gordon Boys' Home.

But meanwhile she has seen
a friend of hers at the War
Office, (who was also on the

f109

"Gordon Committee), who tells
her they "propose beginning
"with 50 boys near Bagshot
"& have heard of an Officer
"who has lost a leg whom
"Genl Higginson proposes as
"Manager. [When Genl Higginson
"was first told that Col.
"Hawthorn would take it
"he said it was 'too good
"'to be true'.] Evidently
"this Officer did not think
"the idea about Chatham
"would be practicable. Nor
"could Col. Hawthorne do much
"as Manager - his present
"District is so large."

f109v

But Mrs. Hawthorn would
be a host in herself.
She says: "I am very sorry
about it & anything you
could suggest I would try to do."

As Mrs. Hawthorn has
taken a good deal of trouble
about it already, I should
be very much obliged to
your kindness to let me
know as soon as possible
if your *Chatham* plan is
given up, & if the *Bagshot*
plan is the chosen one,
that I may tell her. She
has written to me again
to know, & called; but I
was unable to see her.

f110

-2-

Thank you very much for
letting me see these valuable
papers which I ought to have
returned before but which
I kept in order to inform
Mrs. Hawthorn tho' I did
not show them to any one -
Pray believe me
ever your faithful servt
F. Nightingale

[pencil from here]

Acland, signed letter, ff111-15, pencil

f111

10 South St. Dec 17/85

[10:739]

PRIVATE 8 a.m.

Dear Sir Henry Acland

I only received your letter of questions *anent* the Zenana Medl Mission subject, late last night. And you have "to preside" to-morrow -

It may be said at once, some of the very best Anglo-Indian women, Ld. Lawrence's widow among them, are in favour (ardently) of these Missions.

Irish-like, I will ask

f111v

you some questions to answer yours:

1. Do the Missioners embark on their most important enterprise with the minimùm of baggage in Medical ~~things~~/knowledge, i.e. as Doctors, - where the maximùm is wanted, viz - among native women?

[Your friend & mine, Mrs.

Scharlieb, always says - "It is thought, a little is better than nothing for India" I say, India is a place where you cannot have enough - ~~in~~/of medical education, experience &c - if you want to do any good

f112

- `& not much harm'.]
2. Do the Missioners confuse
Medicine & Nursing? We
understand Nursing to mean
- acting under Doctors -
[In ~~all~~ the Training Schools
for Nurses with which I am
identified: we have constantly
had applications to admit
ladies for a few months or
even weeks to "pick up"
Medicine - by acting as
Probationer = *Nurses* - for these
Missions]
3. Is it desirable to take the
hour of the native women's

f112v

- pain & danger to urge
upon her the greatest,
the most momentous of all
changes to a native woman
- one which involves the
greatest sacrifice - viz.
Christianity -
~~Or is it rather cruel?~~
The most devoted Christian,
one of the best Lady Doctors
in India, says: it is "cruel)
4. Does it close the doors
upon Lady Doctors of the
Zenanas - fathers & husbands -
very naturally not choosing to have this sort
of 'occult' practice going on?

f113

-2-

These questions are suggested
by years of friendship &
acquaintance with Indians

I (~~filed~~)/only submit them to you:
for you to resolve.

I think, if I were speaking
to Zenana Missioners, I would
impress upon them that India
is of all countries the one
where you can least *dabble*
with Medicine -

[end 10:739]

Excuse this scrawl -
I have a little more to do
to-day than 24 hours
will do.

f113v

What must you have? x
I would & will write further but
x
then it will be too late
ever yours faithfully
& gratefully
F. Nightingale

f114

Many thanks for your
beautiful & noble
lecture at Bedford Sq.

f115

No. 2 Dec 17/85

x
Is not what the Zenana Missions
should teach *Sanitary*
Nursing? how to mind
the babies, how to keep
the home in health by *home*
Sanitary teaching/practice?
This is what, at Lady Dufferin's
desire, I am trying to put
at her disposal
independent of Zenana
Missions -
in greatest haste
F.N.

Acland, signed letter, 2ff, pencil

Private (6 note sheets July 5/87
enclosed)

Dear Sir Henry Acland

I have tried to do your behest - My strength
is weakness - my time *nil*.

But the enclosed is *for yourself alone*:

to help put things *at your command*
for you to evolve your own conclusions, if
any, from them -

not to be quoted in *any* sense:
which would only result in endless recrimination -
Sidney Herbert's R. Commission which
produced such immense benefits to the Army
would only have resulted too - in endless
recrimination but for his infinite tact
- his making things his own -

Such is your tact - (but not that of
present statesmen)

And may your Address be blest for
present needs to the Army Medical School
& Department -

yours ever faithfully & gratefully

F. Nightingale

Please return me my poor little scribble
(6 sheets)

F.N.

Acland, signed letter, ff125-25v, pencil

f125

A thousand thanks my dear

Sir Henry Acland for
your most kind letter -

And many thanks for
your able Address at
Netley -

I am sorry you are not
going to Guy's - but very
glad you do not approve
of the Registration of Nurses
which the world is going mad
about

I am so very, very sorry

f125v

that I have long standing
appointments I cannot
possibly put off for
all tomorrow afternoon
& evening (you kindly ask)

Not to keep you waiting
God bless you

ever yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

14/12/87

Acland, unsigned letter, ff127-28v, pencil

f127

10 South St. July 7/89

Private

My dear Sir Henry Acland

I am always so glad to hear from you, & of your devoted course in following up public duty, which no one can do like yourself - even in the midst of I fear much difficulty & suffering

We always feel that we owe our Sir Harry's life to your great kindness, & skill; tho' he had, as you perhaps know, three illnesses or relapses in all) besides all your constant wise kindness to us & ours -

It is very difficult to answer your question without writing, even in a Summary, a

f127v

volume - But I have put down in 3 note-sheets, strictly private & for yourself alone, what I think contains briefly some part of the answer you desire -

I will ask you kindly to return these 3 sheets to me -

I have kept *entirely* out of the fray, as *fray* - (tho' of course studying this very sad *Batrachyomachia* - & not with=holding conviction-) I ~~have~~ earnestly hope to remain out of the fray -

But I must send you an answer, as you desire me -

Excuse pencil.

f128

Mr. Bonham Carter is absent in Norway for a much needed holiday -.

The Nursing newspapers of the two Associations 'furiously 'rage' against each other - I send them not -

I send you merely one pamphlet - from the *Nurses'* point of view (against the B.N.A. Registration scheme), - which pamphlet might have been with justice carried much further. But moderation is essential - We agree with this pamphlet -

f128v*Private*

Like you, we wish for the B.N.A.s & the anti B.N.A.s (the Burdett lot) to "combine" - beyond any thing - But this seems past praying for - They cannot speak of each other without abuse -

We would gladly "combine" - & the tone of the B.N.A. is much altered of late, because they feel, I believe, that they are in a scrape,- acting contrary to the experience & convictions of the best Training Schools & Hospitals -

[I received your most kind letter last thing Saturday night - tried to send you my answer yesterday (Sunday) - but had people I could not refuse - So send it this morn.]

Acland, signed letter, ff129-42v, {many ff unnumbered} pen & pencil

f129

Private

& Confidential B.N.A. 10 South St W

July 10/89

My dear Sir Henry Acland

Since I saw you I have been

trying to recollect exactly
how the "split", which has led
to such disastrous consequences,
happened, at Guy's, which you
asked me about -

[I had attached so little
importance to ~~us~~/it that I could
not recollect - as we had no
~~per~~ direct connection with it
whatever-]

As far as I can remember, it
was as follows:

Mr. Burdett had asked St.
Thomas' for leave to address the
nurses there on his Pension

f129v

scheme - This was of course
granted - And Mr. Bonham Carter
also attended & gave the
Nurses his view, - different from
Mr. Burdett's, - of Pensions,
Insurance & Assurance -

I believe, but I am not sure,
that the Meeting at Guy's was
of a similar kind - called
by Mr. Burdett & attended by
the Matrons & people who
then formed his Society - [none
of our people were on his
Society - or attended the
Meeting at Guy's that I
know of -]

The "split" then happened.

f130

[Mr. Burdett is a person who *must* have all the *name* & all the *action* of anything he does, *himself*, & who cannot act with anybody else, or bear 'a rival near his throne' -

Hence, I understood, the "split" -]

But, you will observe, it would be quite erroneous to represent to Prince or Princess Christian &c that the "split" was a break-off from us - for we had absolutely nothing to do with either those who were "split" from, or those who "split" -

f131

-2-

Private

& Confidential

2. When I heard that the ~~Prink~~ Pss. of Wales had joined Mr. Burdett's (which I did not mention to you, because it was told me "confidentially",) my feeling was one of joy: I thought, 'Now Sir H. Acland is the 'very man to bring about 'peace & a 'combination', 'since the r/Royal brother & 'sister are heads of the 'rival factions', ~~the Goths & Vandals~~

Let not my augury be deceived!

f131v

3 - I was very sorry at what you told me in January, 1888, at Claydon, & again yesterday -

viz - that you had based your kind remonstrance to Princess Christian on the ground that F. Nightingale was not of it -

I think, pardon me for saying so, that it should have been put on far higher grounds than this - the ground of *principle* - which this B.N.A. has been violating in every point -

f132

[I have tried to give our reasons, which are shared by all the principal Training Schools - I should not say 'shared' - They are *theirs* -]

As to Miss Lückes' pamphlet, I heard that Matron, who is, I believe, considered the head of her profession, say: "I like Miss Lückes' pamphlet, but I should have gone much further".

These are the opinions of leading Matrons & Training authorities, *uninspired* by us.

- let them go on
 - competition is good
 - let Sir H. Acland speak at the Meeting & *say nothing*
 - let *both Associations* x go on
with their respective Royalties
 - the Royalties won't quarrel or fight
 - it is the best thing in the world that they
each have a Royalty.
- x 1. the "Hospitals Association" (Mr. Burdett's)
out of which the "National Pension" scheme came:
2. the "British Nurses' Association" (Princess Christian's)

~~###~~

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

Sir James Paget "In all probability the B.N.A will

"break up. They are without experience -
(almost in your, Sir H.A.'s, words,) legal-professional -
"financial, or social - they don't know the difficulties -
"they are children -

Then in the H.A., ("Hospitals Association") Mr. Burdett will wish to do every thing himself, because, if he had been consulted before the Creation,

f133

"God Almighty would have been saved so
"many mistakes - none of the evils of this
"world would have happened - X X X
Sir J.P.

"Let them both (B.N.A. & "Hospitals Assocn")
have a Register if they like it - X X X

"The Privy Council will not give a Charter
to both. X X X "but the rest may register" -

"The Queen *cannot* grant a Charter except
after the most ample time given for counter pleas
& examination -

"You may use this time

"No Charter can be passed in a hurry -"

f133v

-2-

Private

Sir James Paget. "I have seen the Draft of the B.N.A.'s proposed Charter - I told Sir H. Acland so. It contains *no legal rights of exclusion from practice* - "There is nothing in it to give legal power of exclusion - OR of *getting the Nurses off the Register*. F.N. The B.N.A. says it constitutes ~~this~~/their Nurses a "legal professional body".

Sir J.P. It does no such thing: not with legal rights.

And unless they take express powers in {printed address, vertical:} the Charter, the taking Nurses off the Register 10, South Street, for misconduct or incompetency, (as you Park Lane. W. tell me they propose), is a difficulty amounting to an impossibility: The revising the

"Register yearly - & bringing it up to date is a fiction. No one knows this better than Sir H. Acland.

"All the Register can show, is that these Nurses *once were trained & once were respectable*

"The public will have to make enquiry just as much as before"

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

or of competent Nurses against incompetent?

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

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

F.N. The case of General Practitioners is quite different from that of Nurses - is it not?

You don't require the same security as to conduct & character for your Doctor (General Practitioner) as you do for your Nurse - Things fatal against Nurses would not be so against Doctors.

Sir J. Paget did not allow this -

At the same time he said: how many Doctors made a large practice only from gossip - which of course no Register could touch [how much less could Nurses be touched?]

f134

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

[end 12:534]

f134v

-3-

Private

[F.N. told Sir Jas Paget that the largest Nursing interests, the Hospitals & Training Schools in London, Liverpool & Edinburgh - have already signed & are signing their Memorial for *postponement in/of* the (B.N.A.)Registration scheme & have stated in it that they should feel it "their duty to oppose by every legitimate means "in their power" a Charter if on the lines of the B.N.A.'s prospectus"

{printed address,

vertical:}

Sir Jas Paget seemed ~~delighted~~/refreshed & rejoiced at 10, South Street, this, instead of deprecating it and Park Lane. W.

all thro' - in his "wise", as you say, gentle, terse & witty way, he seemed entirely inclined towards the

"row" & the clash of swords -
 & by no means ~~to letting the~~/towards B.N.A. & Princess Xtian
 or towards Mr. Burdett & the H.A.s
 or indeed to the lamb lying down by the lion
 at all -
 let them go on, he said -
 let all go on; - protest, memorialize -
 - fight their Charter -
 - let all have their innings
 - don't let the Royalties have theirs alone
 - have Royalties on both sides
 - let Sir H. Acland speak & say nothing.

{illeg}

[I don't mean he said all this. But on the whole
 he thought ~~th~~ or seemed to think
 that the wise ones - that's we - would be
 'Heads: we win - Tails, they lose'-]
 He always concluded about Registers & Charters
 with saying: "I can only speak *by comparison*
 "with *men=bodies* - I can't judge for the women" -
 [F.N. It is another phase of that curious
 movement that women don't want to be this or
 that - but to be like men]

f135

Dear Sir Henry Acland - I have done your
 behest, however badly - I have a great
 deal more to add, which I will
 willingly do, if time allows- us ~~for~~ (you & me).
 ever yours sincerely & gratefully
 Florence Nightingale

f135 pencil note

Private

& Confidential I

Registration Scheme: (British Nurses' Association)

I

It is understood that this is now to be a *simple*
Register: merely giving
name of Nurse / address / certificate from Training School
 (name of School & date of Certificate)
nothing more: no General Examination whatever
 by any body of persons, instituted by the B.N.A.
 [Register to be renewed & published every year - say
 in a 1/ form]

The *limited* character now intended for the Registration
 scheme somewhat alters the case; but not as to the
 danger the Registration & R. Charter scheme might

lead to

2. It is understood that the B.N.A. Registration scheme is, further, for any Nurse's

name to be *taken off* the Register

(or suspended say for 6 months)

for any criminal delinquency, such as drunkenness, theft, or gross inefficiency.

Will it be possible to lay hold of facts,

showing even gross inefficiency - ?

Would Matrons give "confidential" information to a General Register Office?

Could the Register even be made *up to date*?

If not, in what respect will the Register increase the security of the public against incompetent Nurses?

or the security of the competent Nurses against the incompetent?

Can you defend the public against itself?

If it will take the trouble now, it can get much better security than a public

Register can offer which public Register

will rather confirm any erroneous ideas of the public who do not know the little value of a

f136

certificate - or the still less of a testimonial?

All is to be cured by this new panacea of a

General Register - But why? how? -

'It is to make Matrons & Doctors more careful

'in granting certificates -

'It is to raise the Training Schools' -

But how?

to return - It appears by the advice of some of

the best lawyers that it will be *difficult, if not impossible* to get the Nurses *off* the Register,

unless for crime -

f137

Strictly Private -2-

But, tho' it is true that the
B.N.A. have much modified
their Registration scheme to
~~for the~~ a better shape - how
can we forsake our principle -
it is not only for ourselves but
for the best Training Schools &
Hospitals - & for many of those
men whom you would call the
best of the Hospital Medical
profession - which principle
is: *that the Registration scheme
should be put off, in any shape,
at least for some (considerable)
time?*

f137v

I send you my Budget
which I should have liked
to make less hurried, with my
thanks for all your kindness
to us & ours which are not
hurried - May every good from
"quiet work & thought" come
to you is the fervent wish of
yours ever sincerely & gratefully
F. Nightingale

f138

Since I wrote my letter, enter
Sir Harry Verney to read
with me: Says he: tell Sir
Henry Acland that he is
just the very man to set
matters right by asking them
to pause - (the B.N.A.)
that he could do it so
wisely & delicately as
without offence to suggest
to Pss Christian to pause

f139

Strictly -3-

[8:368-69]

Private

You know that they, the B.N.A., are proposing to "register" "trained Midwives" - an entirely different case from that of "trained Nurses" - as is justly felt.

A few days ago only, it appeared a new idea to them that any knowledge was necessary of the present state of "education" & training (or no-training) given in the London & Edinburgh Lying-in Hospitals to women desiring to be Midwives or Midwifery Nurses

- or of the practical results of the Obstetrical Society's Examn & certificate in London - or of the similar process in Edinburgh

f139v

- still less of any ~~knowledge~~/test of "character" -

They the B.N.A. had then no intention of making any enquiry into these essentials before registering -

But it ~~then~~/now struck them that there was something desirable in knowing what *is* the present Midwy training for "trained"?! Midwives -

[How many rather trust to *words* & do not look into *things*!]

You have looked into these things - You know what a dangerous quick-sand they are treading -

Are they going to "register" incompetency or competency?

f140

Or if they are going to draw
a line between those to be
registered & those *not* to be
registered, how can they do
so without knowing what
are the different Midwy Trainings
at present for women?

You say: ~~so truly:~~

"they propose to register x x x

"*on adequate education &
character*"

Have they even enquired
whether the present (Midwy)
"education" for women is
"adequate"?

And do they "propose"
without enquiry to stereotype
it as it is? F.N.

[end 8:369]

140v

Private

& *Confidential* 2 II

We know ourselves that, in many Hospitals,
a Matron now can hardly get rid of ~~an~~
inefficient Nurses, unless she is so fortunate as to
have glaring *facts* against them - if she has to
state to the other Hospital authorities a case
± in order to get rid of any undesirable Nurse.

II. *R. Charter*

It is understood that the R. Charter is to be applied for as soon as the Draft can be made-

It does not appear that the *now* proposed R. Charter will be so dangerous as was feared at one time.

But is not the grant of a Charter for such a purpose to a newly established Association, even if the general object were a desirable one, wholly without precedent? But for reasons stated the object sought to be attained is not desirable in the case of Nurses

~~But~~/III, ~~s~~/Should the Registration scheme be as *it is now*, (see I) ~~it is~~/ must it not be considered impossible to keep it up to date, or make it carry with it the same securities as to reliability which the registration by the several Training Schools now provide?

Must it not be considered that the time has not arrived when any such general Register will be of practical advantage to the Nurses, to the Medical profession, or to the public?

f142

~~I~~~~H~~/V According to what the B.N.A says, Nurses are now calling out for Registration - to "protect them from false (untrained) Nurses"

If they do not register with the B.N.A., they will register, it is said, with Mr. Burdett's National Pension Association - a semi-commercial body which has taken full powers of Registration.

Nurses *will* register, it is said, under the one Association or the other - the B.N.A. or the National Pension Socy

Acland, signed letter, f143, pencil

f143

July 15/89

Dear Sir Henry Acland

I am obliged to send
this *as it is*. It is an
instalment - If you will
send me a post-card,
saying where & by what
time I must send the
rest, in London, - I will,
if possible -

Also: when in the afternoon
&/on what day you wish to
see me if you do -

ever yrs ffully in haste
F. Nightingale

Acland, signed letter, ff144-45, pen

f144

July 17/89

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

My dear Sir Henry Acland

I trust you are better this
morning & not over-exerting
yourself. I did not trouble
you with writing to you last
night, for I found that it
was only my notes of the
real history of the "split", &c
which you had asked me for.

The Duke of Westminster,
as President of the Queen's
Jubilee Nurses' Institute - of
the District Nurses [M & N]
Association &c has signed
the Memorial ~~against~~

f144v

for the postponement of
 Registration which you took
 away with you. So has
 the great Liverpool Training
 School &c (Mr. Rathbone's).
 So is Edinburgh doing
 Dr. Bristowe signed - not
 as President of the "Hospitals
 "Association"; but - as
 "Senior Physician to St. Thomas'
 "Hospl & (our) Training School"

f145

Success to all your undertakings
 And take care of yourself
 ever sincerely yours
 Florence Nightingale

Acland, signed letter, ff146-47, pen & pencil

f146

July 19/89

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

My dear Sir Henry Acland

Many thanks for your letter.
 You knew Dr. John Brown, & the
 dog **Rab**. Now I regret to
 say that one day **Rab** fastened
 on a smaller dog. And they
 could not get him off. Some
 one cried out: Bite his tail:
 & a boy instantly began to bite
 the *victim's* tail.

[stylized Rab]

Now you bite *my* tail,
 when you ought to bite
 Princess Christian's tail.
 You bite my tail in order
 that *I* may bite Princess
 Christian's tail - It is you
 who ought to bite it.

f146v

2. Sir Harry says: the B.N.A.'s proposed Register ought to register only for a year, with a legal understanding that the Nurse should have no ground of complaint if she is not replaced on the Register the next year -

This is a variation upon the B.N.A.'s proposal to revise the Register ever year: which Sir James Paget says you know to be impossible.

I think Sir Harry Verney's proposal shows the utter want of knowledge pervading Pss Christian's advisers -

f147

How are you to register anew, or to revise the register yearly of even 2500 Nurses? And without it what is your Register worth? Good speed

ever yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

Mashallah!
Inshallah!

Could you kindly tell me in which newspaper you saw the "Memorial"? I sent for the 'Morning Post' you mentioned of July 17 - but could not find it there - But I have no eyes -
F.N.

Acland, signed letter, 2ff (ff147-49), pencil, red und

10 South St. B.N.A. July 19/89 8 a.m.

PRIVATE [Please return this to me when you answer]

My dear Sir Henry Acland

Exceedingly many thanks for your two kind letters, the last of which I received late last night. The first I am afraid I must answer by a question:

1st letter - You kindly say: after speaking of your "long conversation with the Lord Mayor" - "and now let P. of W. for Burdett - you (I) for the "Hosppls - & H.R.H. for her assocn name two each

"with Sir H.V. Chairman, to form a joint
 "Committee to thrash out what is to be done"

Is this proposal from *yourself*?

" " from yourself & *the Lord Mayor*?

" " " " " " AND

from the B.N.A.?

It is obviously impossible for me to propose
 such a thing, unless the 3 "parties", are
 all willing & eager for it?

[Sir Harry V. at once declined - when I
 read him your kind letter - And I think he
 is right]

Does the B.N.A. mean to "pause"? or does
 it not?

2. *Your 2nd kind letter* - Again a question:

You say: "I feel sure the thing will go on
 "& be put in operation - Now will you (I) not
 "guide it? May I ask Pss Christian to see
 "you (me)?"

My question is: *Has the "Pss Xtian" shown the
 least desire to pause - to see me, or to*

f148

*seek any information except from her
 own advisers? Does the "Hospitals
 "Memorial" have the least weight with her?*

*you think her wrong - Has she shown
 any wish to enquire into what you think
 right?*

I will see her if you like - The worst that
 can happen is that I shall be 'flooded' -
 But I can only explain/pound the "Hospitals" view" -
 Is there any reason to suppose that she is

f148v

-2-

altered & wishes to hear it?

[I conclude - but I know little - that she
 & the B.N.A., backed by the "Times" - believe
 that they achieved a great success at the
 Mansion Ho; In the report in the "Times",
 your admirable speech was not even briefly
 reported - Mr. Savory's the only one reported.
 He is the only man of any eminence who
 actively supports the B.N.A. The Times
 has, I suppose, refused to admit the "Memorial" -

What is one to suppose but that the
 "Times" means to make it a success?

Wakly (Lancet) is all on the side of the
 B.N.A.

Brudenell Carter is a writer in the "Times" -
 "Times" & B.N.A. will beat the united voice
 of the *Hospitals* - Is it not so???

[I may be quite wrong - You probably know]

(3)

2 small questions:

- a. Did Miss Wood tell you that B.N.A.
 meant to withdraw ~~all~~/any idea of *R. Charter*?
- b.) in answer to you -

The "Nursing Record" is not in law or
 technically the "organ" of the B.N.A.

[they are too sharp for that] -

In 'equity' ~~or~~ and *morally* it is -

f149

Will it save you trouble to answer the
 questions your letters have extracted ~~me~~/from
 me. *Upon this* letter - & return it to
 me either here or from Oxford?

God speed you -

ever yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

I have no time or strength to add any thing.

Acland, signed letter, ff150-55, typewritten & pen, 45786 ff79-88

f150 {

Absolutely Private 10 South Street,

Park Lane, W.

24 July, 1889

Dear Sir Henry Acland,

I have to thank you, as I do most heartily, for three letters, the third received last night, with its enclosure - your letter to Mr Wakley, Editor? of "the Lancet".

I know, with more grief than surprise, that you have suffered for your exertions during that visit to London, which comprised the Mansion House Meeting.

To your first two letters I spared you an answer; but your kindness seems to call upon me for an answer to the last.

First of all, as to "hard words". You will I am sure agree that the Memorial of the Hospitals was couched in the most temperate and moderate words that could possibly be used. It only asked to be heard; it only asked postponement till its anti-registration reasons could be given. In contrast to the B.N.A.'s deluge of manifestos, the Hospitals have asked but this.

Till we have heard their reasons, it is rather premature, is it not? to say that there will be common ground for combination between the Hospitals and the B.N.A. about

f151

~~the~~/a public register.

2. The adhesions of Hospitals and Training Schools all over the country to the Memorial keep still pouring in, and will be, of course, published. I had seen about as many more as were published in the "Morning Post" when I saw you. (the "Times" I believe, is still recalcitrant in publishing the Memorial)

One can hardly think, can one? that the "clever wife" however clever, of a "stupid country gentleman" however stupid, or any single utterances, however weighty, such as that of the Dean of Christchurch, who probably has not trained many Nurses *himself*, ought to - though they will

- weigh

against these bodies of Hospital Men and Matrons. Edinburgh and Liverpool have joined London.

3. You will perhaps kindly like to hear what the impressions of people, by no means belonging to the "Hospitals Association", but who have understood and helped the Hospitals in every wise and experienced way for perhaps a generation, are, about the Mansion House Meeting as they themselves tell me.

The more you disagree, the more a man like yourself wishes to hear the other side. They say:

(a) "The B.N.A. is killed," - "broken up at the Mansion House"

"They came to no resolution, decided on nothing, but to put off a Charter for a year"

f152

"They flattered one another, nothing besides".
and "The register should be, perhaps, a mere
directory".

(b) As to Midwives: "There is to be a Bill
"in Parliament for the registration of Midwives": as you probably
know. The Member of Parliament who told me this, and who has
been engaged in forwarding nursing work for a quarter of a century,
obtained that it should be put off till next Session, because, then,
"It will be possible to say to Princess Christian, that here is
"what the B.N.A. wants. Can Her Royal Highness not slide the
"matter over to the House of Commons Bill? and let the B.N.A.
"be a mere provident fund for nurses?"

(c) "The Holiday Home" which the B.N.A and
Mr Brudenell Carter have put forward, is just what nurses *don't*
want. They want, for rest and holiday, to go home to their friends,
to be entirely out of nurses' atmosphere, mental and physical,
Those who have no friends, and some of those who have, want to
be helped each one to a different place, the nervous ones to be
braced, the consumptive ones to go to a Southern sea, etc, etc.,
- to go to a private family as guests - many private families are
now willing to admit them, - but each one to a different place.
Perhaps no one really conversant with nurse=life does not hold
this considered opinion.

(d) As to the "excursions" - you have your-
self strongly characterized these when telling me of the one to

f153

Cambridge.

(e) Some, perhaps/Many have said: "Nurses on the B.N.A. "proposed Public Register, as far as we at present know it, we "would not send for either as private nurses, or for Institutions "we are concerned with."

(f) It has come to our knowledge, directly from the sources themselves - and you cannot think how scrupulous I feel about telling you this - that the Lady Secretary of the B.N.A. has been actively - and secretly - at work with the nurses of a certain Hospital - not one that I am connected with - to detach them from their Matron and Hospital by certain representations: that it reached the pitch, though the Matron condoned it, in which the Hospital Committee were at last obliged to interfere - and, on the offence being repeated, to dismiss several nurses. The Matron has wisely abstained from forbidding intercourse with the said lady, either at her office, or elsewhere, though she knows that it continues.

I have told this thus briefly; it might occupy a foolscap sheet if I were to give the correct details.

You will now why I feel compelled to tell you this.

4. ~~(4)~~ I am sure that your great kindness will pardon me if I say that I regret my poor name having been mentioned to an editor of a Medical Journal, and what passed in private

f154

conversation with you, by you the acknowledged head of the Medical Profession, (to publicists the word "confidential" is nil). Suffer me to say that I have resisted the urgent solicitations of some whom I most respect, of many with whom I am most friendly, to sign a Memorial of the Hospitals; - also the intervention of my brother-in-law, Sir Harry Verney, who was so canvassed to make me sign, as to try to make me yield. My name has appeared in no public way whatever, connected with it, and should not while things are in this confused and chaotic state, as you so truly say, ~~and~~ -in this terribly party spirited condition. ["Their factions, in this worse "than civil war" &c -]

I had hoped that it would not be mentioned without my leave in any way, public or private, or in a "confidential way" which is equivalent to publicity I have been particularly counselled to keep out of the 'row' and have done so.

Please pardon me if I earnestly beg your kindness to help me in doing so.

Pray, if your letter to Mr Wakley has not yet been sent, might I ask your kindness, as a great favour, to erase my poor name?

So in regard to "Dr Bristowe"; -excuse me too if I say that the Hospitals do not at all recognise Dr Bristowe as their leader or organ; and his being President of the Hospitals Association decidedly militates against, instead of contributing to his being the Hospitals' leader. Had you & I time, I could tell you FACTS about this.

No one will hear of this letter to you, I need not say.

f155

I trust that you are better, and will take care of yourself, if only for the sake of your 'troops of friends', of whom I will not say I am one of the chief where *all* are chief.

Pray believe me ever, dear Sir Henry Acland

[FN hand here]

Yours Sincerely

Florence Nightingale

Pray excuse my type written letter.

I am again under Dr. Lauder Brunton's medical care, tho' he is now gone abroad.

[I was unable to send this letter yesterday.]

 Bonham Carter, I hear, is just returned from abroad, tho' with a dislocated shoulder from a carriage accident in Norway. I shall turn over much of this untoward business to him which hinders sadly our practical Nurse-work, & in some cases, as I have mentioned, worse than hinders. ~~it~~

A Dieu. Fare you very well.

Pray go ~~abroad~~ to sea soon.

6

Acland, initialed letter, ff156-56v, pencil

f156

Absolutely Private

10 South St.

July 25/89

Dear Sir Henry Acland

[9:690]

For the last twelve months I have been exceedingly tried about the Army Sanitary Commission which was to be re-organised, - in which re-organisation Mr. W.H. Smith, while at the W.O., took the deepest interest -

It has now been abolished, simply by default - let to slide.

f156v

[I have trodden the
'wine-press' alone.]
The matter is of such
immeasurable importance
to India that you
will excuse me for
mentioning India's
grief -

I cannot speak about
it. Nothing can be
done now -

Yours ever sincerely
F.N.

[end 9:690]

Acland, initialed letter, 2ff, pencil

My dear Sir Henry Acland July 26/89
Private A thousand thanks for your most kind
note.

I have some one with me now on
business - & can only write my hurried
thanks - *How are you?* I hope better

I have good news from Claydon
They went on Tuesday. [Sir Harry could
not have done anything in *this* - And
I am glad he is out of it]

I have told no one of what I have
told you -

My kindest gratefulest regards to
you

[You will understand that there is
nothing to be done about the Army Sany
Commn.]

The mania for Public Examinations of
Nurses appears to be spreading - The
B.N.A. is particularly proud of its
work in Australia - I have now letters
from the foremost Province there, in
which the Governor himself & the
"highest Medical authority" (whom
I knew -) say that *I* shall be!!
"delighted to hear" that two of their

f158

trained Nurses have won the "Gold Medal"
"against the world" upon a Public
Examination!! [I know what these Nurses
are] I need not comment upon
this to you!!

I will not keep you - Thank you
so much for coming yourself here -

ever yours most truly

10 South St F.N.

Acland, signed letter, ff159-60v, pen, black-edged pale blue paper

f159

10 South St. Park Lane W.

May 18/90

Dear Sir Henry Acland

Let me say what I
cannot say my deep
thankfulness to you for
all you did for *her* & for
Sir Harry, & for your two
most kind letters to me.
Sir Harry, who writes to me
continually, says no one
could have done for him
what you did, which
I can entirely believe.

Margaret Verney who
is still with him says:
he is wonderfully calm
but puts too great a strain

f159v

upon himself.

I think his grief is
swallowed up in *her* joy
- & then that he thinks
that he shall see her again
so soon.

It seems all so sudden -
this day fortnight she spent
the afternoon in here with
me - & that day week she
was dead - & now she is
in her grave. But *you*
know it was not sudden
And we know how little
there is of her in that
grave - the body all
wrong - its every function -

f160

- shriveled to nothing -
nothing left but pain.
- the spirit, call it what you
please, commanding,
resisting, overcoming,
outliving every thing -
in full strength & vigour -
existing alone as it were.

I was glad to know
what you said.

I believe she knew that
she was entering the valley
of death & she entered it
without fear.

Her care for Sir Harry
continued to the very last.
All she did was to save *him*

f160v

His sons & daughters
are the greatest comforts
to him - Margaret especially.

I was so afraid that
there would be a great
struggle for breath at the
last that I can only thank
God who has taken her home.

But to those who are left
it is like the Regiment
at Inkermann ~~who~~/which went
into action with its whole
complement of Officers &
came out commanded by the
youngest Ensign -

I do trust that you are
pretty well. We were so
thankful that you were at
Oxford. ever sincerely & gratefully yours

F. Nightingale

Acland, signed letter, ff161-62, pencil, black-edged, draft/copy 47723
ff133-43

f161

Registration of Nurses April 21/91
{printed address:} 10, South Street,
Pss Xtian Park Lane. W.

My dear Sir Henry Acland

We are so truly grieved
that you have been so poorly.
We trust you are better
now - Thanks for your letter

I would on no account
that you should come
on purpose about this
affair to London, as you propose

If you have to come
naturally, and IF you
could kindly give me
due notice, I would

f161v

gladly see you - But
 I could answer your
 letter *in writing*, if it
 would save your strength
 May you be quite
 restored!
 ever yours sincerely
 Florence Nightingale

f162

Yes; the "Register" is out.
 I am truly sorry that
 it more than justifies
 all the objections of
 all its opponents.
 F.N.

Acland, signed letter, ff163-64, pen & pencil, black-edged paper

f163

Registration of Nurses: April 23/91
 {printed address:} 10, South Street,
 Private Park Lane. W.

[12:542-43]

My dear Sir Henry Acland
 I should not expect that
 Princess Christian would
 answer you: -

At the Meeting of the British
 Nurses' Ass: of which you
 speak, certain unwarranted &
 unfair statements were made
 by Sir W. Savory & others -
 as you probably know.

You know how averse
 we are from newspaper
 controversy - but at a
 meeting of some of Nurse training
 School representatives ~~at~~
~~St. Thomas'~~ held at St.
 Thomas' this week, they

f163v

unanimously urged that a letter should be written to the "Times" containing denial of unfounded imputations, & that it should be signed by the Heads of the several Schools in London.

We have consented to this on condition that it shall contain nothing more than the bare denial.

But as the "Times" has taken the other side, we cannot be sure that it will admit our contradiction ~~to~~ of Sir W. Savory's & others' imputations.

We trust you are better

f164

2. Is it quite a wise proceeding for any one, even Royalty, to suggest to the President of the Board of Trade what course he should adopt in deciding a question of which he is the sole judge? He can of course call for what evidence & arguments he pleases; but it is hardly for us to tell him *what he is to do* - is it?

We can but state our arguments & so leave the matter

Do you think that an enquiry would lead to the discovery of a "Golden Bridge"?
ever yours sincerely F. Nightingale

[end 12:543]

Acland, signed letter, ff165-66, pen & pencil

f165

May 8/92

10, South Street, [printed address]

PRIVATE Park Lane. W.

My dear Sir Henry Acland

[13:825]

How can we thank you
for your immense kindness
& skill with Sir Harry? The
account is good. But will
he, as soon as he is at all
better, try to send his son &
daughter-in-law abroad?

With regard to the Grosvenor
House Annual Meeting of the
Metropolitan & National Nursing
Association to-morrow (Monday)
at 3, you "gather" that the
"Queen's Jubilee Nurses are
"practically to have charge
"of District Nursing through
"the whole country." You see

f165v

better than I -

the danger of too great
haste in attempting to
extend District Nursing,
before there are enough
Nurses competent to carry
on what has already been
undertaken.

- the difficulties in the way
of obtaining efficient training
from want of competent

training Hospitals -
the danger to the public of
inefficient Nurses being
passed off as duly

qualified by any public
system of registration

&c &c

f166

You will be in London
to-morrow, but alas! even if
you *could* come here (which
I know you cannot) I am
engaged with an Anglo-Indian
who has business with me,
& is only in London for the
day -

ever yours truly & gratefully
Florence Nightingale

[end]

Acland, signed letter, ff167-72v, pen & pencil

f167

April 28/93

[12:553-55]

10, South Street, [printed address]

PRIVATE Park Lane. W.

Dear Sir Henry Acland

I hail your return. I trust
that your Sea-trip has been
as enjoyable & as beneficial
as your best friends, that is
everybody, could desire.

With regard to the subject
of your letter of April 22
about "Princess Christian's
proposed Meeting at Oxford
of the R.B.N.A." & "The
Registration of Nurses", I do
perfectly remember your
kindly speaking to me about
the latter, I think it was
at Claydon about 5 years
ago in January, I think;

f167v

& the substance of my answer, tho' unprepared, as you kindly wished for an answer - And I deeply regret that every year's experience, & every month's existence of the R.B.N.A. have only strengthened our convictions, which are, (a little formally stated, in order to be short):

1. The grave objections so often stated to any public registration of Nurses arising out of the impossibility of registering moral characteristics & the

f168

consequent danger to the public of an authoritative but defective & misleading register appear to us to be insurmountable

2. The laws which govern the profession of a Doctor appear to render it necessary that there should be a legal Register - No such laws exist or are required in the case of Nurses - So much the better for the calling of Nurses, we should be disposed to say,

f168v

but not that a plan
analogous to the legal
arrangements of the
Medical Council is
therefore applicable to
Nurses.

3. It is possible that
if a properly constituted
body ~~were~~ could be
hereafter established
capable of promoting &
with the means of
assisting the training
in well organised Hospitals
of Nurses, good might
come of it - but the adjunct
of an authoritative public
List of Nurses so trained

f169

-2-

is not a necessary consequent

The time is not yet ripe
to render practicable any
plan for discriminating
by means of a Central Body
between Hospitals as
Training Schools for Nurses
in such a way as to
afford any authoritative
guide to the Public -

~~///~~

You ask me seriously
for our conclusions - and it
would be base of me not
to give them, as you ask
for them.

Our conclusions are not
final - On the contrary. We

f169v

hope to start those of the next generation, who have PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE in training & governing Nurses - when we are gone - through us ~~in-progress~~ to pass on to something higher than us - But will this progress be assured or *the reverse thro'* R.B.N.A. or Public Register? We know that there are those who think *the reverse* who fear that whereas there is now enthusiasm among the Nurses for their ~~great~~/own Training Schools, there will then be merely an interested selfish regard as to which will "get them on"

f170

the best - & a consequent deterioration in the Training Schools themselves, regarding only ~~as to~~ who "crams" best.

When my miserable name is mentioned as a final authority, it gives me a feeling I cannot describe - Are we not barely on the threshold of Nursing? Who are we to be stereotyping?

f170v

I am sure you will
agree with us: *in Nurses*
character is so much more
worth than learning -
(knowledge) -
character might almost do
without book=learning -
learning never without
character -

How is character to be
tested & registered?

in training

Training is much more
training of character than
of the technical

"You might as well register
mothers as Nurses" said
a great man to me -

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

Is there not something of

f171

3

a misunderstanding as to
 what made the reform in
 Nursing? was it not making
 the calling possible to a
 better class of woman -
 certainly not book-learning?

How would you have an
 "approved plan" for a
 Training School? Must
 you not say: the "Home Sister"
 (Mistress of Probationers)
 must be of such & such
 a character - such & such
 ability - the Ward Sisters
 who have to train - who
 are the key to the whole
 situation, thro' whom the
 Matron influences Nurses,
 Day & Night, Probationers,

f171v

Wardmaids, Patients,
 must have such & such
 qualities, characters, cap=
 abilities - I am sure
 you will agree with this -
 Must You not make the Hospital
 itself a *place of*/fit for training?
 how is this to be defined
 as "approved" or not "approved"?
 I feel such a dread of
 'laying down the law',
 especially to you - But
 you ask me - And I pray
 your kindness to excuse me.
 It is I who should rather
 ask *you* questions:

f172

1. on Nursing not being a profession but a calling
2. ~~how~~ it is easy to put Nurses on the Register. How can they be *got off* the Register? Impossibility of subjecting Matrons to such a task -
- partially proved by R.B.N.A.'s own experience and by others.
3. Persons of authority dread deterioration of Training Schools - of Nurses - in the next 30 years - for reason, some of which have been glanced at -
4. Would any of the men or women who compose the Pss Xtian "Board of Registration", or who have given their names, take Nurses from the Register for themselves, their Patients or their Institutions?
But the public does not know this -

f172v

& many other questions - partly about plans whether not only unworkable but mischievous - put forward by persons of no large PRACTICAL experience -

Dear Sir Henry Acland - I have done your behest - as well as I could, because it was your behest.

I have been almost entirely a prisoner to my bed for the last 4 months -

Please be indulgent to my letter
ever your faithful

F. Nightingale

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

I return your printed sheet.

It is a curious one F.N.

[end 12:555]

Acland, signed letter, ff173-74v, pen & pencil

f173

July 3/93

[12:562]

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

My dear Sir Henry Acland

I put off my answer to
your most kind letter
regarding the proposed
"Annual Meeting" of the
R. British Nursing Assocn
to be held at Oxford
on July 25. "the Princess
"Christian coming."

You will see the letter
in the "Times" of this morning
signed by the Duke of
Westminster, six of the principal
Hospitals who have opposed
the Charter, & me.

[It will also be in other
papers & in those which
are supposed to reach the

f173v

Nurses. For as was pointed
out to us by ~~one~~/two at least of the
largest Hospitals; it would
be quite unfair to leave
the Nurses in ignorance of
how very different the
Charter granted by the
Privy Council is ~~to~~/from the
Charter applied for by
Princess Christian]

We wished to avoid in our letter as
much as possible all matters
of contention; and we did not,
as some would have wished,
add a further clause
indicating that we still

f174

adhere to our objection;
viz. that any such List
of Nurses as proposed
would afford no trustworthy
guide to the Public &
Medical Profession; &
will be detrimental to
the progress of sound
principles of Nurse-
=training, & to the interests
of Nurses themselves

The Privy Council was
wiser than the Princess' advisers.

The main thing is ~~now~~: to
get the Hospitals to improve
their Training Schools now.

f174v

I am afraid you are
not well
you kindly ask after me:

I am only just getting a
little strength after a 6
months' laying=aside illness.

I am so interrupted that
I am obliged to send off
this letter as it is -

God bless you
ever yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

[end 12:562]

Acland, signed letter, ff175-78, pen, black-edged

[12:568-70]

f175

Jan 18/94

10, South Street, {printed address:}
Private Park Lane. W.
& *Confidential*

My dear Sir Henry Acland

Yes, please, on Monday:
Will 5.15 suit you?

Are the Certificates which
you are kindly going to
present to Nurses at St.
George's in the East?

Of course every thing in
"what is to be said" at a
particular place depends
on what the *training* is,
what the *length of service*,
what &c &c certified

[Certificates are given
after 6 months' service at
a Hospital of the Metropoln
Asylums Board where there
is *no pretence at training!*]

f175v

Now for the larger question:

- the essential question:
- more essential "now" than
ever - viz. 1. the character,
the moral discipline of the
Nurse as a woman - It is
not technical training only
which makes a woman
into a Nurse - [The Empress
Frederick puts this strongly
in the letter you were so
good as to show me - And
she has put this yet more
strongly to me *viva voce.*]
and 2. what is the
moral & technical discipline
which she the Nurse will receive
when, armed with her

f176

certificate, of which the public
does not know the value,
she leaves her Infy or Hospl.

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

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

People would think this
ridiculous, nay disastrous
in the Army - *There* there
is the company, the Regiment,
the Corps, the 'Tommy Atkins' -
&c &c &c. No one thinks
that the soldier is *vouched*
for by belonging to the Army,

f176v

the "Profession". How
far more needful where
the Private Nurse, after
she has left her Hospl
but is still in her "Profession",
becomes an "irresponsible"
nomad - [People little know
what the conversation of
these Nurses is]

But the Medl Profession
is beginning to know - to say
'I will not take a Nurse
who has been 6 months
away from her School or
Hospl; she has deteriorated
from her Certificate,' said
one the other day

Said another: one
Hospital 'Sister' is so unlike

f177

2

another, tho' with the same
 "qualification". The tone of
 the one influences our
 Students to all that is right,
 of the other to much that
 is wrong, or *not at all*.

I could multiply these
 instances ad inf:

~~//~~

As you ask me, I venture
 to think that the "one thing"
 to call Nurses' attention to
 "now" is:

1. the need of what no
 Certificate can certify, no
 Exam touch.

and 2. the necessity of
 attaching herself to some
 Home with motherly &
 trained supervision, so

f177v

that she *may* have *some*
 'esprit de corps' to guide
 & support her. This
 applies of course to Private
 Nurses especially

We venture to think that
 there is little real analogy
 between the Medical (or
 "Pharmacy") & the "Nursing
 "Professions".

As you are aware, we
 venture to think that
 Nursing in the Social (or
 "State") sense is not a
 Profession at all, but a
 calling.

A Physician of the
 Hospital which has put
 itself most forward about

f178

"Registration" & "Profession"
 expressed his opinion
 forcibly when he said
 that it could end in
 nothing but an "inferior
 class of quasi-Medical
 practitioners", especially
 in the country.

As to "India": to turn
 a class of Nurses up-
 country without other
 supervision but the
 Doctor's, or not even that,
 takes one's breath away.
 [In one branch of this,
 the consequences already
 have been disastrous.]

Lastly, may I say how

f178v

much has been purely
 'doctrinaire' in all
 these Registration &
 Certificate advocacies?
 The advocates have not
 themselves believed in it.

ever yours sincerely

F. Nightingale

Your kindness
 to Sir Harry & the
 younger Harry is
 beyond thanks

[end 12:570]

F.N.

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

Acland, signed letter, ff179-80v, pen & pencil

f179

Claydon Feb 26/95

~~10, South Street,~~ [printed address]

~~Park Lane. W.~~

My dear Sir Henry Acland

Thank you very much
for your kind letter -
But we fear that it
breathes ill health from
fatigue -

Thank you very much
for your paper on that
great man Sydenham
which Lady Verney too
read. She went to
Oxford last week
with her daughters. And
she thought the statue
of Sydenham very fine

f179v

& impressive. We only
wished that you had
given us more about
Sydenham.

Lady Verney lunched with

Dr. & Mrs. Tyler who
had been here to see the
Museum (with its hideous
primeval antiquities of
Vancouver's Island &c &c)

Dr. Tyler talked a great
deal about you, hoping
that you were taking
care of your health &
saying that there was

f180

enough left for you to do
at Oxford to fill a life,
in which all Sir Henry
Acland's friends, that is
everybody, join.

March 6/95

My dear Sir Henry

I lost no time in obeying
your behest, which was,
with Frederick Verney's leave,
to have the short Introduction
to his "Bucks Sanitary
"Conference" re-printed in
"small 8vo" - And "100 copies"
shall be forwarded to you, as

f180v

you desire, when done. (to
Oxford, I suppose?)

I have been detained here
but hope to return to
London in a few days -

Lady Verney has been ill,
but is better

as we trust you are
ever yours sincerely
F. Nightingale

Acland, signed letter, ff181-82, pen & pencil

f181

No. 1

Dec 2/95

10, South Street, [printed address]

Park Lane. W.

Dear Sir Henry Acland

Thank you a thousand times for your letter - most Christian & most kind. It is impossible, I think, to do a greater service to humanity than in teaching these young medical students that they have to look after ~~souls~~/spirits in their Patients as well as bodies.

- I have heard of your having a dozen or more of these young men in your house at once to their great & eternal benefit.

f181v

As to missionaries in India, I can only furnish you with a few of the facts I know. I have no wit to pass a judgment. [pencil begins]

[10:845]

A Hindoo who is now in London with his wife & daughter, & whom I have talked with more than once (not a Christian)

[end 10:845]

- [and here I may as well add that in my last letter to you all was from steady conversation in England, except the P.S. which was from correspondence]

f182

interrupted

F. Nightingale

Acland, signed letter, ff183-85v, pencil

f183

No. 2 Dec 3/95

10, South Street, [printed address]

Park Lane. W.

[13:222-23]

Dear Sir Henry Acland

I recollect that you
have a presentation
to-morrow, & I cannot
resist putting in my
humble word of
wishing you joy &
wishing ourselves joy
in having you.

Nevertheless I
think it would have
been more appropriate
to have given you

f183v

a *scientific* presentation.

For I do not know
that you cared much
for Nursing, except
for the sake of the
dear Saint, the noble
Saint who has left
us & yet is with
us still -

But for her sake
I have no doubt
you have said a

f184

{in another hand}

No. 1 down to eternal benefit.

No. 2 omit name begin I recollect
down to
is with us still."

f185

word in the "row"
which has been
raging at the Radcliffe
Infirmary - a "row"
which a word from
you would probably
have quenched.

I was interrupted
yesterday in writing
an answer to your
last letter, but cannot
forbear ~~in~~ enclosing
the fragment, of which

f185v

the first page will
tell you what is
felt.

Take courage. Quit
ye like men: as
you do.

God bless you

[end]

yours ever sincerely
F. Nightingale

Acland, signed letter, ff186-87, pencil

f186

Aug 22/97

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

My dear Sir Henry

I cannot thank you
enough for the little book
of Dr. Pusey's prayers -
It is quite the most
spiritual, the most
practical book I know:
particularly p.p. 224-232

I knew Dr. Pusey a little -

A very dear friend of
mine, long since dead,
asked me to go & see
a poor lady who had

f186v

sinned against her
husband in an aggravated
manner, & then, finding
she had Cancer, confessed
it to him - I was (first)
to see her as a Nursing
adviser, & then, as she
was quite friendless, to
take the Communion with
her from Dr. Pusey, if she
wished it. Of course
I went; I found her in
a vulgar lodging, "where
"tawdry yellow mixed with
a dirty red" - And she
asked me to do both things

f187

I was struck with the
tenderness & at the
same time simple
solemnity of Dr. Pusey's
manner towards the
poor sinner - He was
truly a religious
'Director', like his
prayers, for which I must
thank you again & again.

I hope you are better
than when I saw you -

I am very busy: so
pray excuse this note,
briefer than my thoughts
of you - yours ever

F. Nightingale

Acland, signed letter, ff188-89v, pencil

f189

Jany 24 1900

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

My dear Sir Henry Acland

I am so thankful to
hear ~~on~~/of you & almost
from you through
Fred: Verney.

But do you know I
hear from & of you
almost every day?
In this way; I can
remember when Pyaemia
was almost as common
a thing ~~in~~ Hospitals as

f188v

any case coming from
without - I mean
Pyaemia generated *in*
Hospital - Now we
shout so loud when
there is a case that
they can hear us all
over London -
This is an amazing
change - And we
owe it principally to
you & what you have

f189

taught us - We do not
look upon anything of
the kind now as unavoidable,
just as there is no such
thing as "inevitable
"Infection" now -
I do not see any thing
to add ~~in~~/to your invaluable
pamphlet. It is perfect -
How much you are doing -
You ask after me - I
have been a prisoner to

f189v

my room for above a
 year - but I have always
 more to do than I fear
 I can do properly -
 I hope to write again
 in haste
 ever your affectionate
 & sympathizing
 F. Nightingale

Bodleian Library, Ms Acland d. 93, microfilm; numbering confused
 signed letter, ff51-53v, pencil

f51

10 South St

Dec 13/87

[12:519-21]

My dear Sir Henry Acland

I have just had your Telegram at the darkest & busiest
 time of my day - And you ask me to write at
 once by post & candlelight. I will try & obey your behest -
 about

the Registration of Nurses -

1. *Is it possible?*
2. Ought not every Hospital to register its own
 Nurses?
3. If the public will not protect itself against
 bad Nurses, how can a Register protect it?

f51v

4. What can a Register tell us?
 that a woman has had say 3 years' Hospital Service?
 & has passed a "stringent examination"?

Can a Nurse pass an examn like a Civil Service
 candidate, or an Oxford undergraduate?

What does her Examn tell us?

It is the *life* of a Nurse which approves her -

~~Can~~ Besides, can a woman be a good Nurse
 without being a good woman?

And how can that be tested by Examn?

How can even her practice be tested by Examn?

~~A-Even~~ Her moral qualities cannot be tested
 at all. And even her higher Nursing qualities
 cannot thus be tested - I am sure you will
 agree with this -

A good Nurse goes on learning every day of her
 life - And if she remains at the level of her
 certificate, the certificate is a proof not of a good
 but of a bad Nurse - You cannot test a Nurse
 by examn & certificates -

You know what it is with Medical students
- you give diplomas, but diplomas are of no use -

f53

it is the life of the diploma-d man afterwards
 that approves him - some years after, the
 man, if he has not continued learning every day
 of his life, has lost all he has learnt during his
 student's life, - has deteriorated, mind & soul, - &
 is fit for nothing - worth, like his Diploma, nothing -

2. The only registration of Nurses I know
 that does not actually defeat its own object -
 is; each Hospital registering its own "passed"
 Nurses - "passed" by the current supervision of
 every day of its own female authorities, & by the
 exams of its Hospital Professors [No Certificates]

f52 {should be 53v or 54}

-2-

[*Training* instead of Testimonials is the great
 gain of Nurses of this day]

The Nurse to have full leave & encouragement
 at any distance of time to come back to her
 Mother-Hospital for a recommendation -

The Mother-Hospl writes to the Matrons of the
 Nurse's intermediate posts to ask how she
 has conducted herself at each - & then & then
 only recommends her - if they are good.

It is a great deal of trouble - But we
 do it at St. Thomas'

f52v

Now will the Register do this?

Testimonials are worth absolutely nothing
 unless you obtain, best by *word of mouth*,
 the Nurse's character from her last employers -
 [I could give you some bitter facts about this]

3 - The public must learn to protect itself -

If the public knew the worth of a written
 certificate, viz that a Nurse has learnt
 certain things, the certificate would be
 worth - *that* worth - *But the public does*
not - Will the public know the worth of the Register?

Farther, a Nurse says she has been trained
 at X Hospl, has served "3 years" at XYZ -
 The public does not even take the trouble to
 write to the Hospital - It does not take
 the trouble it would in engaging a servant

All this will be intensified, will it not?
 by ~~the~~ any other system of Registration
 than that of No. 2.

f52

The entire want of conscience of people
in giving Testimonials is appalling.

f53

-3-

Dear Sir Henry - I wish I could write more,
as you wish it - But if I write another
page, I shall be blind for a week -

I have no eyes, no brains, no strength -
I am under Medical orders to go away
immediately & lie perdue for 3 months -
And Mr. Power says there is nothing else f to
save my eyes -
whereas I am writing hours & hours a day

f53v

Success to all your good works -
I trust you are pretty well -
God bless you

faithfully yours

F. Nightingale

I have received my little M.S. about
the Netley Medl School - which you were
so good as to say you had returned -

A gentleman came to me about that
School the other day.

Bodleian Library, paper copies

Bodleian Library signed letter, ff279-80, pen

General Hospital
Balaclava

June 23/56

My dear Sir

1. Would it be possible to send six Commissariat Casks to Mrs. Shaw Stewart, ~~Ra~~ Left Wing Hospital, Land Transport Corps, of those you kindly offered me?

2. Could you inform me how I could send to the Russian Hospitals certain stores which might be useful to the Sisters of Charity?

3. I think there is no occasion for me to look at the "Spartan"'s berths - I shall occupy the six to Scutari which you have been so kind as to offer me - & for so short a distance, I shall not separate my Commissioned & Non=Commissioned Nurses on board -

f280

4. I will ask you to remember my seven left behind about whom I am anxious, as I am compelled myself to return to Scutari without waiting to pack them off -

I enclose a Letter from Lord Panmure, which I presume he wrote to meet an exigency like the present. I am sure that you will know that I do so - not to make public the flummery which he there vouchsafes to us women, who have merely done our duty as Hospital Nurses - but to shew you that we are not on the same footing as the Officers' Wives who have come up here to amuse themselves - & who are obliged to ask for passages as a favor - I have steadily refused to bring up one woman

here except on duty -

I remain dear Sir

Yours faithfully & g[ratefully]

F Nightingale

Bodleian, noted, Wellcome Library Ms 9075/56

unsigned letter, 2ff, pencil

Private

Genl Brown's evidence very instructive. Ditto Mr. Robinson's. It shews that the W.O. did all it could to grant authority - but that, owing to the disjointed state of the W.O., authority could not be granted - (to spend money.)

From previous evidence, (Capt. Galton) it appears that the W.O. circular did grant authority to spend money -

Genl Brown says: I may be a blockhead but I did not understand it so -

Mr. Snell -

~~[And he gives instances (as regards Mr. Whiffin) in which Mr. Whiffin certainly~~

~~could not be said to be wrong]~~

Now the question is: not to refer these Circulars & other authorities to a legal opinion as to what they grant & what they don't.

It is, or rather it ought to be, that there should be no question at all about the matter -

It is just the Crimean story & the Scutari story over again on a small scale -

I feel quite at home in it. I feel that I am hearing the old, old story over again.

What I said to Ld Panmure
in my private Report was:
with every force there
should be a Paymaster -
with every Hospital there
should be a Treasurer.
You don't make your
butler your banker -

Bodleian Library initialed letter, ff114-16, pen, Cook 2:11

13/11/65
34 South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane,
London. W.

Dearie

I like very much
how much I cannot
say - to receive
that book from you.
But it would be
impossible to me
to read it or look
at it - not from

f114v

want of time or strength
- but from too much
of both spent on his
memory - not from
thinking too little
but too much on
him.

But I don't say
this for others. I
believe it is a morbid

f115

peculiarity of long
illness - of the loss
of power of resistance
to morbid thoughts.

I cannot bear to
see a portrait of
those who are gone.

You may depend
upon it. I thought
of you & of his
children on the
night of the 12th.

f115v

God bless you
ever yours warmly

F.N.

I believe that few
but you & me could
measure the extent
of Hilary's absorbing
devotion to his
remembrance till
the very last of her
life -

f116

She copied for me
& sent me, when
she must already
have been far
advanced in fatal
illness, poems of
his, because she
knew I could not
look at the book.

They are sacred to me
for the sakes F.N.
of both now -

Bodleian Library Walpole d.19. f89 signed letter, f89, pencil

Dec 10/98

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

My dear Sir

Could you kindly
come to me professionally
this afternoon - & if so
at what time?

But if you are
going into the country
till Monday, never
mind me.

Yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

W.M. Ord Esq M.D.

Bodleian, paper copy, Ms Crampton 89

Bodleian signed letter, 2ff, pen

General Hospital
Balaclava
June 23/56

My dear Sir

1. Would it be possible to send
six Commissariat Casks to Mrs.
Shaw Stewart, ~~Ra~~ Left Wing Hospital,
Land Transport Corps, of those you
kindly offered me?

2. Could you inform me how I
could send to the Russian Hospitals
certain stores which might be useful
to the Sisters of Charity?

3. I think there is no occasion
for me to look at the "Spartan"'s
berths - I shall occupy the six to
Scutari which you have been so kind
as to offer me - & for so short a
distance, I shall not separate my
Commissioned & Non-Commissioned Nurses
on board -

4. I will ask you to remember my seven left behind, about whom I am anxious, as I am compelled myself to return to Scutari without waiting to pack them off -

I enclose a Letter from Lord Panmure, which I presume he wrote to meet an exigency like the present. I am sure that you will know that I do so - not to make public the flummery which he there vouchsafes to us women, who have merely done our duty as Hospital Nurses - but to shew you that we are not on the same footing as the Officers' Wives who have come up here to amuse themselves - & who are obliged to ask for passages as a favor - I have steadily refused to bring up one woman

here except on duty.

I remain dear Sir

Yours faithfully & gratefully

F. Nightingale

MS Walpole d. 19 signed letter, f89, pencil

f89

Dec 10/98

10, South Street, {printed address:}

Park Lane. W.

My dear Sir

Could you kindly
come to me professionally
this afternoon - & if so
at what time?

But if you are
going into the country
till Monday, never
mind me.

yours faithfully

F. Nightingale

W.M. Ord Esq M.D.

Doyle Collection, Bodleian, paper copies

49587 ff92-9. Col North. MSS.North d.33-6,e.1-4, seen Oct 2010
with env black-edged
Lt Colonel North MP
16 Arlington St

Bodleian Doyle signed letter, ff93-94, pen {black-edged}

f93

4. Cleveland Row. {printed address:}
S.W.
April 16/63

Sir

By the desire of
General Hastings Doyle,
I have ordered (from
Bickers & Bush) a
small box of books
for Genl Doyle's
Soldiers' Institute
at Halifax, Nova
Scotia, to be sent
to your house. It
Lt Colonel North
MP

[15:469-70]

f93v

is a small present
from me, made
at Genl Doyle's
request, who also
informed me that
you would have
the kindness to
forward them to
their destination,
if sent to your
charge -

But would you
kindly, if there is
any mistake on

f94

Genl Doyle's part &
you should not have
the opportunity of
sending the box,
return it to me?

[end 15:470]

I am, Sir,
your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

signed letter, ff135-37v, pen {black-edged} also in Cambridge

f135

Confidential 32 South St
Park Lane
London W.
May 5/63

[15:470-71]

Sir

I should have
answered your kind
note before but that
my life is so overstrained
with business & illness
& that I was anxious
to ascertain from the
W.O. & Horse Guards
whether your official
application for a grant
for your Institute at
Halifax had been
received. You state
(in your letter to me)

f135v

that you "have applied for
 "a grant for £ for the
 "Institute" - thus, leaving the
 sum blank.

The W.O. has granted
 "fuel & light". But your
 official letter does not
~~say~~ ask for money. And
 I find from the H.G.
 that *they* have no official
 letter ~~illeg~~/from you asking for
 money. Pray ask officially
 for a grant immediately.
 I am empowered to tell
 you from Lord de Grey
 that, if it is for no
 greater a sum than
 £100 or £200, you shall
 have it immediately.
 But you must ask officially.

f136

It would be very desirable
 if the Regimental Libraries
 could be rendered
 available for the Institutes,
 & possibly this might be
 done by an arrangement
 for the purpose.

But pray apply for
 a grant

Believe me
 your faithful servant
 Florence Nightingale
 Col: North's kindness
 has induced him to
 take charge of a small
 present of books from
 me for your Institute,
 which books I chose according
 to Returns made to the W.O.
 of what were the most
 favourite books among the men

f137

And I am *not* "empowered"
to tell you, but I do, that
Lord de Grey, being a
pupil of Sidney Herbert's,
is much more favourable
than was his predecessor,
poor Sir G. Lewis, to
Soldiers' Institutes -
altho' *this year*, the
Estimates being carried
already, there are but
small sums possible
to be granted, as you see.

With regard to "books",
about which you ask me,
for these Institutes, the
"Regulations" for Soldiers'
Day Rooms & Libraries,
which doubtless have
now reached you, have

f137v

been terribly cut down in
passing thro' the "Military
Education" Council. But
we hope to get them re=
vised. Each troop or
company receives 2.10
per ann. in lieu of a
grant of books - but
unfortunately the Librarian
has to be paid out of the
money. [This is too bad;
as the allowance is small
enough]. This money would
be spent by the C.O. But
the Institute would have
the advantage of using
any books purchased
with the money. Because
the Library forms part
of the Institute.

[end 15:471]

MS.Eng.lett.e.137 ff32-36 signed letter with envelope, pen, stamped, cancelled

Private. India via Brindisi

The Honble.

C.P. Ilbert

(with the Govt. of India)

India

F. Nightingale

16/10/84

mailed from Bletchley Station Oct. 15 84. Steeple Claydon Oct 16 84. Sea Post Office 23 Oct 84 Simla 17 Nov. 84.

f33

[10:804-06]

Private Oct. 16/84

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

My dear Sir

I have no right to take
up one moment of your time,
'precious beyond rubies.' And
I can only express to you what
all England--save those
unfortunate people & newspapers
who have succeeded in the
'gran rifiuto'=viz. the refusal,
the fatal refusal to keep
party politics out of India's govt.
which began, I think, with
Lord Lytton, but never before
(of my knowledge) --is saying:
--the great regrets at Lord
Ripon's departure a day

f33v

before his term--the conviction
that, when these party
storms are forgotten as they
soon will be, then Lord
Ripon's Government in
which your name is associated
with his will be judged
as that which has given progress,
rest & confidence to the
masses of India--as that
whose every act has appeared
to those who have been
carefully watching it as having
been for the good of all India
--as that which has exhibited
Liberal principles on the
largest scale in the world.

f34

Our regrets are as large as
India: but thank God you
remain How gladly
would we hear that the
Bengal Tenancy Bill is
weathering its storms--&
will not be delayed by the
change of Viceroys--
how gladly, that the Land
programme contemplated
in Oudh is carried out--
& also the scheme of Land
Settlement in Bombay--a
very different proposed 'Permanent
Settlement' from that of 1793
in Bengal.

And the Land Banks?

f34v

We are very keenly interested in all the Civil Service candidate question--raising the limit of age--extending the time at the University, &c ['Send India ~~us~~ not boys but men'] also: in Statutory Civilians being improved

But I dread to take up your time.

I heard with great regret from the Master of Balliol that Mrs. Ilbert had been suffering from her knee & might have to come home for a time- I trust the knee is recovering.

f36

Even to enumerate the things for which we have to thank Lord Ripon & you, & to devoutly hope that Lord Dufferin will carry them out would take up too much time:

the Local Government Acts-
most important of all-
essential even if not beneficial-
beneficial even if not essential-
how are they forwarded?-
the encouragement of native arts
& industries by making
Government India's large
customer--as far as possible--
the preventing native promotion
from being intercepted-
Education-
& all the thousand & one

f35v

things which in India almost
 seem to dwarf in importance
 England's largest measure
 & pre-eminently all the
 Agrarian reforms-
 not to mention 'Delimitation Commrs.
 -& Judicial re-organizations-
 & what touches me much
 more nearly: Municipalities.

We devoutly trust that Lord Dufferin
 will be able to resist blame
 & praise alike--the flattery
 of the bureaucracy & the press
 when they hail him as India's
 Saviour from his predecessor-
 the abuse of the bureaucracy
 & the press when he with
 true courage ~~he~~ pursues your &
 Lord Ripon's reforms-

f36

But how will he deal with the mass of administrative
 detail which ought to devolve on a Viceroy?

He will have enough scope for
 his Diplomatic skill with
 his own officials, if not
 with foreign affairs.
 May success in its highest sense
 be yours.

ever your faithful servt.

Florence Nightingale

The Honble.

C.P. Ilbert

How much there is of the 'gran
 rifiuto' in England's conduct to India
 --in her 'refusal' to care &
 interest herself for--even to
 acquire knowledge of the people!

[end 10:806]

Clough material. Book MS.Eng.Mss.c.359, notes on appendixes, needs more
 work

ff1-17

f18 printed page, A Contribution to the Sanitary History...

F14 5 April 1859 re Martineau

f18 Highgate 15 June 1859 note. Said he cd not undertake with others a H of C work - he must go to the L. But *no*, he was not immortal. The H.C. was the place where the real conflict wd be and that he looked to him in his illeg. Ld J.R. had demanded the F.O.

Gladstone of the debt of 6 millions

the law written for Antonelli Wiseman and Cullen esp directly, then to supplant Ld Derby, who would support Austria. Cullen wrote back to decline

f19

2

Palmerston will fill a great place in history

His great cont in 1840

the French have not been

fair to him. They made

up their

f25 note

10/1/56

Mr Bracebridge wrote naming 38 (? As many as before - 48) were sent

No po previous despatch or he had been received from her. Wasting material

&c had been sent out in Mr B's sole request

Mr & Mrs B shd have

said at once that they

had occasioned the

coming of the new nurses.

As to Flo's want of [?]

Denies that he ever urged

the paris story as a proof

agst her or in connexion with her

illeg . But only when

Protestant & RC and was urged in this respect were as obnoxious

attributes his sister's tendencies and that ...to Fl

f27

10/1/56 I saw A.P.S.

Mr Meyer handed over the nurses to Dr Cumming a ground of complaint.

Miss Stanley met her two days after.

Notes of conversation called in witnesses.

Idea that she was to be superintendent said to Miss S. to resign to you.

Koulali established from funds supplied by Lady Stratford, had been spoken of before.

? To Fl' connexion for illeg she never went there. Miss S speaks as if she had thrown her overboard.

Doctors there insisted on not having the Scutari system.

No wounded, all fever cases.

F28
 Idea of Miss St connexion with R.C. nuns was early entertained. Fl told her illeg that RC add Prot illeg was the cause of their estr??
 General opinion
 veracity

f35 letter of Huntington, Harvard University, Cambridge Mass Jan 28 1857
 When I think to what works yr life is consecrated, and how it is filled, I am almost afraid to ask you for that illeg of it which may be required to ..letters. It happens in this way. Just now I was reading an account, from an English paper, of yr many good ideas, containing that much ..[sentimental letter hard to read] yr charity. Assoc of yr name...F.D. Huntington.

In answer to the illeg question, who is he? It is only fair that I shd say beyond what the book says, that my ... church of the future, which I believe ...is surely preparing over the ...Lord, dogma. Educated a Unitarian I am not altogether satisfied with the narrowness of that doctrine, nor with the ...Prof Felton speaks of seeing you.

F32 Harrison & Sons Printing Office 1 March 1858 to FN

We herewith send you revises of Notes on Nursing.

Mr Clough called here yesterday and gave instructions to print further copies of "Sanitary Contribution" for which order we beg to thank you. He at the same time mentioned that you had made arrs with Messrs Palmer & Son of the Strand to publish this latter work. We trust you will not think us wanting of attention in our offering the services of our publ house in Pall Mall, but believe me had not any idea of your intention to publish this book.

F33 J.R. Martin to FN. 24 March 1858

f35 letter of George Peabody to FN, 15 Cook St Burlington St 11 April 1858. Although personally unknown to you, request of behalf of a lady, acc report of the Norfolk assoc, Miss Andrews [add to names]

f44 letter of Thomas Harrison 65 St Martins Lane Dec 8 1858. Sir I fear you have inferred from what I said to you some short time since respecting Miss 'N's precis that Dr Beale had applied here for a copy of that book. This is not the case. My brother happened to call on Dr Beale and Dr Beale then mentioned that he had seen the book. Of this he informed you and unintentionally in such terms that you are under the impression that Dr Beale had endeavoured to obtain a copy of the book, which most certainly he did not do.

F47 letter to AHC 21 Dec 1858 from Albert National Agricultural training Inst, Glasnevin Dublin. I beg leave to inform you that you note of the 16th inst addressed to me at the request of Miss Florence Nightingale who desires to have info on the subject of the inst with reference to the care of the young man Robert Robinson whom she has been so benevolently maintaining and educating, was submitted to the resident commissioner of

national educ the rt hon Marquess Macdonell, with whom, if I mistake not, you are acquainted.

Mq Macdonnell has desired me to assure you that it will afford him the most sincere pleasure to promote the views and wishes of Miss Nightingale by having the young man admitted as an intern agric pupil into the Albert Inst.

I herewith send you a blank form of applic for the admission of a pupil, wh you can have filled up and returned to me. The exam by a district insp will not be required in R. Robinson's case. Thomas Kirkpatrick

f49 letter 28 ec 1858 My dear Madam I recd yesterday "A Contribution to the Sanitary His of the Br Army" in the form of a large thin quarto. Altho there is no name to this short but clear and tersely written statement, it was an affected obtuseness on my part not to recognise that it emanates from you. To you therefore I beg to express my best thanks for this timely contribution. It comes at a proper moment, were it only to counteract the influence of a pamphlet wh *I saw noticed in one of the morning papers*

FN: which? What day? And wh is said to have been written "by a non-commissioner" in defence of the Army Medical dept. The notice conveyed to me the impression that this non-commissioner's defence is ether a very bad joke or something more lamentable.

By your kind permission Sir James Clark has informed me confidentially of the victory gained by Mr Sidney Herbert over the obstinate officials of the War Dept and that the Army Med Sch is at last to be organised at Chatham. I need scarcely tell you that the finest mil music never conveyed a note more pleasant to an expectant ear than did such news.

F51 printed form

Statistical Society of London
12 St James' Square, S.W.
22 Decr 1858

Madam, I have the honor to acquaint you that at an Ordinary Meeting held on the 21st inst you were duly elected a Fellow of this Society and that the rules require your presence for admission on or before the Ord Meeting on the 15th of March 1859, Edw Tudor Scargill asst sec, 15 March 1859

f52 Aitken to AHC Jan 3 1859 thanks for his communic re FN's wishes, has forwarded extract

f54 Beeson Notts Jan 9/59 Robert Porter wishes to inform Miss Florence Nightingale his kind rec of Srg Jowett's diary he has this day forwarded the last copy of the first 500 to Roslin House Gt Malvern and before he attempts to do up the remaining sheets he has pubd we like to know whether Miss Nightingale wd have any objection to the publ of her letter therein as a letter of rec ..

F56 Stokeley Rectory Jan 12 1859 to AHC I beg you will offer my best thanks to Miss Nightingale for her kind attention to my request and I am sure the poor man ...grateful PO order 3.3. Clark Carr??

F58 re Eliz Blackwell

f60 April 19 1859 to FN from Smith illeg

f66 Rathbone letter to Clough from Liverpool 21 Feb 1860

f83 letter to AHC from Harrison and Sons March 28 1860

f87 letter of Harrison to AHC 16 April 1860. I enclose a draft for £500 and a promissory note due August 1st for the like sum for Miss Nightingale for the copyrights of her work called "Notes on Nursing." it being understood that in addition to the above sum of £1000 Miss Nightingale is to receive 50 copies each of the contemplated enlarged and abridge editions.

I am aware that translation in the French, German & Italian languages have been authorized by Miss Nightingale. Thomas" Harrison

f97 FPV to AHC from Embley Feb 15 [1860] F promised very kindly a subscription to the Aylesbury Inf, the last thought struggle is coming for the "extras," Harry cannot be present there and has written urging all that he can think of besides 25£ for the Parian cement which is all we can do. He thinks if he mentions F's subscription that it wd do good, but you see I dare not write and ask her. If you cd w/o risk say this to her when you see her you will advance the cause very much. I enclose Mr Carrington's letter saying the resistance expected and Harry's letter to the sec....

f96 AHC to Shaw Stewart, Madam 4 March 1860 Miss Nightingale bids me forward to you the enclosed schemes of plans of Portsmouth and Plymouth Hospitals which are to be reorganized. You need be in no hurry to return them as they are copies but if you have any alterations to suggest, every day of delay will naturally make it more difficult to adopt them

ff152-54

FN list of books

MS.Eng.Lett.d.178 book Mrs Clough, with FN material in

f114 black-edged paper, pale blue

13/11/65

34, South Street [printed address]

Park Lane

London W.

Dearie

I like very much,
how much I cannot
say - to receive
that book from you
But it would be
impossible to me
to read it or look

at it - not from

v
want of time or strength
but from too much
of both spent on his
memory - not from
thinking too little
but too much on
him.

But I don't say
this for others. I
Believe it is a morbid

f115
peculiarity of long
illness - of the loss
of power of resistance
to morbid thoughts.

I cannot bear to
see a portrait of
those who are gone.

You may depend
upon it & thought
of you & of his
children on the
night of the 12th.

V
God bless you
ever yours warmly
F.N.

I believe that few
but you & me could
measure the extent
of Hilary's absorbing
devotion to his
remembrance till
the very last of her
life.

F116
She copied for me
& sent me when
she must already
have been far
advanced in fatal
illness, poems of
his, because she
knew I could not

look at the book.
They are sacred to me
for the sakes
of both now F.N.

Bodleian Crampton 89 f279 FN letter to Jephson

General Hospital
Balaclava
June 23/56

My dear Sir

1. Would it be possible to send six Commissariat Cooks to Mrs Shaw Stewart, Left Wing Hospital, Land Transport Corps, of those you kindly offered me?

2. Could you inform me how I could send to the Russian Hospitals certain stores which might be useful to the Sisters of Charity?

3. I think there is no occasion for me to look at the "Spartan"'s berths. I shall occupy the six to Scutari which you have been so kind as to offer me & for so short a distance I shall not separate my Commissioned & Non-Commissioned Nurses on board.

4. I will ask you to remember my seven left behind, about whom I am anxious, as I am compelled myself to return to Scutari without waiting to pack them off.

I enclose a letter from Lord Panmure, which I presume he wrote to meet an exigency like the present. I am sure that you will know that I do so not to make public the flummery which he there vouchsafes to us women, who have merely done our duty as Hospital Nurses - but to shew you that we are not on the same footing as the Officers' wives who have come up here to amuse themselves & who are obliged to ask for passages as a favor - I have steadily refused to bring up one woman

here except on duty-
I remain dear Sir
yours faithfully & gratefully
F. Nightingale

36017. Ms Autogr.d.10 f293

Letter, pencil to an unnamed person

March 10/85

Dear Madam

I should have answered
your note by saying that I
was not aware that any but
the Military Nurses, or trained
(Civil) Hospital Lady Nurses of some
years' standing, had been
or would be sent out to the
War Hospitals in Soudan &
Egypt

but it has occurred to me
that a competent lady of
experience, well known
to some of the Ladies of the
Committee: not thoroughly
Hospital trained, might

possibly find employment by
writing to the Secretaries
of the Princess of Wales' Branch
Lansdowne House
Berkeley Sq W.
I beg to remain
your obedt servt
F. Nightingale

Pusey House, Oxford, paper copies; this archive also has letters by the sisters who went to the Crimean War

Pusey, signed letter, 8ff

PRIVATE Barrack Hospital
Scutari

5 December 1854 [14:73-75]

Dear Mother

I promised to write
to you about your children -
a month is now elapsed,
~~during~~/before which their characters
could not have become known to me.

I have never written to my
own people (even) during
this time, having been
driven every moment, day &
night.

These two must be my
reasons for not having
written to you before - &
for rushing at once now in
medias res -

-2-

Sister Bertha, Eldress Sarah
Anne, Harriet & Margaret
are invaluable in the work
from different reasons - but
chiefly from their straight
forwardness & openness - To
sister Bertha I believe I
shall ultimately give the
Superiorship of the other
Hospl. Tho' not liked by
the nurses, she is the
stadiest & fittest for
command I have - Eldress
Sarah Anne is so single=
minded that I put the
greatest trust in her as
that quality outweighs almost
all others in a service where

-3-

the heart must be filled
with God & mankind. - to do
any amount of good - Harriet
& Margaret are each trust=
worthy & zealous. Sister
Ethelreda ought never to
have come out, on account
of her health & by the advice
of the Medical Men, I
have been reluctantly forced,
with her own concurrence,
to send her back - Child
Clara, tho' awkward, on
account of her hands, is
good & gentle -

Eldress Elizabeth, though
plainly marked out by her
energy & power, for a situation
of command, & tho' I had

-4-

intended her to be Supt of the
other Hospl, is so little
straight=forward that I have
found it impossible - She
baffles me at every turn -
I never know *what she wishes*,
nor what she really means.
I do not know where I am with her nor where
she is.
She is also so disliked by the
Nurses, that it is obvious
they cannot be placed under
her - altho' her ambition fits her
for command -

I have no time for circum=
locution - But I am certain
that many things are done
here contrary to the spirit
of your Institute - (1) One of
the first things ~~they (illeg)~~ Eliz said
to me was that they hoped
they should be treated as
ladies - I had much rather

-5-

we should be treated as
Saints than as ladies -

(2) The constant haggling
about food & other, not
necessaries but luxuries -

(3) The wish to be treated
differently from others -

(4) The great amount of
waiting upon required - the extra=
vagance in things given out
to the sick -

It required one nurse to
clean up after them, to put in order
utensils used by the sick
till I instituted a different
plan, & had these cleaned by Orderlies - & all the Hospital
nurses were kept in
perpetual bad humor by

-6-

exigences about trifles - They/se
are so little accustomed by me
to see themselves *drudged*
while I do nothing but command
that they cannot understand
receiving orders from those
who often know less than
themselves & I fear are
often impertinent - One of
my greatest crosses is keeping
the peace between the nurses
& the Sisters -

Last, but not least, I
think the Mother Eldress
unfit from age, infirmity &
want of memory for a service
like this - & especially for foreign
service - She is niggling &

-7-

tiresome about trifles - tho'
I believe at bottom good &
sincere - But she is continually
wishing for a situation where
she can do more while unable
to do what she has & I
continually find her patients
cruelly neglected as to bed sores &c - tho' I am
sure her goodwill & kindness
of intention are *perfect*. But
she is only good & bustling -

That all this is *sub sigillo*
& that I know I shall receive
from you (as I observe) the
strictest secrecy, I need not
say.

Under these circumstances,
I think you will see as I do
that the continuance of the two
latter Eldresses for any length of

-8-

time here will be undesirable
for the success of this work, but
that it would be far preferable
both to my feelings & on other
accounts that they should be
recalled for the good of your
works in England, where they
can do so much, than for
that of the work here -

God bless you -

Pray for me

Ever yours

Florence Nightingale

I have by this post desired
the War Office to transmit to
you a copy of the statement
(which I also possess) of what
took place when I made
your kind & generous offer of
coming out here to the Secy at War.

[end 14:75]

Pusey House, Oxford signed letter, 8 ff, pen

Scutari Hospital

[14:159-61]

March 5 1855

(Barrack Hospl)

Dear "Mother" (as I cannot help calling you) I hope that you will not be alarmed, or too much overcome, when I tell you how very unwell my dear Sister Sarah Anne has been - though never in danger of her life, ~~she~~ her head has been more than usually affected by the fever which, in the performance of their duties, has attacked four sisters, four nuns and seven nurses of my party. I have moved Sister Sarah

Anne from the General Hospl where she was working, up to this Barrack Hospital, ~~where I am~~ & have given her a room & a nurse to herself - I brought her here for the sake of ensuring her perfect quiet & also for watching her myself more closely - as well as because that common symptom had appeared, suspicion of her own friend - The Principal Medical Officer, Dr. Cumming, is of opinion that it would be better for her to *return to England*, when sufficiently well for the journey - Dr. O Flaherty, who has also attended her,

thinks it possible she *may* recover completely here - I write to know your wishes & also whether you would wish me to send another sister home with her - I shall have, alas! but too many companions to give her, who are ordered home on account of health, unless you wish one of her own Society to accompany her - Sister Bertha will tell you about Margt I have no complaint to make of her - I cannot tell you what I feel at the dispersion of your ~~S~~ little band - & more particularly at the losing Sister Sarah Anne, if I do lose her - She is the only one of my whole ~~band~~ company who has never given any trouble

from her conscientiousness, her entire singleness of purpose, her never refusing any work or wishing for more than she could do - There is not one in the whole Sisterhood whom I shall miss so much, though there are many cleverer & more efficient. Dr. Cumming fears that her intellect may become permanently affected, should she remain in this climate & in this work - Here no one's life is worth a week's purchase, I feel - But *this* I do not think would ~~affect~~ alter your views about the sisters remaining here -

I ~~illeg~~ cannot express how deeply ~~gra~~ I feel the obligations of the cause to Sister Sarah Anne, Sister Bertha & Margaret for their disinterested, unambitious work.

-2-

The Mother Eldress wishes me to write to you, (fearing that she shall be recalled from Balaklava by you) - in what sense I hardly know - I will therefore only make a statement of facts.

She went to Balaklava with my full consent. Though I could not *desire* her to go there, I felt it right to give her the opportunity to volunteer - My reasons for this were, 1st, that I thought she would work better away from me - She could never be made to understand that this was a Military Hospital & that our work here (to be of real use) could only be in obedience to military

regulations - She would procure separate stores, & administer them separately ~~from the~~ & independently of the requisitions of the Medical Officers made upon the Purveyor & upon my Extra Diet kitchens, which I have submitted entirely to military rule - And this, while professing her perfect obedience - It was not perhaps to be expected that a woman of her age should fall into so new & strait=laced a régime as that we have here - I thought therefore she would work better where she was the head & could, in some measure, work her own plan. I was truly concerned at the breaking up of your little band, as I have said

And therefore I was glad to give her the opportunity of volunteering for Balaklava, & shall be sorry if you recal her - Sister Harriett Erskine is now, at ~~her~~ Mother Eldress's own earnest request, going to join her - She has always appeared to me to lead Mother Eldress - I was unwilling to send her before, on account of health.

My second reason for letting ~~her~~ M. Eldress go was that she could not control or influence the Sisters of Devonport.

You know now all our affairs, dear friend, as well as I know them myself, & believe me

ever yours

Florence Nightingale
Should there appear to the Medl Men a more immediate reason for sending back Sister

Sarah Anne, I will not wait for your recal -

P.S. The Sisters & Nurses who are established at Balaklava, went at the request of the Chaplain & Medical Officers & under the written sanction of the Commander-in-Chief.

[end 14:161]

Pusey House, Oxford signed letter, 2ff, pen

Barrack Hospital
Scutari

[14:179]

April 20/55

Dear Mother Eldress

I hope to be able
to come over to see you
before you go - but,
in case I cannot, I
wish here to say how
much I regret losing
the Services of yourself
& Sister Harriet for
the work's sake, how
much I regret that

both you & Eldress
Sarah Anne should
have lost your
health in this work, -
but that I could
never conscientiously
express a wish for
your staying through
the summer - having
been expressly warned
by all our Medical
Men against exposing
you or her to the risk

of a second attack of
fever -

Let me thank you,
dear Mother Eldress,
both in person & by
writing for your
unwearied labors in
the cause & believe me
ever yours

Florence Nightingale

[end 14:179]

Pusey House, Oxford signed letter, 1f, pen

Barrack Hospital

Scutari

July 10/56

My dear "Mother"

In sending home Sisters Bertha & Margaret, their work being done, I wish that I could express (which I really cannot) all that they have been to that work - Sister Bertha's uniform true-heartedness to the ~~work~~/duty, her single-minded devotedness, her good sense & good judgment, her faithfulness, in a word, to the thing as a whole have made her what no other person could be to me - Will you give her my affectionate & grateful love? She possesses that of all the Army who have heard of her - and will you say to Sister Margaret how much we all thank her & trust that she will persevere in the right way? I remain,

ever your grateful & attached

Florence Nightingale

{written in the top left corner}

I trust to see you

when I return

to England -

Pusey House Oxford signed letter, 2ff, pen

London

January 1857

It is with real pleasure that I enclose to each of those who gave such invaluable assistance in the British War-Hospitals of the East the tribute paid by the War-Secretary to their labors -

I rejoice that this from him as well as that offered by the Sultan have testified the

appreciation of both
for such services

May I also here
be allowed to add my
own most grateful
acknowledgments for all
the assistance so
generously given to this
work? The devotion
which I have witnessed
to it, from both Communions,
can never be forgotten
by me - Its remembrance
cheers even the recollection
of all those scenes of

suffering which we
must carry with us
to our dying day

With the fervent
prayer of my gratitude
for my fellow-workers,
I remain their sincere
& affectionate friend

Florence Nightingale
To the Lady Superior
of the Devonport Sisters of Mercy

Pusey House Oxford signed letter, 2ff, pen

Dear Lady Superior

You did not need
this nevertheless, I
have much pleasure
in sending it you -

I want much to
see you *on business*
& have gone more
than once to St. Saviour's

for this purpose. May
I ask that when
you next come there,
you will let me know?
And I shall imme=
diately come to you.

Believe me
ever yours gratefully
& sincerely

F. Nightingale

30 Old Burlington St
W.

Jan 27/57

Pusey House Oxford signed letter, 2ff, pen

Dear "Mother Eldress"

It is a real sorrow to me not
to come to the Lady Superior, as she so
kindly desires - It is perhaps better,
as she is ill, which I heard with
the deepest regret some time ago,
that I am utterly unable to leave
my business - Indeed my old cam=
paigning habits of eating upon a
chair seem to be here in double
force - Besides the business which
I really wished to transact with her,
there are many things which I should
like to talk over with her, which she
would understand so much better
than any one else - Perhaps I may

still have that advantage this year,
when ~~I~~ the time comes that I may
be able to come to her more readily
than I can now -

Will you kindly give her my
affectionate remembrances & will
you let me know when you come to
town in order that I may come to you
to talk over this little matter of business?

Believe me ever

sincerely yours

Florence Nightingale

22 Albemarle St W.

Feb 9/57

Balliol College Archives, paper copies, lot 303

Balliol, signed letter in child's printing, 2ff, pen lot 295 [1:534-35]

Thursday Embley

Dear Aunt Patty

Will you write me a long letter? We have been twice to court and once to the Theatre for the first time at Winchester.

In Mr. Borough's court, the criminal's court, we heard Snelgrove's trial, the man who lives at the farm. He has stolen beans of Mr. Eastted, of whom he is the servant. He was transported for 14 years. We went also to the cathedral, Tuesday, to hear Mr. Penton preach, the judges and the sheriff came. The organ was beautiful. The church was much crowded. We saw some

some boxes, in which the bones of the Saxon kings were put. Flo

{cross written and faint}

Thursday Embley

Dear Aunt Patty

On these boxes were names of the kings in Latin. We made out Eldred and Edmund. We saw Cardinal Beaufort's statue and the Saxon font. Mr. Brent is dead and poor Maria is in great grief, and very ill. Mr. Long (Martha's uncle) is dead and a poor woman of the name of Roud was burnt very much in attending him, and died a fortnight after in consequence. {T}here are such a quantity of [a]pples, currants and raspberries here. An apple tree, which is in my garden, is quite loaded, and {the rest is illeg} {transcript says--I don't see] bent down with them. your affectionate Flo}

Balliol, signed letter in child's printing, 2ff, pen lot 297 [1:425-26]

Embley

My dear cousin and *friend* Bon

I have been reading the CXXI Psalm.

We think it very beautiful, and we think you would like it. Mama is gone to pay a visit at Mrs. Whitby's at Lymington. She will be home Saturday April 11th. Aunt Mai is coming here on the 15th. This is a story that Miss Christie, my governess, me. In France, there are people, who have

stalls in the street to clean and black people's shoes. There was one man who was of that trade, sometimes he had not many customers, so his dog Barker would go and wet himself in a puddle and splash the people who passed by, and then his master got customers. Here is another story. There was a swallow who made a nest. One day she went out, and while she was out, a sparrow took possession of her

nest. When she came back, she found the wicked intruder. Not being able to get him out by herself, she made a great noise, and called all her companions to her assistance. They came. After looking some time, and thinking of some way to give their poor companion assistance, they all flew away, but soon came back bearing in their mouths a bit of mud, which they placed at the door of the nest, so that they completely

shut up the sparrow, and starved him. He found his tomb in his usurped house. Your affectionate cousin Florence Nightingale

Balliol, signed letter in child's printing, 2ff, pen lot 299 [7:604-05]

Before Mrs. Nightingale leaves Fair-Oak, she should take opportunity to visit Trotton Church, in which is an Altar Tomb, covered by a choice slab of Petworth marble, 3 yards by 1 ½ yds. On it are Brasses in good preservation--with an Inscription to the Memory of Lord Thomas Camoys, Knight of the Garter, and his Consort, *ELISABETH*, relick, (it is said) of Hotspur,--his "gentle Kate" poetically. Apparently she erected the Tomb after her husband's Death, and the Church to place it in Trotton,

being the most regular of all Country Churches--eighty feet by thirty--without distinction of Chancel, whereby the large East Window shows the Effigies to great advantage. The Lady, as being a countess and previously (by her Scutcheon of Presence) an heiress--takes the right hand side. her dress, especially her head dress, a good specimen of the time of Henry VI.

Her daughter (apparently) lies in the Middle of the Church, a Pavement Tomb--the Young Lady in undress,--a Muffler hiding the lower half of her face--The Inscription old French, sunk deeply into the Outline of the Stone:

"Margaret de Camoys gyt ici."--

"Deus sur sa alme eyt Merci. Amen."

There are Two Altar Tombs in the Corners of the East End of the Church--Nothing is known of

them. They must be younger than the Church by their position--One of them seems to date since the Reformation, as it

irreverently	J. R. 3 Novber 1828 Evening
shoulders &	Petersfield
supercedes the	Awaiting the Portsmouth
Piscina of	Coach to Town-----
R.C. Devotions.	

Dear Aunt Patty

I've Copied this Paper (exactly like Mr. Rickman's paper to Mama,) for you, to read at Trotton Church. I hope you are well. I've no room to write more. Good bye, Flo

[end 7:605]

Balliol, signed letter, 2ff, pen lot 300 [1:535]

Embley

Sunday 4 July {1830}

Dear Aunt Patty

Mr and Mrs Thornton
are here, with their two daughters, Eliza and Harriet, and their two sons, Frank, who is 13, and Edward, who is 18. They are very good-natured boys. They go out fishing almost every day. Yesterday Frank caught 26 fishes. 6 he threw

away, 6 died & 14 he brought home alive, & put them in the sink to catch pikes with. 6 died last night & 8 this morning. They were all gudgeons & roach. (illeg) Pa' is pulling down our north garden wall. Master Edwards yr gang to Yndya yn syx monthes to staye ten years, Two years at Calcutta, 4 at Dacca, foure at the Himalayas. Sir

Charles (illeg)/Ibbetson has been here with his daughter Laura, aged 5, and his son Frederick, aged 7, and their governess, Miss Salisbury, and their nurse, Louise Issot, a Swiss. Laura's ancles are so weak, that she is not allowed to walk about, though she can. She is going to Scarboro' to bathe. (I should not have written on pink paper, as we are in

mourning, only I thought your eyes were bad.) Miss Xtie is very well. Your affectionate niece
Florence Nightingale

To Miss Smith

at 36 Seymour Street
out of London
in England
not in Europe

Balliol, signed letter, 3ff, pen {postmarked: MA 22 1844 PAID 23 MR 23 1844;
GENEVE 28 MARS} [8:861-65]

Embley March 21 [arch: 1844]

My dearest Bee You will be surprised not to have heard from me before, as it is just ten weeks since I took up a sheet of paper to write to you, but most of those ten weeks have been spent either in bed with an attack in the chest, or recovering from the weakness thereof & I have only just been able to return home from Waverley, where Parthe & I have been for 2 months, owing to this - Marianne came home with us & is here now - I had a very nice letter from poor Czeslava the other day, in answer to one of mine. She says she "cannot really believe that Bozena is dead, it seems to her quite impossible, & that she cannot think what she shall do without her" - but that she "is very fond indeed of Miss Humble, she was so kind to Bozena." She says the last thing Bozena had read to her was The Strength of the Lonely - she was so fond of Mr Martineau's book - the sermon was her own choice & C. read it to her. I am very glad poor Czeslava was with her - She has just got another little brother. I hope we shall see a good deal of her - poor child! her loss is indeed a sad one, but Bozena, I believe, had done a long work in a short life. I never saw such an absence of personality - she scarcely seemed to (~~illeg~~)/take one moment of the day for herself - but was always occupying herself for other people's happiness. The merciful man is taken away, none considering that he is taken from the evil to come, & there would have been much that was hard in Bozena's life, but now she is with her mother. I am very sorry that Mme Ferrucci is going to leave Geneva so soon, for my sake as well as yours, my dear, as we shall be farther than ever from seeing her, when she is at Pisa. Mind you give her my tenderest love & all our loves when you see her again, & thank her for her letter very much, & tell her why I have not answered it yet - & kiss Rosa for us when you see her. x Aunt Joanna and Alfy set out for Nice the end of this

x Tell me too how Mme F. is, pray. I am afraid she is not well. She speaks of ~~you~~/la Siga Bianca with the greatest regard and says how sorry she is you are not nearer, that she might see more of you.)

month. William Nicholson is come back just the same as he went, except in colour, not the least difference in face, & just the same homey boy in himself. He is a nice fellow & is working very hard at his drawing, in case he should have to go out again, but he is so excessively unwilling to return to Australia, where he gives such an account of the disagreeable life of an officer. The society is so under par, I mean in morals, many of the officers so intemperate & the cabins in the bush so bad, that every body prefers sleeping out of doors, & many a morning he has got up coated in white frost. If one has books, one cannot sit in these dens to read them, & many of the men in Australia die of the intemperance, which these draw-backs bring them to. No wonder William did not like these people. He used to lead marches into the bush, when they were sometimes 24 hours without water, & the rush of the bullocks (they had with them in their march) when they smelt the water at last was something quite tremendous. These marches were very picturesque. He has some drawings of them, which Parthe has im-

improved upon. He is very anxious to get leave & go to the Military College at Sandhurst for 2 years. He ~~will~~/would have, as it is, to leave England again in November. He saw a good deal of Uncle Fred, with whom he was for a month, Mrs. Fred has just had another little girl. William hopes to be a Captain this summer. I was thinking that he certainly wd not have found another family of all the people we know, - (so large as ours, is too,)- where there wd have been so little alteration in 4 years. Grandmama gone - a baby born - except that, he has found us all the same, while in the Richardsons - how much differences, among the Martins -(I do not know whether you knew Mrs. Hanford) she is just dead, the third & last sister, of a broken blood vessel, & Mrs. John Martin has lost her daughter, daughter-in-law & brother in a few months. Poor Fanny Hanford is now very lonely. The Horners, I am very sorry to say, are going to leave London, as they do not like it at all, & live, they have not settled where, near Manchester. That reminds me that Lord Ashley has just carried the 10 hours bill,

as it is called, by a majority of 9 against Peel, i.e., limiting the hours of factory work, which were 12, to 10, but the Government does not ~~seem~~/mean to let drop ~~their~~/the Bill & on Friday the question will come on again. The horrors which have come out about the sufferings of women in factories have made Peel's own people vote against him. Mackworth Shore has sailed for Port Philip - he came down to Waverley to have William's information, who thinks, but did not tell him so, of course, that his chance is a bad one. Henry is to be called to the Bar in May -

The Nicholsons & we are going to town after Easter, when we hope to see your mum a good deal. We go to old quarters at the Burlington Hotel. Laura has been staying in London for 3 weeks, & went with Aunt Jane to a dinner given to O'Connell at Covent Garden - such an astounding spectacle of enthusiasm & unanimity she describes. It was of course meant for poor Ireland in his person - his speech was capital - sentence is not yet passed upon him - though his trial ended, as you know, in his being brought in guilty. Monckton Milnes has just published some poems, with one to Miss Martineau. Perhaps your mum has sent you her Life in the Sick Room, I read it while I was ill & like some of it most exceedingly - tho' I did not find what she says, true, about, how, as the material ~~man~~/strength decays, we feel more the indestructibility of the conscious part of us. On the contrary, I was obliged to ask any kind soul who came into the room, to read Channing or ~~the~~ Mr. Martineau, or something strong to me, to make *it* live on in me - But what she says is so true, that a brief instant of good swallows up long weary hours of pain - in the results & recollections ~~which~~ left upon us - the evil is gone - the good is immortal - & the dreams of ~~carrying~~ acting [?]Stoicism in our lives, which I suppose we have all had in our youth, are carried out in a different way, in our wiser days, & we come to the same conclusion as the Stoics that 'pain is no evil.' If there is one thing that I think I learn & feel as I grow older, it is this,

ye use of

failures & disappointments. I believe the light of eternity will make many strange revelations, many strange things plain to us, but more than all, will show from how many follies our troubles have kept us - that we did not know of any more than from how many deaths accident may have kept us - & we shall

look back with the greatest pleasure on the thorns, great and small, of our life. This is, I think, what is meant by faith. You will think this a letter bordering on the black, dear Bee, I did not mean it to be so. my next shall be whiter & brighter. I have been reading Airy's Gravitation, which is as beautiful in its way as a Raphael or a poem & it gives such a clear account of what always appeared one of the greatest difficulties in the theory of elliptic revolution, viz., how the planet ever gets round the corner, i.e., why when it has approached most nearly to the sun, it does not rush into it, but on the contrary begins then to recede from it again, & so continually retraces the same orbit. I hope you have read the Töchter des Präsidenten. I know you were reading Das Haus. I like this better, particularly the theory of a pre-existence in it, which is as old however as Plato. The accounts from Nice are good, though Fan is still far from strong, yet she is better. Miss Rankin is not at all well. Aunt Joanna, who is now at Combe, talks of their returning to England in July. but she ~~was well~~ ~~before~~ ~~that~~. Miss Johnson is much altered by her long & harassing attendance on Mrs. Hanford, whom she nursed for 2 months, & though she takes her death

beautifully, yet she evidently feels the reaction much - Yet so little ~~did~~ does she think ~~of~~ herself that tho' just come from one sick bed, she was so kind to me, & used to read to me by the hour. Channing's Sermons, wh. I like so much, the Great Purpose of Xtianity & the Evil of Sin particularly, wh. I dare say you know. Aunt Hannah too, as we call Miss Nicholson, who I think is one of the most perfect of human beings, was so kind to me. She is here now, & she has still the ~~little~~ pen wiper, or some little form-less thing you gave her, when you were I should think a *half* at Ham, desiring her to keep it - I should like to hear what you are reading about German news she looks ~~at~~ ~~with~~ ~~her~~ ~~eyes~~ ~~in~~ ~~good~~ ~~spirits~~ - & what she talks about most. There is a continuation of P. Schlesmihl [?] now, but not nearly so good as ~~that~~ part. I had two long letters from Aunt Ju while I was ill, giving a long account of the schools of Schelling & Hegel. Mrs. Wm Marshall is in London, very unwell, I am afraid. The queen is going to add another royal scion to the three cradles

already in being. She is going to take a house at Cowes for the sake of the sea - wh. P. Albert has been down to look at - Helen's little Hope flourishes & is not the least shy. She came down to Waverley while I was ill, I mean Helen did, but I cd not see her, except for a moment. Parthe has been giving William drawing lessons - to his great improvement. All here send you their best love, with dearest Bee, that of your ever true & affectionate, Flo

{written upside down on the second f}

Mama has been terribly engaged with the Scarlet Fever in the ~~part~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~house~~ ~~she~~ ~~lost~~ ~~4~~ children out of 6. Jem is dead - but it ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~so~~ ~~awful~~ ~~as~~ ~~it~~ ~~used~~ ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~but~~ ~~it~~ ~~makes~~ ~~my~~ ~~hand~~ ~~tremble~~ ~~and~~ ~~difficult~~ ~~to~~ ~~read~~.

{written on the top of the first f}

We shall spend more of the summer here this year than usual, wh. I am glad, as
the Agricultural Meeting keeps us, which takes place
at Southampton at the end of July.

{in the middle of the last f}

A Mademoiselle *Post Paid*

- 5

- 5

- 10

Mlle Blanche Smith

chez Mlle Fernier

Malgnan

près Genève

Switzerland

Balliol, signed letter, 2ff, pen lot 302 [8:865]

Embley - June 18

My dearest I send you
an old Turkish thing,
which I picked up in
Bohemia, though, if it
were not for the sentiment
of the thing, I had much
better send you two=
=six. This, however, has the
advantage of being peculiar,
that, you will say, perhaps
would be still more so -

I had some converse
with Mr. C. on the subject
of America - I ended by
offering to write for more
information from Dr.

Howe & others - He seemed
agreeable, but just before
he went, he said, Do not,
till you have heard from

me - I will let you know."

I have not yet heard
from him - But I only
wait for that to write
to Dr. Howe - Information
would not compromise
him - And I did not
quite understand whether
that waiting was, in order
that he might make up
his mind between the
Eastern & Western states,
about which ~~he~~/we had some
talk - or between Canada
& the States - or at all.
I don't see how he can,
however, make up his
mind, without information.

God bless you, my dearest,
on this your twenty fourth
birthday. Indeed I believe
He has blessed you (more
than on your last)- so
I shall be satisfied -
& look forward to doing
anything which you may
desire in the way of
collecting information &c.

I hope that you will
receive a long letter
from him & from me
only the affectionate love
of your faithful old
Flo-

Balliol, signed letter, 2ff, pen lot 305 [arch: Sept 57 re *Notes affecting the Health Efficiency & Administration of the British Army*]

Dear Mr. Clough

I return all the
Revises I have (5) I have
adopted your corrections
(I have not been able
to go on with the Proofs).
I am afraid I must
trouble you to send the
Reg-G's Diagrams, & any
letters arrived for me -
Also, might I trouble
you to send some one
(at your leisure) to

claim the packet at
49 Belgrave Sq as
per enclosed.

I cannot tell you
how much I feel,
more than it is any
use to say, all the
trouble you take for
me!

I believe Aunt
Mai is coming down
here (perhaps on
Monday) I wish
you would say to her -

not on Monday, if Shore
be still at Embley.
When she comes, would
you send by her the
Parly Papers & any
other parcels you
mention as being for
me at the Burlington?

ever gratefully yrs

F. Nightingale

Sept 11/57

Balliol, incomplete, initialed letter, 2ff, lot 305/13 **[8:867]**

Please tell Blanche
her daughter dined &
slept here on Friday.
She was friendly but
not confidential -
She did not like
Dr. Sutherland at
all - whose
unexpected return
on Saturday quite
disgusted her -

I like her best in
her little flannel
shawl, when I
approve of her very

much - She looks
like the little
Infant Samuel -
Next best in her
splendid red
uniform - when
she looks like
the "gallant 88th."
But I don't approve
of her full dress,
at all.

Yours ever gratefully

F.N.

Lothian is at home at
Waverley & has written to
say he means to call here.
He writes himself and very legibly.

Balliolo, signed letter, 2ff, pen lot 308 [or 309?] **[1:554]**

32 South Street, {printed address:}
Grosvenor Square. W. [arch 1861]

{a Twice I have "desired
with desire" to eat this
Sacrament with you;
but did not like to
press it - and I now
learn that you would
not have liked to have
been asked. But let
not my dear Blanche
suppose that, because
I have been silent, I
have not felt, always
as now, deeply now
as ever, at every
waking hour, night
& day, the greatness

of her loss - & how
immeasurably greater
hers than anyone's.
How well he loved you,
who knew better
than I? Indeed I
know no husband's
love greater than his.
What he was, I knew,
& therefore what
his love must have
been. For the greater
the soul, the greater
the love. You have
been like Mary at
the foot of the Cross.

But more than his
memory, himself is
still with you. To
have been once his
is to be always his.
And as Mary was
called the Blessed,
should not you be
called the Blessed?
Nevertheless the loss
is bitter, deep and
wringing. But you
have his children.

This letter calls for
no reply.

God bless you.

ever yours & his

Flo.

Balliol, incomplete, unsigned letter, 2ff, pen lot 306 [1:503]

Upper Terrace

Hampstead

Sept 1/60

Dearest The little
chaps arrived yesterday
as you know -

"It" came in in its
flannel coat to see
me -

No one had ever
prepared me for ~~this~~
its royalty.

It sat quite
upright. but would
not say a word,
good or bad. The

cats jumped up upon
it. It put out its
hand with a
kind of gracious
dignity & caressed
them, as if they
were presenting
Addresses, ~~or~~ and
they responded in
a humble, grateful
way, quite cowed by
infant majesty.

Then it put out
its little bare cold
feet for me to warm

I washed the cats before it
came -

which when I did,
it smiled.

In about twenty
minutes, it waved
its hand to go away,
still without
speaking a word.

I think it is
the most beautifully
organized little
piece of humanity
I ever saw - And
I think you will
get your pension
from Government.

They passed a good
night & have been
out on the heath
this fine morning -
I think they have brought fine weather -

Fanny Keene is
quite impressed
with the necessity
of feeding them -
I believe she will
kill beef every day
& keeps a herd of
cows in the ~~tillage~~/garden.
She is always baking
- seed cake for the
F. M.

"It," Prince Arthur,

Balliol, signed letter, 2ff, pen lot 305

Dear Mr. Clough

I heard from Mr.
Herbert & Mrs. Sutherland
on Saturday that Topsy
was to go to Wilton on
that day. I wanted
to advise you of this
per coach, but your
"mama=in=law", who
is grown quite unfeeling
& unmanageable, said
that the walk would
do you good - Topsy's
absence will do the

Proof no harm, as it
is small use his
looking at them till
I have seen them -

I send

Preface to Section III
with an explanatory
note at top. Messrs
Harrison *have* the
Revise you sent me,
re-corrected by me -
And ~~it is~~/the corrections are *not*
worked into this.

Appendix to Section XI
with another Table
to insert

Note to P. 170

Appendix to XIV
which two last I
suppose may go to
Press -
ever gratefully yours
F. Nightingale

Jan 11/58

Balliol, signed letter, 2ff, pen lot 305/3

Gt Malvern

Jan 25/58

This come for sense, for
commas, & arrangement
& for Headings -

It has been corrected
by me & the Tables
checked & your
corrections copied in
to the first sheet -

Sutherland has
corrected Prefaces to
Sections I & III &
Appendices I & II to Section I
& sent them to

Harrison's - I marked
them all "Revise", &
they must, please,
return to me for
correction.

How does the Princess?

~~They~~/Mr. Farr says she
-inders all business-

ever yours gratefully

F. Nightingale

Balliol, signed letter, 2ff, pen lot 305/4

Gt Malvern

Jan 29/58

Dear Mr. Clough

I may say quite
certainly that I shall
not come up before
Wednesday - But again,
I am so uncertain
that I ~~illeg~~/sometimes think
myself it ~~might~~/MAY not be
before Monday - I
wish that you would
not take the trouble
in this uncertainty,

to come down for me -

Dr. Johnson says
that, without there
being any *necessity*,
he would recommend
me to have all the
things you so thought=
=fully provided for
last time - I am sorry.

I sent at the
beginning of the week
to Harrison's (thinking
you were over busy)

some "new matter"
about the Nurses,
to come in to the
"Private & Confidential",
& all the Sutherland
Abstracts were sent
corrected - I asked
Harrison to send
them me back
straight - "But not
a bit of Dan'nel
have I touched."
The more fool you,
you will say, to
think you could do

without me - If
Harrison does not
get it done before
Parlt meets, I think
it will never be done -
ever yours gratefully

F. Nightingale

Mr. Herbert tells me
he is to be out of town
for a ~~few~~ "day or two" next
week - I presume to
be in at the meeting
of Parlt.

Balliol, signed letter, 2ff, pen lot 305 {not in FN hand, but signed by her}
305/6

Great Malvern

Monday night

Jany 10th/59

Dear Mr. Clough,

I wrote to Miss Martineau

much in the sense ~~in the sense~~

~~in~~/on which we agreed. Here is

her answer, Please write your

opinion upon it to me & forward

the letter to Sutherland

41. Finchley New Road

to whom I will write.

1. I think the offer a valuable one.
2. I would look over the sheets as she proposes.
3. I don't see, with proviso 2., much objection to her using my report. The substance of it is all in my published evidence, & no one will

take the trouble to see what is in it, & what is not

4. But am I to be Mr. Atkinson?

I really can't -

"Our joint names" - it is

impossible. If the Times

puts in that John Stuart Mill

is a disciple of Comte, I

shall be put in as an Apostle

of H. Martineau. What will

the Commander in Chief say?

& Mr. Alexander? if he has

ever heard of H. Martineau?

What is the regimental punishment

for it?

If she must mention me

at all in the preface

could not she mention

merely my published evidence?

Please answer as soon as possible, & send it on to Dr. Sutherland as soon as possible.

Yours ever

F. Nightingale.

Balliol, signed letter, 1f, pen lot 305/7 {not in FN hand, but signed by her}

Jany 16th/59

Great Malvern

Dear Mr. Clough,

H. says that she has "adhered to "your" instructions "& even kept within them "in every respect" & asks you "to look at the enclosed "production & see whether "it contains any hidden "snare.

Michelet says of

"himself: - "Le public n'avait "jamais vu d'homme aussi "ignorant" - In literary "political matters I am "worse than seven idiots."

Do you think you would be so good as to send her i.e. H.M the Report of the Royal Sanitary Commission by post.

The only parts I want her to read are the Report itself, my Evidence & the Diagrams paper Could you indicate this in the copy?

Yours ever truly

F. Nightingale

Balliol signed letter, 1f, pen lot 305/8 {not in FN hand, but signed by her}

Great Malvern

[16:74]

Jany 28th/59

Dear Mr. Clough,

Do you think that you
wd be so good as to send
"the old plans, with
"Sutherland's insertions"
to Dr. Sutherland

41 Finchley New Road

NW

the day you receive this
if possible.

There are a
few odd mistakes in
the proofs you were so
good as to send me
& I am sending them

to him. He will correct
them better if he has
the old ones.

The "successful crystal
poetess" told me she
was anxious to have the
volume of transactions out
by the end of this month
& I am anxious not to
be the one to delay it.

[end]

ever your gratefully

F. Nightingale

Balliol, signed letter, 1f, pen lot 305/9 {not in FN hand, but signed by her}

Great Malvern

Jany 31st/59

Dear Mr. Clough,

How could I be so weak
as to take in the Daily News!
"Il ne m'est pas indifférent
"de savoir - even in two columns
that the Earl of Ripon is dead
"Mais il m'est désagréable
"au possible to run the risk
de ne pas savoir, till two
days after the fair, that
Sir Henry Storcks is going to
the Seven Islands to make
room I daresay for some
dreadful Wetherale, so
please substitute the Times

for the Daily News forthwith,
for plusquam sufficient for
the day is the evil thereof,
& please tell me who
is talked of as Sir H.'s
successor.

ever yours most truly

F. Nightingale

Balliol, signed letter, 2ff, pen lot 305/10 {not in FN hand, but signed by her}

Great Malvern

Feb 6th/59

Dear Mr. Clough,

I enclose Harrisons bill
for which I have been humbly
soliciting for two months.
It is, as you will see,
£523..16..6

I hope you will not
think this a horrible sum
I expected £500 - - at least
it is a horrible sum, but
believe me, it was quite
worth the while.

It kept the whole thing in
my head which none of the
other commissioners either

did or attempted to do, & as
Chief Justice Maule said
that he was drinking beer
to bring his intellects down
to the level of the other judges
so if my memory has only
been brought down by illness
to the level of the other
Commissioners, it is to this
thing I owe it, & I am sure
if I could give some of
them a memory for £500
I would most cheerfully
lay out that sum.

So if Uncle Sam will

be good enough to pay it as soon as he conveniently can I am willing & I have written to Harrison to tell him so.

I enclose the bill, perhaps you will return it to me.

Thank you very much for going to Topsy. I had meant to come to town on Thursday before which day Mr. Herbert will not be there, but Dr. Johnson thinks me so incompetent that I think

it perhaps is hardly worth while, & if I make up my mind to this it may very likely be Thursday fortnight before I come but I shall certainly try to be in town as soon as they return from their Northern Inspections be that Monday or Thursday fortnight.

Do you happen to know whether for the first three weeks of Parliament, questions which concern us are likely to turn up?

ever yours F. Nightingale

Balliol, signed letter, 1f, pen lot 305/11

May 2/59

Dear Mr. Clough

That savage newsman,
who has combined with
my enemies to
murder me did not
send the "Examiner",
the only paper which
always agrees with me,
yesterday. Perhaps
Uncle Sam would
set him right.

Also, perhaps
Uncle Sam would,

at his convenience,
pay £25 in to
Glyn's (for me) to the
money which is lying
there.

yours ever gratefully
F. Nightingale

Balliol, initialed letter, 2ff, pen lot 305/12

[12:124]

Hampstead NW

Dec 15/59

Dear Mr. Clough

I don't want ~~you~~ to
see you at all.

Sutherland is very
strenuous for substituting
Jebb's name for
Liddell's on the
"Executive". Perhaps
he may be right.
The M.D.s certainly
must too strong -
And Jebb has created
in my opinion the

most efficient organiza=
tion in the kingdom,
supposing his object
to be right - In nothing
I think more efficient
than in this: He has
fought a successful
battle to get salaries
for his Matrons which
have secured a far
higher class of women
than are to be found
in any English
Institution = [I believe
his Matrons are the

highest paid female
functionaries in the
world - *except Queens & Actresses* How much
better a way to Miss
Parker's end is this
than what she is
doing!]

However, I do think
you want more
Common Sense &
less Medical Sense
on your "Executive".

[end 12:124]

yours ever
F.N.

Balliol, initialed letter, 1f, pen 305/14

Please, Mr. Clough,
come tomorrow to
breakfast at 1/4
before 9. And if
Mrs. Clough will
come too, so much
the better. A great
lot of people have
offered themselves.
But the best of
them, Quetelet,

who has offered
himself too, &
the only one I
wanted you *much*
to see, I hardly
expect, because
of his health.
I am afraid most will
be English.

F.N.

July 17/60

Balliol, initialed letter, 3ff, pen 305/15

Upper Terrace Hampstead
Sept 3/60

Dear Mr. Clough

I vowed I would not
write. But I shall.

I am afraid you would
have no chance of getting a letter
I wrote to you (about Sir J. McNeill's
unfortunate journey to the W. of
Scotland) before you left Foyston.
I therefore enclose his letter,
which pray return to me -

I am sure he will be
really disappointed if you cannot
manage to stay with him on

your return.

I hear that you intend being in London on Oct 1, merely on account of the Nurses.

[12:149]

I think this is very unnecessary.

Mr Bowman must be in town ~~on that day~~/then. [Because all Medical Sessions begin on that day.] He & I might transact the business, if you will tell me just what it is - And he would gladly go to St. Thomas' & do it. And I would gladly ask him.

Or Col: Jebb -

Or I would do it with Mrs. Wardroper or Mr. Whitfield, as the case might make you think it best - either of whom would gladly come here -

Or I could confront the great Baggallay himself, who, as I got him an interview with Pr. Albert, might be induced to patronize me so far as to call upon me

Think of this.

Or I might send Harry Carter to St. Thomas', with instructions -

As for the Character books, I could look them over with Mrs. Wardroper, perhaps with a little more effect than even you - no disrespect ~~is~~ here implied.

ever yours

F.N.

[end 12:149]

Balliol, signed letter, 2ff, pen lot 305/5 {not in FN hand but signed by her}

Malvern Jany 2nd [arch: c.1859]

Dear Mr Clough

Do you think John
Stuart Mill wd do for
the Indian Sanitary Commission,
as a Commissioner?

I suppose it wd be infra his
dig. to ask him to be
Secretary.

~~No-2~~ I make this enquiry
quite privately & am not
authorized.

2. Do you think you wd
call on Miss Craig,

No. 3 Waterloo Place
& tell her that the Revise

is come without the thing
~~to be revised~~/from which to revise (I suppose
Mr. Hastings done it), & as
the new part was almost
all figures, I can do
nothing till I have the
old proof with its MSS
insertions.

3. So Mrs. Dr. Blackwell [8:25]
comes on the 3rd - I am
rather stumped. I don't
feel as if I shd be able
to see her here, this month,
& after Session business
has begun, there will not

be a chance for me.

Do you think you could
see her & explain my idea?
You must put forward the
Sanitary lectures I propose
& the Matronship rather in
the background, for it
to meet with her attention
at all; but I feel very
doubtful about it even
if she were to accept,
for to have the details of
installment, brought to me
to settle, wd quite unfit
me for other business,
& they wd not be well

done themselves.

4. I don't think my state at all owing to the journey or to the cold. I am always so struck with the unutterable stupidity of patients, nurses, doctors & friends, about this.

There must be a beginning to every end, which is generally determined by a long course of antecedents weeks before, but is invariably attributed by all the above four to something which happened the day before.

yours ever gratefully

F. Nightingale

Balliol College, Mallet Collection; some earlier drafts in 45779

Mallet, signed letter

Private { *Irrigation* }
 & *Confidential* { *Finance Accounts* } 35 South St.
 Park Lane W.
 Oct 27/75

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I throw myself on your forgiveness & your indulgence.
 I have never thanked you for your most
 valuable letter of Oct 9 because I have been
 watching anxiously for the promised communication
 (tho' knowing how more than fully occupied you
 are) - which you so kindly said was to
 follow.

Yesterday I received from Lord Salisbury a
 quantity of "budget" papers, "Revenue Reports" &c &c

(upon some of which I see your Minutes & your
 Initials) with a letter in which he says
 that he send me "the materials" he "possesses" n
 "the shape of an *Irrigation account*" & "the best
 "summary of accounts we at present possess."

Not one word about the enquiry which he
 had himself admitted the necessity of!

The best that can be said of these voluminous
 papers is: that they are "*Irrigation Accounts*"
because they are not- & that nothing
 more was wanted to prove what you say
 that "it is hopeless to do much by ordinary
 "machinery" & that "the matter should be
 "made the subject of a special enquiry
 "with distinct instructions from home."

As Lord Salisbury is away, -
 =as, above all, I am equally unable & unwilling
 to take any step with him in the matter without
 you, & as I believe there is not time to be lost,
Might I ask you what is doing, if anything,
 in the direction of *such a Enquiry* as you propose.

And would it be something very outrageous

if I were to ask you to let me send you
 my *reply to Lord Salisbury to examine* & forward to
 him, or to put in the fire, as you think
 best? {here it is that I want your indulgence`` }
 {in asking you to "minute," who have "minuting" enough}
 {already.

I will not trouble you with another word until
 I know what you wish & am

dear Sir Louis Mallet
 ever your faithful servt
 Florence Nightingale

Mallet, unsigned letter, 3ff, pen, see draft March 9 45779 f156

Land & Water Schedules } 35 South St.

Mr. Prinsep } Park Lane W.

Private March 11/78

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I thank you with all my heart
 for your kind note of March 1, saying that
 "every facility shall be given for" our
 "enquiry":

I have waited to thank you, till I could
 submit to you one tabulated blank Form
 (enclosed) - printed to save you trouble
 - which, if it could be filled in with figures
 according to the Instructions printed on it,
 would give much of the information needed
 to proceed further.

There are 4 separate Schedules (for
 each Province): As is explained in 'Note
 on Column of Remarks' at the back, Schedule
A is for Districts chiefly watered by *wells*:
B " " abounding in *Tank* Irrigation:
C " " protected by *private* Canals:
D " " protected by *State* Canals:
 (the large & costly new Canals
 constructed by British Govt)

The Form is the same for each: the Column of

Remarks is to be filled in differently for **A,B,C,D**.

according to the Instruction

To you the Form will probably carry on its face what is wanted so that the figures can be used *authoritatively*:

I would gladly write any amount of explanation: only fearing "to make things darker
"which were dark enough before."

Or Mr. Prinsep would gladly wait again upon you: if desired, to explain.

I own I was grievously disappointed that the more general & comprehensive set of questions more suitable to all India -
- submitted to Lord Salisbury & to yourself two years ago - could not be answered, at least in some degree:

The present Form is less comprehensive - dealing more with a particular scheme: but it has the advantage that it can be filled in at the I. O., if not entirely, with

few exceptions:

that it can be filled in with figures,
- even including the column of remarks - & that it can be completed by a descriptive sketch map for each Province - for which an Instruction (at the back) is also given.

This would show the opening for new Irrigation works of every description which can be taken advantage of.

If you will be so very good as to correct or alter the Form submitted - supposing that you approve it in any way - and if you will kindly return it to me for a printed Revision - I would then ask your permission to send the Forms printed - viz. a set of four Schedules **A,B,C,D**, for each Province - to the I. O., so that the classification may be made there according to the printed Instructions.

Mallet, signed letter, 3ff, pen, see draft May 29/78 45779 f164

35 South St.

Park Lane W

May 30/78

My dear Sir Louis Mallet

I have not written to thank you for your very kind note telling me that Mr. Prinsep's brother, the 'Statistical adviser', is working at the Tables on the lines of the Forms which I suggested & that a good deal of the information desired will be put together on a connected form.

Your labour will not be in vain [10:810-11]

It is rather because I think too much of it than too little that I have not written.

I think so much of the great future that you will see even yet to your work & labour of love for India.

You will live not to break but to enlighten our enemies' heads.

But England is not interested: now you *must* have England at your back to drive Secretaries of State & Governors-General & India Councils forwards. And you must interest England in the light & not in the darkness. Who can do this but you?

Pray have a School of Prophets: in these

days of course prophets are young reviewers
& article writers. Pray light their fires
about India.

Certainly Cobden did light a fire in the world
which has never been put out.

Is it possible that any subject could be more
heart stirring - a subject which in your hands
might stir all England - than the whole
question of the land tenures of India:
the modes of living or ~~of~~ dying of these
incomprehensible peoples: never doing
what we expect but incomprehensible
only because we do not take the trouble
to comprehend :

with virtues of thrift & endurance &
heroism & industry far beyond any
we Westerns can boast of: & yet the poorest of
peoples with powers of progress: I will back
some agricultural populations of India
against some agricultural populations of
England any day for capacity of learning
improved methods. And yet the most indebted
& enslaved of peoples.

Just as you think yourself altogether disappointed,

you will find that you have roused all
 England to do the right for India, & India
 to do the right for herself

Tho' not in the least of a prophet, India's day
 is coming I think : Please God we only
 have peace.

An old friend of mine who knew more about the
 East & its religions than any man, Mr. Mohl,
 (he is dead) believed that Mohammedanism
 was decaying & dying out notwithstanding
 its 200 millions: he said it is only
 alive at its extremities, see the Wahabees:
 at its heart it is almost extinct. That is
 the way religions die out, he said.

India's star may be rising now. but you
 must make it rise -

India is more hopeful in its poverty than
 some great towns of England with their high
 wages. I subjoin a true sketch) which I [end 10:811]
 do not expect you to read.)

Pray believe me
 ever yours faithfully & gratefully
 Florence Nightingale

Mallet, signed letter, 2ff, pen

35 South St.
 Park Lane W.

Private June 11/78

My dear Sir Louis Mallet

I cannot thank you enough for your
 letter on the prevalence of intoxication
 among us as affected by our fiscal system,
 tho' it leaves a hideous prospect

2. You kindly ask me whether you ever
 lent me "some confidential minutes on this
 "subject" (*Land Tenure*) "about *Madras*" by
 yourself & others -

I have a Minute by you, dated Feb 3/75,

on "Survey Settlement, Madras", with others
 Minutes on the same subject by others
 appended to it.

I need hardly say that I should gratefully
 welcome anything you would be so
 very good as to send me. The matter interests
 me beyond measure -

Pray believe me
 ever your faithful servt
 Florence Nightingale

Mallet, signed letter, 1f, pen

35 South St.
 Park Lane W.
 June 13/78

{in another hand: sent 13/6/78}

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I come to ask a favour: but as it is a
 favour which had been granted me before by
 Lord George Hamilton, I hope that it is
 not intruding upon your very great kindness.

Would you desire the

[10:143]

Report on the Commission on the Deccan Riots
 to be sent to me? i.e. a copy on loan:

I have now 10-12 "Administration" & Provincial
 Reports of late date sent me a month or two ago with a letter signed by Lord G.
 Hamilton

for information on }

the "indebtedness" } Pray believe me ever yours gratefully
 subject: } **[end 10:143]** Florence Nightingale

Mallet, signed letter, 2ff, pen
35 South St.
Park Lane W.
July 15/78

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I am never weary, it seems, of troubling
you: & you are never weary, I hope, of
doing me good.

Could you be so very kind as to lend
me all the Appendices, but particularly
Appendix C., of the Deccan Riots
Commission?

Appendix A, which, with the Report,
you were good enough to lend me, is

like the Report intensely interesting.

Pray excuse my troubling you
& believe me
ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

Mallet, signed letter, 10ff, pen, see draft Aug 3/8 4579 f166

35 South St.

Park Lane W.

Aug 5/78

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

May I venture to hope that I was **[10:623-26]**
fulfilling your own wish in having done
my little utmost to draw people's attention
to the Deccan Riots' Report?

The thought that I was doing what you
considered right comforted me in wading
thro' this terrible subject.

I have ventured to send you my poor
little Article in the 'XIX Century' - of which
your kindness is indeed the father.

And this above all, strikes me:

1. *can* there be any private enterprise in
trade or commerce, manufactures or industries
where to *money-lending* are guaranteed by
our own Courts profits which no healthy
enterprise can approach?

I remember your saying that till private
capital embarks in India in public works

&c

as in England you look upon India's economic state as almost hopeless - But is not this tying-up of private capital in usurious money-lending - money lending too which makes the borrowers beggars instead of honest traders or manufacturers - one of the main causes that there *is* little or no private enterprise in India?

[This has been pointed out to me even by native Indian gentlemen.]

It seems the most terrible part of the whole terrible business: viz. that it *is* "hopeless", *if* nothing can be done to modify *by law* a state of things so greatly encouraged if not produced *by law* - & by our 'Settlement' - a state of things where the largest money-lenders & also land accumulators are the worst landlords & the biggest villains - forgers, thieves on as large a scale as they are

money-lenders, as shown by official Report living in open defiance of our law - our law, which crushes the poor borrowers only : these borrowers, who, not like English people manufacturing or farming on borrowed money, are ousted from house & home, made paupers & even slaves: as also shown by official Report.

2. *What is to be done?*

Your kindness has put me on this tack:

- will not your kindness & great Economic wisdom & experience point out the remedies, whether public (legal) such as { *Registration of debts or bonds*
 { *Pawnbrokers' Acts:*

Acts limiting the rate of Interest

or private remedies?

such as Municipal Loan Funds: ~~or~~

or private Associations for *Monts de Piété*:

or combinations of native gentlemen in a

kind of *Co-operative Bank*?

In England, I suppose, any interest that has been "agreed on " by the borrower can be recovered: But the unhappy Deccan borrower

can scarcely be said in any reasonable sense to make an "agreement" with *his* creditor.

The wants of India are so very different from those of England, as we all know.

Government has to do so much which in England is done by Education, & the public opinion resulting from Education, - by private enterprise & private benevolence.

In India the people suffer immeasurably more than English Press or Parliament ever dreams of not only from what Government does but still more from what it does not do. In India has not the Government to take upon itself many functions which in Europe fall to those qualities or institutions which India has not & will not have for generations?

3. Do you think [I believe that the idea of Monts de Piété conducted by *Government* has been given up:] do you think that a private Association, supported by British capital,

-2-

for establishing Monts de Piété in each large village - selecting one district at first - taking pledges such as the women's silver ornaments - & interest to cover working expences & five $\frac{a}{s}$ /say 5 per cent to share holders - might be feasible?

- b. Or could Municipalities ~~of~~/in India start Monts de Piété, as in France - where not only they do immense good, I believe, to the people but actually remunerate the Municipalities well?
- c. Or could not the Government loans be exceedingly facilitated & made more extensively acceptable?

People in Madras think that if it were once thoroughly understood *why* the ryot refuses Government loans at low interest, & prefers paying ~~the~~/his money-lender exorbitant rates, the difficulty would soon be overcome *

~~but that the~~

- d. And could not forgery of documents be widely prevented by an Act that all debts & bonds should be registered before they can be enforced by law?

* but that those *officials* who would rather know & benefit the ryots under them than please those over them do not as a rule rise high in office.

4. Could there be an Act limiting the rate of Usury recoverable by law?

Practically such a law is, I believe, in force at this moment in Oude. When we take a Talookdar Estate (in a case of accumulated debt) under Govt management, we do not allow more than 6 per cent to the creditors, altho' the original loan has always been contracted at 24 per cent & often at 60 per cent. And indeed in cases where the money-lender has already realized more than double the principal in interest, we sometimes allow no interest at all.

It seems very helpless to find it possible to make such a law for ourselves & impossible to make it for these wretched Deccan debtors.

The rates of interest recoverable by law are, I believe, limited in Bengal & Madras.

The Usury laws were, I suppose, done away with in England as useless:

This is very likely right in a country like England: but not in India.

Because India is so different from England therefore, we say, we will give the laws & institutions of England to India.

Sir Salar Jung has made a law, now in force, in Hyderabad that any Arab Jamadar (I understand) 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 Arab usury in Hyderabad. [The Jamadars used to lend money at enormous interest, - on default of payment used to double & treble the interest, - & enforce its payment by taking possession of person & property of their debtors, just as the Deccan Marwaris do.]

So arbitrary a measure as Sir Salar Jung's would not be possible or even desirable, were it possible in our parts of India: of course - And the Arab Jamadars are servants of the state (Hyderabad) & can be dealt with arbitrarily.

But is it impossible to find some Act

as a remedy? The great evil seems to be the enforcement of claims in an English Court.

Native gentlemen have written to me, asking that "in the present state of our society, where

"little or nothing can be expected from "private beneficence", there should be some "Act of the Legislature":

either "an Enactment to the effect that, unless "the interest was within a certain limit fixed "by law, no action should lie" -

or, more practically, "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": (as is actually the law, *for our own benefit*, in Oude.)

5. You will have seen the *Bill* before the Legislative Council at Simla for the "relief" of the *Deccan debtor*.

How thankful I should be if you thought it satisfactory! [To judge by the mere Abstract in the 'Times', it might almost as well be called a Bill for the relief of the *creditor*.]

-3-

I feel that no excuse ought to avail me for so troubling you: but your own kindness.

Thank you for telling me about the Article in the 'Pall Mall Gazette' of July 25.

I have sent twice to the newsman for it: but it has not come yet: When it does, may I ~~reply~~ write to you again? - I am almost glad to have a reason for doing so -

I am now asking a great favour: The reason why the Deccan Riots Report tells so much more than reports in general with an ignorant or indifferent public is that it gives individual facts about individual ryots with name & place -

- Could you be so very kind as to give me ~~names~~/titles of reports that do the same
- e.g. as to (1.) *Land* assessment: or Land Tenures
 (2) condition of Ryots under the Zemindari Tenure:
 (3) Methods of Agriculture: working of 'Takavi'.
 (4). Municipalities: { Methods of Representation
 { in giving the people a voice to
 { tax themselves;
- (5) Reports as to daily food & habits of people

&c &c &c

The India Office must have untold treasures in this respect.

[end 10:626]

I can only apologize by *leaving off*.
 & pray forgive your ever faithful
 & grateful servt
 Florence Nightingale

Mallet, signed letter, 10ff, pen, see draft 45779 f170

Article XIX Century Address [9:911-15]

Private 35 South St.

& Confidential Park Lane W.

Aug 10/78

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I cannot thank you enough for your most kind letter.

But the first thing is: to try to answer your question, - so that all should be at least honestly trying to get at some kind of truth & measure as to the loss in the recent Famine.

Your question is: whence come my "figures" "about the *deaths* from the recent Famine." The "Papers from the Govt of India" speak only of "registered" Deaths. And you say: "we cannot make up more than about 1,300,000 including Mysore."

Now the "Famine Commissioner" in Mysore alone reports "a decrease in population of 1,250,000"- (scarcely less than the "1,300,000")
-dealing with such enormous numbers, alas! -

My unlucky paper gives "our loss in one year's famine" - (not "*Deaths* FROM famine" still less "Registered Deaths" from famine" - the probable decrease of population - disappearance of population - " in southern India, that is, in Mysore, Bombay & Madras" -

And/Also: in the previous sentence "We have *lost* "in our year" "out of the 20 millions more especially under the famine scourge in Madras Presy" - meaning *not* the "Deaths from Famine" but the disappearance (*loss*) of population - what the "Famine Commissioner" means when he "reports that the results of the partial census" " show a *decrease in population of*"

Or, as Army returns say " a *loss of* - - - -
- meaning killed, wounded & *missing*.

2. The only contradiction or explanation of my figures which reached me (& did not reach me till after my paper was out) is this:

"At one period there were 200 000 famine refugees in Madras. This would raise the population to say 600 000. Taken over the year 1876-7 the total Deaths on this number were 25 000. In 1875-6 the Deaths on the normal population were 14,415 - so that the famine added 10 585 deaths out of

"200 000 refugees." "These 200,000 people all came from deserted villages, & would be counted as Deaths there, while only 10,585 of them died."

Had this reached me in time, I should have put it in - But it explains so very small (comparatively) a number. And there are not so many 'Madras Cities.'

The same authority says: "we have no reliable information about famine *mortality*, except for Madras City." "We cannot get the Total Mortality without a Census."

3. As to "registered" deaths, how many were not registered?

in the deserted villages, in the ditches, by the road-sides, among wanderers into wild places in search of food, deserted children & old people especially - were the dead bodies or the missing "registered", counted or even found?

Officially, or unofficially, has ~~an~~/it been doubted that those who were *not* may be guessed at but never known?

Would not the only way be to take a complete Census & compare it with the estimated population from the last Census?

4. Would not the "decrease }
 disappearance } of population"
 i.e. (population unaccounted for)
 as resulting from a Census, general or partial,
 include Deaths from Famine
 Cholera, Small pox & Fever,
 (indirect consequences of Famine)
 decrease of Births
 migration &c -
5. Has the *Bombay* Government always declined
 & does it decline still
 giving any estimate of its Famine Mortality -
6. The Viceroy in Council is said to have stated
 "that the papers now before the Govt of India
 "do *not* furnish means for forming a correct
 "estimate of the famine mortality in Southern
 "India during 1876-8."
 And he is quite right.
7. The "figures" in my 'paper' were "taken" from
 those I saw of the "Trial Census operations" on
 March 14 in Madras Presy."
 Among those I saw were few beyond those I gave.

-2-

[Salem was counted as to its entire population in order to correct error from migration.]

The estimate of "LOSS," (NOT "Deaths") "in one year's famine," (not FROM Famine) "out of the 20 millions more especially under the famine scourge "in Madras Presy" - - - and, again, "in Mysore, "Bombay & Madras, was appended to this letter.*

Your estimate of "1,300,000" - which may God grant is the correct one - is it of "registered Deaths"? - and is it of *Bombay, Madras & Mysore?*

I regret more than I can say that I have not been more explicit in my paper as to what "loss" means: i.e. population *unaccounted for* - population *disappeared: missing:* & have left out the words "*probably*": "*perhaps*." -

And in the first part of the Paragraph I have left words in which I cannot justify to myself:

* I have sought to point out possible sources of error & discrepancy rather than to justify myself.

N.B. The "Papers" give the "registered Deaths" - (how can *all* deaths from Famine in a country like India be registered? & how can they know ~~those~~/the Deaths among the migrations? -) over a population of 13,765,165 in Madras Presy Mine gives the probable loss over a population of 20 millions which takes in migration.

but it is *not these* figures which you question.

e.g. "deaths from Famine" - "have died" ~~& have~~
instead of "were gone", (as I did put in one place) or *have disappeared*.

~~left out words — words which, had I seen
the last second revise (which I did not) I should have corrected
words which, had I known what I do now, I should~~

have modified thus. The alteration of *five words would
have done it.* & made it absolutely correct.

~~But~~ I waited *2 months* for some contradiction -
& none came.

- these "figures" appeared in the "Times" of May 15
in a letter from their Madras Correspondent of
April 20 - And no contradiction, official or
unofficial, has appeared.

I would rather say - I *should* regret more than
I can say - [and God forbid that the estimate
in my paper should prove correct even by
millions, tho' I still fear that it may not be much over
the mark!] - but that - & I am sure *you* will
not think this 'cant': I should esteem the loss
of any (writing) reputation of mine as nothing
if only official attention at home could be
directed to the broad facts of the condition of
the people ~~even~~ in India - even by my blunders
& stumbles - facts which *are* appreciated by many
of the officials out there. But *they* are hand cuffed.

And who can appreciate their labours as I do? They
need not complain of me:

One feels a sort of *agonizing* respect for them

8. Would you kindly advise me to put in the next No of the 'XIX Century' a sort of fly Note explaining what the "figures" in my paper mean - the impossibility of *registering* deaths in a S. India famine &c &c &c - or had I better wait till more perfect information can be had?

9. Would you be so very good as to send me 'papers relating to the partial census in the famine stricken districts of India' including 'Extract from Despatch from Govt of India to S. of S. for India about the *M.W. Provinces* [They have been sent to the 'Times'.]

I am glad that you do *not* 'defend' me: for the cause' sake which is all we either of us care for: - it is "3 millions" times more important that you should not "lose your character" than that I should lose all mine.

As to my paper being "a shriek": - we cannot cry without crying - I. e. loud enough to be heard: any more than we can fight without fighting.

If a Town Crier were as old, as worn-out & as cracked as I, his cry *would* be "a shriek" -
- I do not at all quarrel with them for saying that:

But what always strikes me as a hypocrisy, worse than that of the "Scribes & Pharisees" is - that, while we prate & gabble as if we were the Apostles of the Gospel of Administration, about our "mission" to govern the "benighted millions" of our "vast Eastern Empire" "for the people's own sakes" &c &c - scarcely 6 men can be got together in the Ho. of C. "for the people's own sakes" when the "millions" of our "vast Indian Empire" are at stake.

[Teignmouth Shore said in a sermon 'we talk of the inscrutable dealing of Providence: we had better talk of the inscrutable dealings of Englishmen']

I am amazed at my own moderation (in my paper.)

e.g. I could have given a List (out of official Report) of the principal *land-holders* - Marwari *money-lenders* - in Deccan places, against each of whose names figures a list of forgeries, thefts &c &c which Satan himself might have envied.

In Madras (but I think I bored you with this before)

-3-

- In Madras people say that, if it were once understood *why* the ryot refuses Govt loans at low interest & prefers paying his money-lender exorbitant rates, the difficulty would soon be overcome: but that officials who wish to know & serve the ryots under their charge rather than please the authorities over them do not as a rule rise high in office.

Had I had time, however, I should ~~however~~ have given more coherence, more correctness of expression, less vehemence to my poor little Article. But, - always, as I am, under severe stress of business & illness, - I had to write it between 5 am and 7.30 am in the mornings: as I have written my letters to you. But this, I know, is no excuse for publishing a bad Article. I judge it more severely than any one else can, I assure you. But, you will say, this is of little use now.

Do not give me up: that is all I ask

- I will never 'claim' you:

I did not receive your most kind letter of Aug 8

till this morning (Aug 10). I am anxious to answer it at once. [I am at Lea Hurst

Cromford

Derby

attending to my Mother:

& have hardly any of my papers here:]

I do most cordially echo all you say about Mr. Caird's mission: & I live in hope of your future "*Commission*" on *Land Tenure* & on the 'condition of the people' "to obtain facts."

Pray forgive this letter of unreasonable length

& pray believe me, dear Sir Louis Mallet,
somewhat penitently but

ever yours faithfully & gratefully [end 9:815]

Florence Nightingale

Mallet, incomplete letter, 6ff, pen

Private 2
& *Confidential*

2. It gives me more hope than anything that has happened for many a long day that you approve Mr. Prinsep's views: & that his practical experience "confirms" your "opinions".

Nothing would please Mr. Prinsep more than to go out to India for a short time to carry out the scheme he mentioned summarily to you - if indeed he were armed with authority to give it a fair trial, which includes protection from spending the people's money on some large works so as to bring discredit on the hitherto poor results.

3. No two countries, both under England, could, I suppose, well differ more than the Punjab & Madras Presidency: except that they both want water to live. But the ways to satisfy this crying want are the difference - And the populations of Punjab & Madras are, I suppose, as different as

any Northern & Southern races in Europe,
except that both are industrious & frugal
(with chiefly Mahometan, exceptions.)

I will not argue as to what is commonly called
the Madras system of "Canal Irrigation &
Navigation" of Sir Arthur Cotton, whose
practical genius none can doubt who
really know what he has done & what
he could still do:

but I only crave your attention as that
of a man of authority for one moment
to a point in which there is no difference
in two such opposite countries as the Punjab
& Madras:

viz. the people crying for water, ready
to give their hardest labour, often to make
the utmost sacrifices, to get the water:

the officials putting obstacles in the people's
way: instead of encouragement

& then we at home saying (in all honesty
no doubt) "the people don't want the water":
or "if they have it, they won't use it"

Ill-judging friends have managed to establish
such a 'row' about Madras "Irrigation & Navigation"

[Da chi non mi fido me guarderò is:

Da chi mi fido mi guardi Iddio.]

that the subject scares us:

but allow me to tell one or two which seem
test facts about the Punjab land & water
& then ask you at the end a favour:

(a.) I take only one District: Punjab:
the Deputy Commr of this District offered
to Govt in 1867 to construct "in co-operation
with the people," 13 Canals - "8 ~~of which~~ only
wanted clearing out & new mouths." Two of
the Canals making 72 miles in length, &
costing 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ Lacs, the people were ready to
construct subject to Govt conditions:

[1 3/4]

The offer met with *no* answer:

The Dy Comm: said that the District contains
33 Lacs of acres of excellent land ready for
water: Land Revenue could be raised
thereby to 33 Lacs: pays now only 4 Lacs:
& "this has to be reduced to meet distress for
want of water".

(b) I take another District in the Punjab:
The people come forward, even subscribe,
& nothing is done:

The Dy Commr says: The people offer to
make & pay for 7 of these (11) Canals &c &c
& even "to contribute Rs 23 000" to those, if
made by the State, in 4 other places.
[These 4 would, by less than 7 years' annual
income, repay the outlay.]

(c.) Only one fact more now:
In the Punjab there is eagerness to buy land:
not only among the richer people but among
the yeomen: One family alone offered 6 or
7 lacs to buy land. The old Sikh aristocracy
complain of 'this British Govt' so 'close-
fisted' about letting them buy its land.
"They are doing nothing".

But two things are wanted:

- one, to let them pay by instalments:
- the other, *fixed* conditions known beforehand
including irrigation:
 - canal water rate after 10 years
 - enhanced Land revenue " } " "
 - due to Canal } " "
 - &c &c &c &c

Why not have a "Canal Settlement" as you
have a Land Settlement?

3

4. The favour that I am going to ask is
- that Lord G. Hamilton's (Ho. of C.) Committee
will, if it has not already, call to give evidence

Sir Arthur Cotton: on Madras & future scheme
for all India

Mr. Prinsep: " Punjab & ditto ditto
There are men whose evidence would

be invaluable for each Province or Presidency

now in England: Col. James Fife Bombay & Sind

" in Europe: Col. Rundall pretty nearly all India

" in England Dalyell Madras :

C. Bernard Bengal

Sir R. Temple }
& Pedder } Bombay

Auckland Colvin N.W.P.

J. Morris }
Chief Commr } Central Provinces

Genl Strachey.

But of these only Cols. Fife & Rundall &
Mr. Dalyell are, I believe, in England or in
Europe at this time.

Pray believe me
dear Sir Louis Mallet
ever your grateful servt
Florence Nightingale

Sir Louis Mallet CB
&c &c &c

Mallet, signed letter, 1f, pen

Article: XIX Century :} Lea Hurst [9:815]
Cromford: Derby

My dear Sir Louis Mallet Aug 13/78

May I have your permission to send you
by *this* afternoon's post a copy of the
'XIX Century' 'Article' with the words
corrected up to what I *ought* to have said?

You are so kind as to say that you will
"have the paper critically examined" at the
I.O. Please let it be the *corrected*
copy that shall be so 'examined'.

I feel that I can never thank you enough for all
your kindness: but pray *believe* me ever yours gratefully
Florence Nightingale

Mallet, signed letter, 1f, pen

F.N.'s paper 'XIX Century' :} Lea Hurst [9:815]
Cromford: Derby

Dear Sir Louis Mallet Aug 13/78

I venture to send you the CORRECTED copy of my
paper.

The corrections are at *p.p. 194, 5,6 & at p. 199:*

It would please me indeed to have this copy
"critically examined" as you kindly propose.

After repeated sending to new=agents, I have at
last received the 'Pall Mall Gazette' of July 25; &
mean at once to study "H's" article.

Again thanking your for all your great kindness,
believe that I am ever our sincere & grateful servt
Florence Nightingale

Mallet, signed letter, 6ff, pen

Address

35 South St.

Park Lane

W.

My dear Sir Louis Mallet Aug 28/78

I cannot thank you enough for
your note of Aug 26, nor for your
kindness in having the Memo (enclosed
in your note) drawn up as to the
sources of information which are
available; & your offer to let me
see some of those which I might wish

to consult.

You see, like a child who is asked
which it will have, I say 'all': or
almost all.

And like an Irishman, I answer a
question by a question:
Does e. g. the 'Takavi' Act, (see 3. of your
Memo & mine)
& the 'Municipalities' Acts (see 4.)
give the WORKING of those Acts?

One is always amazed how *little* 'Takavi' does
- how *much* it might do.

A man who had been 20 years in India [9:815]
in all kinds of (local) posts says:
that the intricacy of our procedure - in
some things - the rigidity of our procedure
- in others - do so "mystify" the poor ryots that
"Under the Village Fig-tree" they ascribe
all their woes to us. [end 9:815]

The "proceedings" on the passing of the
"Agrarian Disputes Act," 1876, would probably

be most highly valuable to me.

I enclose a Memo most thankfully with
my crying wants.

I have read your Mr. Hyndman's letter in
the 'Pall Mall". I had read a previous
letter by him in the P.M., & a most
able pamphlet last year (with his name)
on the state of India relative to the Famine.
I believe he is an Englishman no ways connected

-2-

with India except by caring for her -

He is most valuable as to his facts:
most able as to his judgments.

I should like to ask him one or two
questions as to what he says about
'contented Ryots' & 'public works.' In the
Godavery Districts the Ryots have *paid*
off all their money-lenders -

But I must not trouble you about this
now: ever yours faithfully & gratefully

Florence Nightingale

I received the papers of the "Govt of India" on Famine

Mortality: very many thanks:

But does 'deducting the ordinary Morality
'from the *registered* Deaths' give any idea
'of the Famine Mortality'?

I believe Lord Lytton does not think so:

again, most gratefully yours

F.N.

29/8

N.B. Mr Hyndman has never been in India:

he is a Cambridge man:

I fancy a gentleman at large:

he was the moving spirit in the Geographical
Soc'y in objecting to Mr. Stanley's methods
of 'civilizing' Central Africa:

This is all I can make out about him:

F.N.

Private

-3-

[9:816]

You are so good as to say that you will
ask Lord Cranbrook whether he objects to my
seeing the papers & Reports mentioned in
your Memo

I had a kind little note from Lord
Cranbrook about my poor little paper in the
'XIX Century':

but he evidently thinks that the "indebtedness"
applies merely to the "Poona & Ahmednuggur"
Districts: & that my paper exaggerates, if not
the intensity of the evil there, yet the *extent* of
it in India

Mr. Stanhope, in answering a question & presenting the "Deccan Riots" Report, in the *Ho. of C.*, said the same thing: (I think in answer to Mr. Grant Duff.)

Surely this can only arise from Lord Cranbrook not yet having had time to examine the subject.

Not only does the "Deccan Riots" Report ("Poona & Ahmednuggur") deal with nearly every part of the Bombay Presy, Sind inclusive, but it also deals with the N W. P., with the Central Provinces, & in some measure with the Punjab & Oude.

But I have also been 'distressed' with letters, received from Indian officials & ex-officials in England directly or indirectly: (there has not been time for letters from India): saying:

'All this *I* have known in *my District*':

Or: '*I* have had to condemn ryots (according to law) to be bond-slaves: without being even allowed (by law) to represent the case to higher authority.'

As it happened, not one of these men was from the Bombay Presy at all: much less from "Poona" or "Ahmednuggur."

[end 9:816]

F.N.

Mallet, signed letter, 14ff, pen

Mr. Prinsep's }
Irrigation Forms : }
filled up by I.O.
{printed address:} 10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.
Jan. 4/79

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

You will not have forgotten
your troublesome but grateful
correspondent, Floe Nightingale.
And I know from Mr. Prinsep
that you have not forgotten
him, nor the Irrigation
Schedules which you have
so kindly had filled up
according to our Forms in
the I. O.

Mr. Prinsep tells me that
you have had a copy sent to
him of these Forms filled up
for each of the Provinces of India.

And he sends me very surprising results
from these.

He seems to think that I
have seen a copy of the
filled up Forms.

But I have not -
*Might I ask for a copy
to be sent me by your
great kindness?*

I would send you the chief
of the results which Mr Prinsep
has communicated to me:
but probably he has already
done so to you:

[Bengal, it appears, is mute:
- has no land, no 'water', & no
returns.]

I saw an Indian ex official the other day: he stated that to his personal knowledge, an Annual Statistical Return was submitted from Bombay every year to the Govt of India (as to the *Deccan & Sind*) embracing every one of the columns in the Blank Forms which Mr. Prinsep & I drew up - [but which I did not show him my official] - And that, if this Return were sent home as it ought to be, there could not be the slightest difficulty in these & more Columns being filled up by the I. O

-2-

2. *Famine Deaths* [9:818-21]

People's minds are so taken up with this Affghan War, on one side or the other, that they forget the far deeper tragedy than any that can be acted there, which took place but one short year ago here in Southern India; an interest of immeasurably greater weight

You will have observed the completed Reports fast coming in which give the actual ascertained Mortality as even higher than the estimated Mortality.

which was called a "shriek"

The papers moved for & presented to Parliament (just before it rose in August last,) gave the Famine Deaths at 1,300,000?

And Mr. Gladstone, in his paper (XIX Century of this month) gives them as 1,400,000?

Now the actual ascertained Mortality for Madras Presy alone (not including "diminished rate of Births" &c) is a little over 2 millions.

The deaths "presented to Parlt" were the *registered* Deaths.

It was asked at the time what was the probable proportion of *registered* Deaths to *actual* famine Deaths.

But no answer was made. That answer can now be given.

The Famine Commissions of Mysore had given the *loss* in that state alone as 1,250,000 for the Famine Year (v. those Parly papers.)

It is from Mysore that the first accurate intelligence comes to us.

Included in those papers but not presented to Parlt (it was sent me from Simla) was an actual statement.

It was ascertained for none month (January 1878) by actual

enumeration that the
registered Deaths (in Mysore)
were *22 per cent* of the
real number of Deaths.

"The deaths *registered* in the
mortuary returns of the province
from January 1877, when
famine began to result in
increased Mortality, up to
the end of the year when
the Test Census was taken
were 224,813.

1 050 000 represents
the actual number of deaths
in the famine year, whether
due directly to famine, &
the diseases which follow on it
or to other causes."

[This is 22 per cent.]

-3-

This does *not* include the
diminished Births to be
expected: & on the other hand
it *allows* for the expected return,
hereafter of half the emigrants
half of whom are supposed
to have died.

In the 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 per 1000
& a Birth rate of only 7 per 1000
*The persons who were dead
had actually been seen alive
by the European Officers.*
Here then the Deaths were

actually ascertained

(& not registered.)

"Such a rate of Mortality, if continued for 8½ years, would have exterminated the whole population."

The Death-rate & Birth-rate *thus* taken between preliminary & final Census were absolutely correct.

The "decrease in population" of Mysore is given, in the papers presented to Parlt., as "one and a quarter millions." The population of Mysore may be taken at 5,200,000 (v. Chief Commissioner) *One fourth of the population* therefore is gone: 24.94 per cent

This is what was called a "shriek"

[The Madras Presy statements are, if possible, almost more miserable.]

It was ascertained then for one month by actual counting, that the *registered* Deaths (in Mysore) were *22 per cent* of the *actual* number of Deaths.

If the registered Deaths in *each* month were 22 per cent of the truth, we should have as the *true rate* of Mortality, a little over a million, or 1050000 of actual Deaths.

If to this be added the mortality among the emigrants in Coory & the Wynaad, it accounts, says the authority,

(Parly papers) for the million
& a quarter lost.

["The mortuary Statistics of
the Province have never made
even an approach to accuracy."
In ordinary years " in the five
years preceding the famine",
"about two thirds of the Deaths
were never recorded."]

Thus far quoting from the
paper which was one of
the packet presented to Parlt
but which must have been
overlooked.

-4-

Madras Famine

Now for the complete Reports
just coming in from Madras
Presy & elsewhere

we gather the strangest
information as to the methods
of Registration in Madras Presy
- e.g. such famine Deaths as
were registered being registered
under "*All other Causes*" &c
BECAUSE it was announced
that 'no death was to be
allowed by famine.'

You know that Registration
(outside the Municipalities)
is *not* compulsory; that it is
carried out by the village
officials, many of whom died
or wandered from home like

their poor clients, - many
avoided registering the dead
because they received *relief*
for the *dead*, - & many
registered only as it would
please the European masters.
[I should take it as a favour,
a distressing favour, if
you would direct me to
draw you up a Memo of
the facts & methods of
Registration in the Madras
Presy.

also: of the facts & methods
of making *lists for Famine*
relief by village headmen.

I am tempted to do it here
but this letter is already too long.

After all, was the Famine relief
relief or starvation?]

To return

In Madras Presy the 17 months'
returns from November 1876
to March 1878 show an
excess of Deaths of 1,140,048,
OVER the average of the same
months in former years,
while the Test Census shows
a decrease of population of
at least 3 millions.

Such was the disorganization
during the Famine of village
life & communal administration
that "not one half of the actual
Deaths were ever recorded."

The losses by DEATH are
reckoned by the authorities
(roughly) at rather more than

two millions.

the diminished Birth-rate
at one million *besides*
or over 3 millions in all.

Much as been made of the
famine Emigrants who, we
hoped, would return.

But alas! no more than
100 000 can thus be accounted
for.

There was no such mystery
as was supposed about
these emigrations. Whither
the various streams *set*
from each district was
perfectly well known.
In most cases, by questioning
the survivors at home who
had heard from their emigrating
relatives, (or not heard), accurate
information has been obtained

-5-

as to the Deaths. This, family
customs in India render easy.
I could give such a multitude
of facts: (& explain methods
of enumeration & sources of error.)
but I will only here sum up
this disastrous history:
it is stated on the highest
authority:
that the figures given in
regard to the Famine Mortality,
were *under* the mark:
that our probable losses of
population in *Madras*
are *more than 3 millions*.
(to wit: over 2 millions *Deaths*:
- 1/3 million diminished Births.)
- the loss in *Mysore* has been
already estimated at more
than a *million*:

and the losses in *Bombay*
& *Hyderabad* "must have
been more than two millions"

"These facts," it is added,
"have come out the more
"strongly from attempts having
"been made to explain them
"away".

[In Madras Presy in *ordinary*
years about two-thirds of
the deaths are registered:
and a little over one half
of the Births.]

I have made no use, public
or private, of these facts.

I have not even written to
Lord Cranbrook, nor to Mr.
Stanhope who presented the
false figures in Parlt.

I am so heart-sick that I do
not care to revive the personal
question

But you have been so truly
kind that I actually venture
to appeal to you for advice.
What shall I do?

It did occur to me also that
you might write some
'instruction' to Mr. Caird
to enquire about these collateral
points.

[N.B. I have Reports
speaking of the *money - famine*
following in the steps of the
grain-famine & no way of
meeting it but by advancing
'Takavi' for wells &c - carrying
out Public Works &c.

It is these after-consequences

of famines on the half-starved
& ruined survivors that
are terrible to think of
& in England scarcely thought of.
- 'there are more things 'twixt
heaven & earth than are
dreamt of' in Simla's 'philosophy'
or in the I. O.'s - (as I remember
you once said).

And now here is this
Afghan War to drain away
the little life there is left.

stopping all improvements,
- as we hear.

[end 9:821]

Bengal Land } -6-
Question }

3. Among the numerous letters
from native gentlemen in
India & from our own
Officials, - among whom some
important *Collectors* on the
spot, - corroborating every
word in my Article (XIX Century:
- August) & urging me to put
further questions.

One, a Collector, wishes me to ask
'you talk about "education":

improving India -

- obtain a return of the number
of sons of *RYOTS* in *Government*
schools' -

but among the native gentlemen

one, a Mr. P.K. Sen, of Calcutta,
has sent me a pamphlet (which
I venture to enclose) by himself

It does not impress one much
as if he had a personal &
practical acquaintance with

the ryots: And also he
takes as a proof of increase
of population in Bengal
what we consider to be a
proof of previous *defective*
Census -

But what I think may interest
you is:

p. 30 : about agricultural earnings
in Bengal:

p. 24 : about the dispersed
character of petty holdings

p. 25 : impossibility of having
model farms -

p.p. 16,17 - }

p.p. 21,2 - } about decrease
in *amount* of produce

& Hindoo's ignorance of
rotations of crops & manures:

(as written by a Hindoo:)

p. 51 : Zemindar not helping

his tenant by providing *any*
thing - neither *capital*, *seed*
nor *cattle*.

p.{illeg: covered by an ink blot} introduction of "competition
& its effect in raising rents.

How much I have to
write to your kindness
about!

If you have been delivered
from the torment of me
for so many months, it is
because, overworked in
London, I am ground to
powder when we are in
Derbyshire: for there has

been no one there since
my dear Father's death
to do anything for the people.

And I am always under
the severe pressure of business
& illness either here or there

But I must not trouble
you with my troubles.

You must extend, please,
the sceptre of Ahasuerus to
this poor woman:

I want to tell you about
the Report your Secretary
kindly sent me:

and believe me

ever your faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

Mallet, signed letter, 2ff, pen

Famine (Madras)

{signed letter:} 10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.

Jan 10/79

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I am very grateful to you [9:821]
for your most weighty note of
yesterday.

I will send you *in the course*
of to-day some figures which
I hope will clear up those
which you justly say are
confused.

But the very circumstances
of the case are 'confusion
worse confounded.'

I too look upon Mr. Caird's
future Report with the very
highest hope, as the *only* hope
in fact.

I mean to live till he comes
back, to read it & make much
of it.

But *you* must tell him
that it *must be written*
in the style of the

Deccan Riots Report with
chapter & verse, *facts* with
name & place, & individual
narratives - (& not in the style
of the Indian Reports with
which we are inundated.)

Then I will venture to say:
the English public will care
& listen

Would you think well to send
him a copy of Mr. Prinsep's
Irrigation Schedules as far as relates to
Madras &c &c : by no means
as absolute information but
as asking *him* for information?

Thank you for sending me a
copy:

[end 9:821]

in great haste
ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

Mallet, signed letter, 2ff, pen

Madras Famine figures.

(*Mysore*)

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

10/1/79

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I have been so excessively
hurried by business that
I have no alternative (to keep
my promise for *to-day*) but
to send you my own notes.
(or a portion of them) taken
from the Simla papers.

I HAVE NO COPY of them:

but if you would kindly *return* me these, & (if
you choose it) my own letter
to you, I would give you
at least, in a more logical
order, with absolute
correctness the figures as they

reached me from official
papers -

It gives me new life that
you care about these things.

excuse the greatest hast
yrs mo affectly

F. Nightingale

I would add other figures
about *Madras*

These are only *Mysore* :
the Simla paper in question
only concerned *Mysore*.

F.N.

Mallet, signed letter, 3ff, pen

Private 10 South St.
Park Lane W.
17/1/79

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I cannot say ~~my~~/how thankful=
~~ness~~/I am that you are looking
into this miserable Famine
Mortality: for it is unspeakable

[9:821-23]

I will answer your last
question first:

1. "Report on the Test-Census in
Mysore" by C.A. Elliot
dated July 10/78 (p.p. 19)
accompanied from Simla (to me)
the papers presented by Parlt:

But indeed, indeed I did
not say or even hint that
"Mr. Stanhope had suppressed
this paper."

I do apologize, - not only
a "parliamentary" apology, - if

I used any word that could
by possibility be construed
into this. I think what
I said was (& perhaps I
should not have said *that*) -
Mr. Stanhope presented the
"false figures" to Parlt.
The figures are "false": are they
not? You yourself, in your
letter of yesterday, ~~make up~~/state
the Mysore Deaths alone as
~~to~~ very nearly the number
of the *whole* Famine Deaths
presented to Parlt.

But I said the "*figures*" were
"false": not that Mr. Stanhope
was "false". I could not anyhow
say or think that they were
"falsely" presented: only that they
were incorrect.

*Could you be so very kind
as to send me a copy of
"Mr. Elliot's Report" which
you say "reads like Defoe's
History of the Plague" -*

I do not think I can have
seen it.

2. I will send you, I hope, in
the course of tomorrow, the
figures which I received from
Madras & which are authoritative,
about the Madras Mortality.

I see you say "the information
which has reached us *officially*" -

I was told that these were
sent to me "privately": & that
I must not make use of them
till they were "issued" by the
Government officially:

[I meant to have sent them
you last week: as I promised.
And I heartily beg your pardon
for not doing it. My only
excuse is that I am so
overworked.]

3. As to Bombay & Hyderabad,
those figures also reached me
from India: but I have no
Report & no particulars.

[I have to-day both written &
telegraphed for these.]

You say truly that Mr.
Hewlett is an "admirable
specimen" - I hardly know
any one like him. He is a
kind of hero in practice.

-2-

I await with the utmost anxiety the "statement of all the information which has reached " you "officially as to Famine Mortality" which you so kindly mean to send me.

I will also send mine:
± not "official": But I would not delay my explanation about the "suppressed paper" - - even for my figures a day.

Again saying that you can hardly conceive the relief of knowing that the I. O. is fathoming this terrible subject 'officially',

pray believe me

dear Sir Louis Mallet
ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

Mallet, signed letter, 2ff, pen

Madras Famine figures.}
{printed address:} 10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.
Jan 20/79

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I send you the *Madras*
famine figures, as promised.

I have only dealt with the
Madras figures - because, as
you have Mr. Elliot's last
Report, you probably know
as much as or more than
I. (tho' I had begun
abstracting his figures) for
Mysore

I have telegraphed & written to
India for the *Bombay*
and *Hyderabad* figures
in detail.

[I have indicated at the bottom
of some pages of the enclosed

under what headings I
could supply you with figures
yet more in detail concerning
Madras.]

My figures concern only the
S. India Famine.

Have you seen a statement
of Mr. Knight's upon Sir
G. Cooper's statement on
the "Famine Relief Works"
in N. W. Provinces?

[Mr. Knight was an Under
Secretary, I believe, of the
Govt. of India - & is now, I
think, Editor of the 'Statesman'
(Calcutta).] An English official in India

sent it to me with a note
(I do not know him) containing
this "highly treasonable" opinion: -
"Despotic Governments never
reform themselves" &c &c

There would be one hope
for India, I mean for
interesting the people here
in India: if an Indian
Dickens could arise: -
or if the D. News would
send out a McGahan or a
Forbes to travel about the
interior of India as 'Special
Correspondt': -
or if the 'Times' would think
India of almost as much importance
as Cyprus -
or if your friend 'Punch'

would go to India **[end 9:823]**

Excuse haste

& believe me

ever your faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

{in the following ff there are underlinings not made by pen which I have used
small caps for. any double underlinings I have so indicated}

notes, 3ff, pen

-1a-

Note to p. 1 para 2 of Memo
on Madras Famine Mortality

"The irrigation works in the Godavery & Kistna deltas, besides supporting the population of about 1,800,000 souls } their own districts & a great crowd of hungry immigrants from the surrounding country, and besides exporting over country roads an amount of food grain estimated at little less than 144,748 tons } amount exported by sea, x see Note. supplied very nearly one fifth of the food grain imported during the worst period of the famine, and 44 per cent of the food exported from places within the Madras Presidency itself for the supply of the Famine demand during the same time."

"Tanjore & Trichinopoly, like the Kistna & Godavery, supported their own & all immigrant population, besides exporting by road, as well as by sea & rail, but only supplied by these latter routes 9 per cent of the food grains imported, and 21 per cent. of the grain exported from Madras ports between Aug 1/76 & Oct 1/77.

"The total amount of revenue due to the Godavery Irrigation Works of 1876-77 is Rs 14,97,460" "Mr. Puckle, Supt of Revenue Settlements, deducts 1/4th of Total for Land Revenue." follow deductions for "credits for assessment" & "water-rates of wet waste brought in," & deductions for "credit on account of land," & deductions for "charges for maintenance & collection." The remainder "gives x The value of the paddy & rice exported by sea from the Godavery & Kistna Districts from July/76 to Nov./77 amounted to Rs. 90,16,197

-1b-

"a clear return of 14.9 per cent on the outlay incurred up to end of the year."

"In like manner," the Kistna gives "10 1/3 per cent clear interest in the capital outlay to the end of the year."

"The gross value of the rice, raised by means of the Godavery & Kistna Canals, during a year of famine when, to judge from the condition of neighbouring districts, there would not otherwise have been an acre ripened, may be taken at 495 lakhs rupees, or *four times the whole capital outlay* to the end of the year in the canal works of the two deltas."

"no account whatever having been taken" "of the value of dry crops watered."

The population of the two districts is about "1,800,000 souls."

These Irrigation works are unfinished: but, even in their unfinished state, this is their return. When completed, they will return much more.

"The total cost of carriage (by canal) ~~will~~/would be 4 2/3 pie or say even 6 pie per ton per mile, the cost by cart on the bad roads of the deltas would certainly not be less than 3 annas, & by pack-bullock 4 1/2 annas per ton per mile, so that the saving effected by the delta canals during 1876-77 on carriage of goods alone must have amounted to at least 30 lakhs of rupees."

"The remissions of the Govt. demand for land revenue

-1c-

form a very correct measure of the condition of a district during a year of drought.

"In the Godavery district where the Irrigation works are nearly completed, the percentage of remissions on the gross demand of ryotwari revenue during 1876-77 was 1.9: in the Kistna District, of which the Irrigation channels are still very incomplete, 15.6: in Chingleput & Bellary, which are dependent upon rain & tanks supplied from local sources, the percentages of remission were 70.4 and 61.4"

notes, 13ff, pen

Famine of 1867-7: greatest since 1770

includes 9 Revenue Divisions of Bombay

14 Districts (out of 21) of Madras

nearly all

S. & E. of Nizams' dominions

2. no connection between famine & excessive population

- districts with sparse populations as

Nellore 162.7 pop. per sq. Mile

Cuddapah 161.5 " "

Bellary 151.5 " "

Kurnool 130.4 " "

suffered the severest famine:

Tanjore 540.1 pop. per sq. mile

saved by Canvery irrigation

Godavery 255.9 pop. per sq. mile

saved by Godavery irrigation.

not only grew enough to/for ~~save~~ their own population

but materially assisted the famine Districts.

So with *Malabar:* 376.7 pop. per sq. mile

saved by S.W. monsoon.

Trichinopoly, 341.5 pop. per sq. mile

saved by Canvery irrigation

saved itself but was crowded with famine stricken

wanderers from Coimbatori & Salem

-3-

*Madras*4. *Previous famine of 1833-4*

practically arrested all development of population for 4 years after famine ended

In the area now included in Godavery, Kistna (before the Irrigation Works) Nellore, Cuddapah, Chingleput, N. Arcot, Madura & Salem, the population of 1838 (at the next Census) ~~was~~ 4 years after the Famine, was less in these 8 Districts by 1,153,000 souls than the ascertained population of 1822 (the Census before)

[- It is not pretended that these numbers are accurate

- the ascertained numbers only are given.]

But from 1851 to 1871 (Census) the population had increased 35.8 per cent. in these 20 years.

And from 1856-7 to 1871-2 the Revenue had increased 58 per cent in these 15 years.

- in 1856-7 Revenue £4,880,093

71-2 " £7,125,581

- there was no material check to the increase & prosperity of the people during these years.

except a scarcity in 1853 & 1866:

there was none at all between 1871 and 1876

-4-

*Madras Famine*5. *Areas selected for Famine Census: March 1878*

SALEM whole District census=ed: (a Pop. of 2 millions)

*TOTAL POP. IN 1871	TOTAL POP. MARCH 1878	DECREASE
1,966,995	1,559,896	-407,099

Salem - Total loss of Population thus - 20.7 per cent
(without allowing any increment for normal growth
of popn during a prosperous 5 years)

*6 'SELECTED' Famine TALUQS in FAMINE Districts,
to wit, Bellary, Kurnool,
Cuddapah, Nellore,
Coimbatore, Chingleput,

Total loss of Population - 15 per cent -

[N.B. some of these Famine Taluqs were by no means the
worst in the District.] They were 'selected' as fair averages:
neither good nor bad.]

*4 SELECTED TALUQS: in NON- FAMINE Districts:
to wit, Kistna, Trichinopoly,
Tanjore, Tinnevelly

Total Increase of Population + 6.1 PER CENT.
since 1871.

or, allowing for villages transferred
since 1871 to another boundary) +8.2 PER CENT

N.B. [The increase of population was thus *more* than the estimated
7.5 per cent. in the 5 years before the beginning of the famine,
or the estimated 1.5 PER CENT. PER ANNUM.]

* I have the numbers for each of the ~~Salem~~ Taluqs, & could
easily give them, if desired.

-5-

*Madras Famine*6. Decrease *not* accounted for by migration:

note - all natural population-movements are in definite

Kurnool directions to find food & work.

to {illeg Tinang?} e.g. from the districts surrounding Madras to Madras

& Tanjore from Coimbatore to Malabar or Trichinopoly

from Salem to Tanjore (the great Irrigated Canvery
delta)

& Trichinopoly

from Kurnool & N. Nellore to Kistna (irrigated)

&c &c &c

e.g. in Madras out of some 130000 in relief camps

not 12 from Salem

the great bulk from Nellore, Chingleput & N. Arcot:

N.B. [from Bellary & Cuddapah emigration encouraged

to 'Buckingham Canal' Works on Nellore coast.

but this was out of the usual population movement.

note It was full of disaster & had to be abandoned.]

Again, Madras Famine Districts: pop. 20 millions.

they did not go to Mysore, for all Mysore was famine

nor into Bombay,

nor into Nizam's, for these were worse off than

our own.

note Nizam's & Mysore people came into Bellary for relief

above

Before end of 1877, the great surplus of emigrants,

including even those who went to Ceylon & Travancore,

- ~~all~~/i.e. those who were not dead - had returned to

their villages.

-6-

Madras Famine

Mansion House fund hastened resumption
of village life by grants for repair of houses,
purchase of implements, seed-grain, cattle, &c.

We have, in actual ascertained figures, that
children, under 10 years disappeared in double
the proportion of persons over 10 years -

Now these *children* could not have emigrated:
they must have died.

Note

gives no This disproves the migration theory which
real fails to explain the decrease of population
emigration

100000 of the whole loss alone accounted
for by Emigration:

Here insert Table (Decrease of Population)
at end. p. 7

-8-

Madras Famine

7. ~~If~~ In the partial Famine of 1833-4 upwards
of 2 millions of the population disappeared.

(2,205,578) -

- but for Government relief the losses of population in the
greater calamity of 1877, extending over 14

note revenue districts, would have been nearer
would 5 millions than 3.

have

been

half of

the pop.

8. decrease of Births:

they diminish month by month in exact
correspondence with the intensity of famine
9 months previously:

but the causes of a diminished Birth-rate
continue to operate for a long period after famine.

[N.B. In January 1878, Mr. Elliot give the Birth-rate

in Mysore by actual enumeration as only

7 per 1000 This shows to how low a rate

note

it had sunk -

value

of both

returns

-9-

Madras Famine

9. The Mortality *returns* alone cannot be trusted to show the absolute Mortality.

But - the 17 MONTHS RETURNS from Nov. /76 to March/78

show an EXCESS of *Deaths* for 1140048 over average of same months in former years: }

while test census would indicate a probable decrease

of population of at least 3000 000 (3 millions):

Such was the disorganization of village life & communal administration that not one half of the actual Deaths were ever recorded. }

Rather more than 2000000 (2 millions)

may be reckoned roughly as - - - - - the *Deaths*:
accounting for 1000000 as *diminished Births*

[3000000]

Facts *ascertained* do not account for more than 100000 of the missing people by *migration*

Famine cuts away population at both ends: & it will be well if the Census of 1881 does not show the losses to be greater than are here estimated.

-10-

Madras Famine June
 10.*"CAUSES OF MORTALITY" - from 1866* to 1878

Years	Total		Small		Complaints	Bowel	O t h e r C a u s e s
	Deaths	Cholera	pox	Fevers			
1876	680384	148193	23469	230092	38176		2 4 0 4 5 4
1877	1556312	357430	88321	469241	133366		5 0 7 9 5 4
1878 Jan to June	409151	18926	41506	181610	25602		141507

note

want of
reliability
& of returns
& orders
{illeg never regd?}

FAMINE Deaths were sometimes registered under "ALL OTHER CAUSES": because it had been announced that 'NO Death was to be allowed from Famine': -sometimes under "FEVERS": yes, but FAMINE FEVER, (altho' it may have spread among the well-to do): - sometimes under "Cholera" or "Diseases of the Bowels" - affection of the Bowels being, especially among children, the very test or characteristic of the *famine* state: note {illeg}

in Kurnool

This kind of registration was to be expected among the village accountants (*ex officio* registrars): not professional: & who often registered so as to please the English masters: only.

In camps & relief houses, at least *three fourths* of the Mortality was the direct result of 'INNUTRITION' (starvation).

* I have these Nos for each year & could readily furnish them if desired. (from 1866 to 1878. June.)

-11-

Madras Famine

11. FOOD x rose to 400 PER CENT. above its normal value, & under this enormous rise wages were REDUCED 25 per cent. by Govt.

N.B. Roads & railroads & increased facility of communications have very much reduced the practice, before universal, of keeping reserves of grain enough for 3 or 4 years.

It is obvious that the usual tests of market prices cannot hold here.

x I have & could furnish if desired Statistics of the kind of food in use, amount of food required & c & c by of the Madras populations.

-12-

Madras Famine

12. The Famine Reports show unscrupulous headmen & village officials unashamed sending in bare-faced lists for relief, - lists of persons long since dead, - lists of their own relatives as constituting the village:

do English people know what these words mean?

e.g. "defrauding of Govt " "insufficient supervising agency of Europeans": "native officials not above suspicion": that they mean: crowds being slowly & tamely starved to death because they would not expose the munsif who misappropriated the funds entrusted to him:

even when questioned, the dying lips, like Desdemona, "told ~~the most~~ deliberate lies to exonerate their unscrupulous headmen." *

(this is incredible to English ears)

wealthy villages have often obtained the munsifs' connivance to their drawing from 6 to 10 rations daily, making about 67 rupees in 6 months, & with great 'naiveté', the Reporter adds: "Only the more respectable? inhabitants could command sufficient interest to secure a large number of shares:"

"persons whose only chance of getting any food at all would have been lost if they had 'peached' " would * what might not be made of this heroic 'bearing' false 'witness even unto death,' if we knew how to manage the natives?

-13-

"retract" any "statements" they had made.

- all "evidence exonerating their tyrants" "would be backed up by the statements of respectable(?) inhabitants who perhaps had during a long period received their share of the plunder."
 - "special relief Officers" "morally certain of the guilt of the parties, but powerless to remove the oppressor, even for an hour, or to check his powers of mischief," could only "report" -
 - "Imagine reporting that a number of people are at the point of death!"
 - "village magistrates" "swindled" the Government, assisted by the "Village Inspectors," -
- by entering as paupers the names of the friends & relatives of the munsif & other "influential residents" -
- by recklessly distributing money to well-to-do brahmins -
- by keeping fictitious registers

&c &c &c &c

note

[Editor's Note.

O for a 'free Vernacular Press' to bring the power of public opinion to bear on these native officials - ! we who have abolished the Panchayàt have scarcely any check upon them.

Madras Famine

Probable Decrease of Population due to famine up to March/78

<i>Districts</i>	Population	Proportion	Numbers	
	in 1871	of Loss in 1878, in census-ed subdivision	Missing	Remarks
Salem	1966995	20.7	407099	Actual
Bellary	1668006	15.8	263544	Calculated on census of sub-division
Kurnool	959640	19.7	188049	
Cuddapah	1351194	20.1	271589	
Nellore	1376811	18.1	249202	
Coimbatore	1763274	12.6	226662	+ Area Census-ed in Coimbatore did not give average
high enough for calamity Chingleput				District of
& Madras.	1335736	3.1	41407	x Selected area in x Chingleput did not fairly represent distress
Madura	2266615	10.0	226,661	No Census: district suffered nearly as much as
Coimbatore N. Arcot	2015278	20.0	403055	No Census: district suffered as much as Salem:
<i>Districts of Partial Famine</i>				
S. Arcot (4 distressed Taluqs)	817223		40861	No Census: proportions estimated on distressed taluqs only
Tinnevelly (3 Taluqs)	630192	5.0	31509	
Trichinopoly (2 Taluqs)	544354		27217	
Kistna (6 Taluqs)	563972			28198
	<u>17259290</u>		<u>Total:</u>	2400567
+ + Add for 5 years increment of population of distressed areas from 1872 to 1876 at one per cent per annum				862960
				<u>3273527</u>

++ Tho' there is no doubt that the population in these 5 years increased in the ratio of at least one and a half per cent. per annum, yet, to be well within the mark it has been assumed that in the 5 years ending 1876, the pop. of Famine area increased only at rate of one per cent. per annum

3 1/4 millions are thus given as loss by famine by March 1878
But as the famine Census was taken before Famine distress ended, & before Birth rate became again normal, probably Census of 1881 may give a loss of 4 millions for whole Presidency.

Mallet, signed letter, 2ff, pen

Private

10, South Street, {printed address:}

Park Lane. W.

Jan 27/79

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

Thank you for your very **[9:825]**
kind note.

I learnt by last mail from India, that the Reports & papers - from which ~~the~~/my Memo to you on Madras Famine Mortality was extracted - are now "published with the Govt orders on" them: so that its information may, I suppose, be used as you like. but I still think it better that my name should not appear; except, ~~as~~/if you ~~filed~~/please to Mr. Stanhope, who, as you say, "I am sure may be trusted."

I take the liberty of adding a few figures, extracted from an official paper sent me from Simla some months ago, if you will be so good as to add ~~the~~/these to (No) "2", p.1, of my Memo, to which heading ~~it~~/they belongs. **[end 9:825]**

2. You were so good as to say that you had sent me SIR R. TEMPLE'S REPLY TO YOUR MINUTE ON THE DECCAN RYOTS, - a subject which interests me very particularly.

BUT IT HAS NOT COME:

3. I wonder whether that Bill, which **[10:626]**

was before the Bombay Govt,
of remedies for the indebtedness
of the Deccan ryot has
passed.

It embraced, among 3 provisions,
one: that 'more than a sum of
interest equalling the principal
could not be recovered in Court.'

What we, the ryots, complain
of is: not the disappearance of
the usury laws, but that
English law has obliged our
CIVIL COURTS to AID & abet
the practice of USURY:

The ryots say, & with truth,
that in this respect they were
much better off under native
than under English government.

I confess I was eager to hear,
that that Bombay Govt 'bill'
had become law. It is not
enough to say that it will be evaded

-is it? - [end 10:626]

4. I was very much
interested in Mr. Puckle's
letter which you were
so good as to send me -
& will return it to/to you with
some remarks which I
have not time to trouble
you with now -

Pray believe me -
(hoping for the TEMPLE minute)
most faithfully yrs
Florence Nightingale

Mallet, unsigned letter, 2ff, pen

Private Mr. CAIRD 1. [9:825-26]

& Confidential Feb 15/79
{printed address:} 10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I always feel like a prisoner
in extremity appealing to you:
- & as you cannot know why,
I rush at once to the point.

You have said that you
look to Mr. Caird as the one
'power' that can now awaken
attention to India's agricultural condition,
to the Famine & the state
of the people.

And so did I. I looked
upon him as the 'forlorn hope.'

It is said, upon what
appears to be good authority,

that he has declared the
agriculture of India
taking the climate into
consideration, to be on the
best possible footing.

that he is delighted with
his reception by the various
authorities of India -

& that he views everything
thro' an enchanted medium,
or rather thro' the medium
of the authorities.

I cannot & do not believe
this. he is too independent=
=minded & too sound=hearted.

You probably have heard
from him direct.

I hope that he is to write
a separate *Report*:

that is the only way to
prevent what *you* would
call a 'hocus-pocus.'

One thing is ~~(illeg)~~/probable: the
Acting President of the Famine
Commn has received instructions
from Head Quarters in India
which being translated into
English mean this: 'Go
'as near to the truth as you
'can: but don't let it singe
'you: & above all don't
'let it singe us.'

Knowing that this *Acting*
Prest has sent many things
to the "Times" which are
nothing better than '*Communiqués*,'

my hopes, (IF *Mr. Caird* is
gone wrong,) from the Famine
Commn are sunk below
zero indeed.

Do you remember the Rhine
legend of the Archbishop
who said: 'let the villagers burn
like rats.' And a long line
of rats swims the Rhine, &
silently enters his island Castle
& - - nothing is left of the
Archbishop? Sometimes it
seems to me as if we were
bringing upon ourselves in this ~~(illeg)~~/ignoring
of the Famine Deaths of India,
a similar awful ghostly
retribution

[end 9:826]

Mallet, signed letter & memorandum, 12ff, pen

The conclusion come to in this paper is that "it is quite impossible to eliminate Cholera Small Pox, fever &c &c in Madras from Famine deaths" -

True, then I say that it is not a fair way to arrive at the loss by famine (~~illeg~~) to including ALL deaths from such causes without exception: & yet that is how the total of 2 millions is arrived at.

E.S.

Feb 20

Mallet, signed letter, 2ff, pen

Private Famine & Deaths:

& Confidential 18/2/79

10, South Street, {printed address:}

Park Lane. W.

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

If you think the enclosed in [9:834] the least worth showing to Mr. Stanhope, - & if Parlt has not entirely obliterated the Famine, - pray show it.

I may tell you what was told me by the *Bombay* authorities themselves that they had suppressed certain Monthly or occasional *Famine Reports* because they "reflected discredit" & gave statements which they did not wish to have known.

[I am to see these Reports & some have already been communicated to me in "confidence".] [end 9:834]

2. Many thanks for SIR RICHD TEMPLE'S MINUTE on your

Deccan Riots Minute.

It is a curious piece of naiveté on Mr. Ashburner's part - saying that, whereas he did think the assessments too heavy when he was 'Judge': he ceased to think them too heavy when he was of the Govt.

Vatican Council again!

3. I am desired from Bombay to ask you to be so very good as to SEND ME "SIR RICHD TEMPLE'S PUBLISHED MINUTE "ON THE FAMINE DATED DEC. 24", 1877, I suppose.

4. How horrible, how hideous is **[5:324]** this Zulu War - *not* because our bravest men & officers have bit the dust - not even because of this costly & great 'little War' against savages before us - but because we shall have to administer annexed Transvaal, annexed Zululand, besides Natal, & God knows what more!

Have we succeeded so well in India that we want South Africa too!

A superior official, who knows **[9:834]** the Deccan & the *whole* interior of the Bombay Presidency better than any man, & who is a cordial admirer of the Mahratta peasantry, told me the other day, of course, in the strictest confidence - that, if there were another Mutiny (which, he added, there

will be) this fine Mahratta
peasantry ~~was~~/is so disaffected
owing to our laws putting
"weapons of torture" into the
money-lenders' hands - owing
to our forcing or administering
Western ideas of civilization
among these Deccan populations
- that they would join a Sepoy
Mutiny against us, IF
something were not done in
the meantime by our Govt

[end 9:834]

This does not tally with Sir R. Temple's Minute on your {or yours?}

Please, observe this is
for you *alone*:

But I must not take
up your too valuable time
Pray believe me
ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

{title page}

Famine
Bombay & Madras
18/2/79

Famine figures:

-1-

Pray present my thanks to Mr. Stanhope, if he will have them, for his courteous & studiously fair reply to the Madras famine Mortality Memo.

Some of his reply I could answer already: but I have preferred waiting till I could obtain the further information which he desires.

I have carefully read the BOMBAY Reports: seen Mr. Hewlett twice (whom you saw) & studied their account of Famine Deaths, Registration & c & c. No reasoning can however be made, founded on BOMBAY experience for MADRAS - e.g. as to the proportion of REGISTERED Deaths to ACTUAL Deaths

as to what *Epidemic* Deaths should be deducted from *Famine* Deaths & c & c & c to shew what I mean:

	MADRAS		BOMBAY	
POPULATION affected	20 millions		POPULATION affected	8 millions
" severely "	17 "		" severely "	5 "
FAMINE from Nov./76 x	MYSORE	FAMINE from Jan 1877		
to March /78	in Jan/78	over in	Nov. 1877,	10 months
(17 months)	Death rate still			
	high			

NORMAL INCREASE OF POPULATION at 1 p.c. included in calculn of loss of popn shown by TEST CENSUS.

RESULTS OF PARTIAL CENSUS IGNORED:

INCREASE (normal) of population forbidden by Sec of S. (to be included

x Note. In the Famine (registered) Deaths - officially presented to Parliament, -

the Famine Mortality appears to have been taken only up to OCTOBER 1877 whereas the *Mortality* certainly existed & was severe all over Madras & Mysore even in JANUARY 1878. And Mr. Elliot states that by actual enumeration, even in that month in Mysore, the REGISTERED Deaths were only 22 PER CENT. of the actual Deaths.

-2-

Madras

BOMBAY

MYSORE

REGISTERED Deaths not

Registered Deaths

Registration of Deaths
more

50 per cent of actual Deaths
 22 per cent of actual Deaths,
 according to Mr. Elliot

Village Accountants (Registrars) thought

Famine Deaths at all events *not* to be recorded
 CHOLERA x = anything, the result of Famine
 SMALL POX = result of overcrowding &

want of conservancy &c &c in Relief works & Relief houses

FEVERS = famine Fever
 BOWEL COMPLAINTS } = generally (in children nearly always) the internal state due to starvation

other direct results
 OTHER = anaemia: innutrition

CAUSES direct result of Famine

accurate than in ordinary years: due to increased supervision.
 Village headmen (over Village Registrars) afraid of not having Deaths enough on their books.: thought that English masters wanted Deaths

CHOLERA x = real Cholera
 SMALL POX = worst where Famine was

least

FEVERS = malarial Fevers
 BOWEL COMPLAINTS }

} =
 anaemi
 a:
 innutr
 ition
 &

OTHER CAUSES
 FAMINE: classified

} OF

under these two heads

x. Note - The orders of the Govt of India are, as you/is known, to ignore any Deaths but

under the following Headings:

- 1. CHOLERA
- 2. SMALL POX
- 3. FEVERS
- 4. BOWEL COMPLAINTS
- 5. INJURIES
- 6. OTHER CAUSES.

It is clear that there is no room for *Famine* Deaths under any of these headings.

-3-

MADRAS

European supervision neglected or impossible : native petty official

corruption hideous, both on the Relief works & in distribution of Relief - All kinds of bribes taken by native officials. he who could not bribe

got nothing. Relief did not reach persons it was intended for: people could not get on Relief works even without a bribe peculation immense: almost unchecked or uncheck able

Relief camps & houses models of SANITARY DEFECTS -overcrowding want of conservancy &c &c

Cholera & Small-pox the result

[In Bombay the people \mp /on Relief works seem to have been actually better off in Sanitary things than at home.] but it is not denied

officially that even in Bombay Small Pox & Cholera

Deaths were increased by the people being

lowered by Famine

BOMBAY

EUROPEAN SUPERVISION made effective by being worked thro' the

higher native officials: native gentlemen: Not an anna but reached the hand it was meant for. If a bribe was taken to get

a man put on relief works, detected, & bribe-taker instantly dismissed.

no peculation possible - European or high native official saw the daily pay paid into people's hands.

SANITARY SUPERVISION of Relief camps Relief Works, splendid.

If a native official neglected the conservancy, European Officer riding up & down lines, - native petty official dismissed.

Grass huts put up where babies, whose mothers at work, - were under old woman's care.

Chupattis sold by trader appointed

by European Officers along the line - Conservancy of Relief houses very bad at first

-4-

MADRAS

the poorer sufferers had no reserves of money or grain in almost the last stage of emaciation, but

on relief works, with insufficient pay or ration: "special treatment" does not appear: was not perhaps possible:

CHILDREN'S ALLOWANCE does not appear to have been a matter of rigid care

1 LB. RICE not worth 1 lb. jowàri

VILLAGES deserted by the thousand - headmen & Village accountants disappeared, perished, wandered away. registers dropped.

Europeans have counted 90 corpses by the way-side in morning's journey Inquests impossible either on one corpse or on 90

3 fourths of Deaths in Relief houses from innutrition (starvation) - When they came in, power of taking food gone.

As a rule women's ornaments all sold

BOMBAY

the poorest natives had generally RESERVES of money or grain - without these reserves, relief=works pay insufficient - where they had none, put on "SPECIAL treatment" (including any food judged suitable that could be had) till able to work.

- CHILDREN under 7 years had also their allowance & it was SEEN to that they HAD IT. also; that they ate their food without fear of parents.

1 lb. jowàri much more nutriment than

1 LB. RICE

NO DESERTED VILLAGES:

HEADMEN always remained:
- registers continued

Sany Commr saw but 5 corpses by way side ever: Inquest held upon each - corpse had money in its pocket - they would try & wander home as wild animals do to die

Men & women as a rule came to works with ornaments on

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MADRAS

Sir R. Temple as Delegate-Madras
different from
Sir R. Temple as Governor of Bombay

BOMBAY

Sir R. Temple's Famine Policy very
different as Govr of Bombay
from Sir R. Temple's policy as
Delegate in Madras.

Sir M. Kennedy worked like a hero and a true General in Bombay : but it can scarcely be denied that an incorrect deduction of all Epidemic Mortality from Famine Mortality has done the greatest harm in falsifying results at least in Madras. Thus: EPIDEMIC DISEASES are one of the worst results of Famine. *Therefore* "UNUSUAL EPIDEMICS" are the inevitable consequence of "unusual" famine. Therefore they are not to be reckoned to famine at all. Instead of their being added in the awful total, they are to be deducted.

[It is like the former fallacy: Cholera is the worst result of INSANITARY conditions.' *Therefore* Deaths from Cholera are to be deducted in judging of any increased Mortality due to want of Sanitary measures.]

Officially Madras Reports have shown the want of accuracy in the (village accountant) Registrars, putting down *famine* Deaths to FEVERS, to "BOWEL COMPLAINTS" & "OTHER CAUSES."

But the I.O. appears to think that, whatever Deaths can be properly put down to FEVERS, CHOLERA, BOWEL COMPLAINTS &c are to be deducted from *Famine* Deaths. (instead of the reverse.) Does

-7-

But it remains that it is quite impossible to eliminate CHOLERA,
SMALL POX, FEVER &c &c in Madras from Famine Deaths -

One cannot help repeating that in Bombay Mr. Hewlett is as brave a soldier
against Sanitary evils & Famine as the bravest War soldier
that ever held a post against overwhelming ~~numbers~~ odds.

The grandest of his success (& Sir M. Kennedy's too) in the
Bombay Famine deserves its place in a higher history than
ours.

Still, as I look over the Bombay Mortality Returns, I find my pencil notes on
the

margins: "But there is not evidence of *famine* Deaths in *any* part of this:"

"But, where are the *Famine* Deaths?"

"The Famine might not have been at all."

"*Famine* Deaths might not have been at all, for any evidence there is here."

"What are *real* Famine Deaths then registered under?"

&c &c &c

Note. I will gladly give the authorities, if desired, who do not accept
the figures or conclusions of the *Govt of Bombay*.

My only reason for not doing so here is the discovery how like official (Indian)
ways are to the ways of Vatican Council on Papal Infallibility. The

Bishops go into the Vatican Council, not only convinced but zealous advocates
of one way of thinking, & come out advocates of the other. ~~It is~~ a parody

of

'they that have gone to scoff remain to pray.'

So it is with official ways of the Govt. of India.

Nevertheless, I believe the official Reports mentioned ~~will~~ *may* reach
the I. O., if they choose.

Mallet, signed letter, 6ff, pen

Private 25/2/79
10, South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane. W. [10:522-23]

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I am more grateful to you
for your note, for more
reasons than perhaps you
know of, than I can say.

I was amused at Sir J.
Strachey's account of Mr.
Caird's "economic heresies"

I have had a few lines
from Mr. Caird, dated Cuddapah:
Feb 1. He says:

"but one thing is clear that,
"from whatever other cause
"poverty is too common among
"the Ryots, it is not from
"harsh treatment by the Govt."

I look at this sentence, ~~this~~
like an enamoured biographer, *this*

way; I look at it *that* way.

I try to see from
it *which* way the
wind blows: & I find it
rather alarming.

In one sense no one suspects
"the Govt" of "harsh treatment."

But, as a vigorous Indian
official said to me : 'the people
see that theoretically the
Govt's intentions are good,
but that practically these
good intentions ruin them.'

I wonder whether Mr.
Caird would be flattered
or the reverse if he knew
how you & I, (if I may have
the impertinence to class myself
with you,) watch him as if
he were a young Queen
ascending the throne.

You say; 'we shall see how
he will look'. And I am
positively trembling with
eagerness to see if he will
solve some of these awful
problems: or just fall into the old rut.

[He says he hopes "to be
home on April 5 or 6."

How I hope he might go
out again!] He says he is in perfect
health.

I think I told you how a man
(*not* a Collector), who knows every inch
of his Deccan, told me how
the disaffection, against our
rule, of this fine Mahratta
peasantry was waxing formidable.

A Collector from those parts
- one of the many correspondences
my unlucky paper brought me

- after corroborating all my facts
or rather those of the 'Deccan
riots Report' (which he
apparently thought were not
put strongly ENOUGH) - added
that there were in his
Collectorate some villages
received from the Nizam
in which our Civil Courts
have but lately been
introduced. "The people
"were more averse to their
"introduction urging most
"truly that up to that time
"their lands had all remained
"their own, but that, under
"our Civil Courts, they would
"soon all pass into the hands
"of the *money-lenders*. These
"people *knew what they said*
"but what a comment on
"our system. *They spoke the*

-2-

"truth" -

These are the kinds of thing one wants our rulers to hear, mark & consider:

These are the men who really know the people.

These are among the facts one wants Mr. Caird to include in his bird's eye view.

How can these ancestral land-holders made beggars by our rule give us credit for good intentions & for non- "harsh treatment"? They say: We were better off under our native rulers: & say truly.

[I think I said, in my note to you, that Mr. *Ashburner* said: 'when he was a judge, he thought the assessment too heavy: when he was in the

Govt, he thought it too light.'

(in Sir R. Temple's Minute on yours). Mr. *Gibbs*, of course, I meant.

Pray forgive this stupid slip of the pen, if I made it.]

The more I hear of the Deccan, the less *this* Sir R. Temple's Minute ~~is~~/seems to be borne out.

Your letter to Mr. de Laveleye is most interesting. Alas! it is only too conclusive.

Have you ever thought whether a *Homestead Law*, something like the American, might benefit these unhappy ryots?

2. Now, about the melancholy
Famine figures: You say [9:834-35]
"but surely the facts on which
"all are agreed are enough:
"whether this terrible scourge has
"swept away a few hundred
"thousands more or less x x
"scarcely touches the question
"for practical solution."

I do so entirely agree with
this that I am quite grateful
to you for saying it:

So far as we have gone, we
have found that, for *Bombay*,
we have a number of *registered*
Deaths which represents the
maximum (tho' I understand
it is to be disputed, as not
the *maximum possible*) *excess*
of Mortality, from famine

[This results from the extra

precautions taken by Mr.
Hewlett for the Registration]

So far as we have seen
from the Madras data, all
we can get that is trustworthy
is the *minimum possible*
mortality from famine.

And the practical question
is, as you say, whether this
be not enough: & whether
[† to endeavour to come closer
to the *actual* mortality is not
almost to turn away our
eyes from the question?

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?] {double underlining}

The *minimum* deducible
from the *Madras* papers
is one of the most awful
{printed address: upside down:}
10, South Street, records of human
Park Lane. W. .
suffering & destruction the

-3-

world has ever seen, And
if the Governmt of India &
the public are not moved
by it to action, the case is
hopeless -

Much may be done if the
Govt take the case in hand
as one of their prime
administrative duties.

It will not do to judge of it
as people might do of an
Irish famine or scarcity -

The Indian problem is
altogether different.

And another problem we
have now to solve for practical
purposes is; the exact relation
of *epidemics* to *famine*.

If you could order Sir
R. Temple's "*Minute on the
Famine, of Dec 24/77*" to be
sent me, I should be the
more obliged. But do **[end 9:835]**
not trouble about this: You
have more to do of a higher kind
- I am only too grateful to you for writing
at all - ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

Mallet, signed letter, 4ff, pen

Mr. Caird's figures

Private March 12/79 [9:837-38]

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

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I am exceedingly obliged
to you for your two kind
notes: & I assure you
that I consider your kindness
quite "confidential": Mr.
Caird's figures shall not
be betrayed thro' me.

2. A good Calcutta friend
has sent me Mr. Elliot's
(large) Report on the Mysore
Famine so that I need not
now trouble you for that.
How much it tells! how
much he knows. You

may well say that it reads
like Defoe's History
of the Plague.

Thank you for sending me
at my request Sir R. Temple's
Minute on the Bombay Famine

- I will return it. I suppose
I must not say: how *little* it
tells, - it could not well tell
less - *not* because he knows
little, perhaps because he
knows too much. Three times
in one page he tells us
we 'cannot understand it' -
but he does not help us
much to the understanding.

3. Should you think well, (or think at all) of making a "Return" showing for a number of villages received in exchange or otherwise from Native States, especially the Nizam's, between 20 and 10 years ago, - the number of acres of land held by the *Agriculturists*, & by the *Money-lenders* : - at the date of each village coming into our possession - & the number held by each *class* now?

I am told by *Collectors* (but this, you will please consider, as quite confidential) that the result shown by such a Return would

"startle" you -

If you thought it possible & profitable to ask for such a Return, there are several details that should be attended to in the headings, which I should like to furnish.

4. People do so very much regret that Mr. Caird did not visit the 'improving' districts of India, such as the Godavery, Kistna & Tanjore &c &c. The list is short. **[end 9:838]**

-2-

5. Mr. Hodgson Pratt, without any 'collusion' with me, suggested the Meeting, - ~~of~~/for which I venture to enclose a ticket - tomorrow evening in connection with my observations in the 'XIX Century': & the Indians are interested in the matter: 'Co-operative' system as applicable to India (Village Communities)

I know how impossible it would be for you to go to it: but if you could help them to make the discussion effective by sending a friend qualified to aid it: they would be

grateful.

Pray believe me
ever yrs sincerely
Florence Nightingale

Mallet, signed letter, 6ff, pen

Private New Bengal

Rent Act } April 3/79

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

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

Have you seen the
"Realization of Arrears of Rent"
Bill - a Bill which it is said
"the Bengal Govt is determined
to pass": but which friends
of the Ryot, both native &
European, write from Calcutta
is "calculated to operate most
injuriously on the tenants'
interest." It was to have
passed at the end of March:
but I am told that this [10:529-30]
"new Bengal Rent Act is not
yet passed."

*Would it be possible to
urge the Secretary of State*

*to desire that this Bill as
finally settled should
be sent home BEFORE it is
passed?*

I do not like to trouble you
with an analysis of the way
in which it will vitally affect
the interests of millions, & is
only favourable to a noisy
class, the Zemindars - without
knowing whether you think
it possible to do this, with the
S. of State.

And it is probable that
you have had this Bill
before you: & have analysed
it yourself.

But, if not, I would thankfully
submit to you how this Bill
seems actually a taking away

of the rights established by Act X of 1859, which did so much for the Ryots, & is a sort of return to the worst principles of 1799 & of 1812.

The difficulty of course is: that the Zemindars are strongly represented in the Bengal Council while the Ryots are not at all, except so far as the official men protect them

These say: - one of them said so in the discussion on the Bill: - that the procedure (for summary realization of arrears of rent) *is*: a *most* summary & severe procedure: as indeed it is.

It appears to be no part of the scheme that there should

equally be a summary

remedy by process within reach of the Ryots against attempts to exact more than the established rent without any regular & legal enhancement.

The fairness of the arrangement altogether depends on an adequate provision of that kind of course.

The boon which Sir A. Eden proposes to give them (the Ryots) *is*: to make their hereditary tenures freely saleable & transferable in the market.

But here come in the broader question whether the right of sale & consequently of running into debt & pledging

-2-

their properties might not
be as fatal a gift to the
Bengal Ryots as it has
been to the Deccan.

I call upon you in my trouble:
- but I will not go on now lest
I break my promise *not*
fully to go into the Bill to you
unless you desire me.

The amazing interest of the
discussion in the 'Bengal
Council' lay in this: -

1. the tremendous case made
out by the British speaker
against the 'Permanent
Settlement', as ~~modified~~/strengthened by
1799 & 1812:

2. his admission that, while
"the Ryot has absolutely no
inducement to begin *any*

improvements,' we must look
to him & to no one else (to no
Zemindar) for *all* improvements.

3. But yet more strange than
this is - to hear an English
Government holding up the
superior condition of the ryots
under *native* rule: & citing
the "flourishing" ryots under
the Benares Rajahs.

4. Lastly: the British tribute
to the Ryot that there is no
more zealous improver of the
soil, "when his tenure is
assured," even when "his rent"
is "crushing". **[end 10:530]**

Pray believe me
ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

-3-

Private

& Confidential

Your kind letters are **[9:838-39]**
sacred to me: especially
sacred what you told me
about Mr. Caird's figures.

- [I knew of the 'battle raging
fierce & strong' between
Bombay & Madras, & indeed
between every body & every body
about Famine figures.]

But I have seen the statement
of N. W. Provinces' *millions* of famine
Deaths elsewhere: & you
must not think, if you
hear it, that *I* have betrayed
confidence.

It is now my turn to ask
for confidence: again:

it is all-important, I believe,
that Mr. Caird should write
the Report - that is, if he be

not 'traitor Scot' - As he is to
be home this week, we shall
soon know 'how he looks,' as
you say.

The intention I have just
heard from *Indian* Head Quarters is: -
- that Mr. Cunningham & Mr.
Elliot (I trust the latter
more than the former) are
"now about to draw up the
"framework of the Report
"& to throw into form the
"mass of information which
"we have collected" - *at Simla* -
that "the Report is to be
"finally settled in London in
"the course of the autumn
"so as to be ready for Parliament
"next Session."

Mr. Elliot has written by far
the most powerful & most

incisive & *in-seeing* contribution
to the Famine history in his
"Mysore famine."

But I cannot help saying that
the value of the Report
will consist in its being
written in England: far
from what you call justly
"blandishments." No one
must be 'enguirlandé.' And it is
so difficult to alter a 'framework' once
put together - is it not?

2. There are the most terrible
previsions of scarcity:

"The Punjab is in great peril:
& parts of Bombay are only
just, if at all, falling short
of scarcity." Oh me! oh me!
"a plague of rats is the last
misfortune."

[Did I not say that the legendary
Archbishop who was in his
castle on the Rhine reached

by the swimming line of rats
was a prophecy?

F.N.

Mr. Gladstone says, in a
note to me, that, however
bad the means which have
brought it about, the time
has come when Indian
questions *must* "force
their way to the front".
even in Parliament.

Burn : please. **[end 9:839]**
{printed address: upside down)
10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.

Mallet, signed letter, 1lff, pen

Private New Bengal Rent Act
10, South Street, {printed address:}
Park Lane. W.
April 7/79

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I am greatly obliged to you [10:530-33]
for your note & greatly
encouraged by the hope that
there is still "ample time
to secure" for the 'Realization
of Arrears of Rent' Bill
"full attention."

If I venture to offer the
following considerations, it is
because they are addressed
to me by native Bengal
gentlemen in Bengal who
are in favour of the Ryots,
& therefore curious &
interesting in themselves -
& not because I am not aware

that any thing I could say of
myself would ~~not~~ be, as
you say, only "second
hand & superficial information."

But I think my Bengal
friends' thoughts deserve
attention in themselves.

It seems as if this Bill
were actually going back from
Act X of 1859 which did
so much for the Ryots - & ~~is~~/were
a sort of return to the principles
of 1812, if not 1799.

The Ryots' friends think
the new Bill "calculated
"to operate most injuriously
"on the tenants' interest."
but that "the Bengal Govt"
[pray don't bring the Vernacular
Press Act down upon me:]

"is determined to pass this
"Bill & no amount of
"discussion will dissuade it
"from its intention. On such
"an important question, one
"which vitally affects the
"interests of the millions of
"H.M.'s subjects, only 6
"weeks' time has been allowed
"for discussion." This is however not so.

[Sir Ashley Eden has
certainly been a friend to
the Ryots, and would not
willingly injure them.

The difficulty in all these
cases is that the Zemindars
are strongly represented
in the Bengal ~~Govt~~ Council,
while the Ryots are not,
except so far as the official
men can protect them.

You will remember what
a strong & just protest
was made by an ex-
Governor of Bengal against
Sir Richard Temple's
proposal to make a
radical change in the
rights established by Act
X of 1859. And Sir
Ashley Eden did say that
he was determined ~~this~~/that
should not be carried out..

At the same time he said
that there is need of an easier
& less expensive process
~~process~~ for realizing *undisputed*
rents, in the interests of the
tenants who have to pay costs.

But it should *certainly* be

-2-

a part of the scheme that there should equally be a summary remedy by process within reach of the Ryots against attempts to exact more than the established rent without any regular & legal enhancement. The fairness of the arrangement altogether depends on an adequate provision of that kind.]

I return to the Bengal people's arguments: - take them for what they are worth - you will hear enough on the other side. They say - and in the discussion

on the Bill the British speaker says so himself - that the procedure (3) for summary realization of arrears of rent is: a most 'summary' & severe procedure -
- that (4) "14 days" is too short a time:
- that (6) "appeal only on amount of decree being deposited")
- where is he to get the money to make the deposit?

[We take your money: & then we say whether we will keep it. Pay us your debt, whether it is a debt or not, it will do afterwards to decide whether it is a debt.]

- that (9. "Landlord must
 "prove that rent at the rate
 "claimed has been paid in
 "former year or has been
 "agreed to) it is very easy
 to prove this.

[The fairness or otherwise
 of a very summary adjudication
 of rents depends entirely on
 the nature of the evidence
 accepted as to *past* payments.
 If the old law as requiring a
 regular register of these
 payments by *official* account=
 =ants (Patwarees & Canoongoes)
 were put in force, would
 it then be objectionable?
 The Road Cess returns have
 indirectly furnished a register,
 if they are accurately kept up.]

The friends of the Ryots say:
 that (12. "occupancy tenure
 heritable & transferable")
 there is a partial & not an
 absolute right of alienation.

[On the side of the Ryots:
 the boon which Sir A. Eden
 proposes to give them is to
 make their hereditary tenures
 freely saleable & transferable
 in the market - while
 Bengal Zemindars (& Irish
 landlords equally) oppose it.
 No doubt it is honestly
 meant as a concession to the
 Tenants. But here comes
 in the broader question whether
 the right of sale & consequently
 {printed address, upside down:} 10, South Street,
 of running into debt Park Lane. W.
 & pledging their properties

-3-

might not be as fatal a gift to the Ryots as it has been to the small proprietors of Bombay. But *good* Anglo-Indians say; the Bengal men are more accustomed to the law & might be more careful.]

- that (13. "occupancy ryot not to sublet without consent of Zemindar") the section does away with the system of sub-letting.

[Perhaps the 'Section' is right here.]

- that (17. "Transfers of occupancy tenures to be registered") this is too great a power in the hands of the Zemindar.

- that (20. "Execution may

issue on verbal application of decree holder") it is a most unjust procedure.

- so also 22. "The Court may in certain cases award to the plaintiff additional damages not exceeding 25 p. c."

- that 26 ("Arrears of rent" - *what they are* "quarterly days of payment": interest at 12 p. c. on all that shall remain unpaid by sunset on any quarterly day shall be awarded") will prove a death-blow to the tenants' right.

[This does seem a most arbitrary proceeding. One knows a good many people in Europe who would not like to pay "12 p. c." on bills remaining unpaid

"at sunset" on Quarter-day]
Are the Zemindars to refund
their 'abwabs' by 'sunset' on
Quarter Day?

- that 28 "Service of summons
in suits for arrears of rent"
the British speaker takes
objection to this sort of procedure
very rightly - & *then* - they
place the Ryot under this
disadvantage. In the discussion
Mr. Mackenzie says: "*personally*
he would like to "secure the
actual attendance of the ryot
before a decree": He says,
against the "process serving
peons", what we all know
to be a fact. And yet he
places the ryot under this
process: when what we want
for the ryot *is* just this - is it not?

"the securing his actual
attendance *before* decree" -
- 29. ("Ryot when liable to
ejectment") that the poor ryot
has only 15 days' time to
make the payment.
- 30 ("Crops belonging to
under-tenant liable to distraint")
that it discourages the system
of sub-letting altogether:
They say, of the Bill's two
objects, - No. 1. 'Yes, it
strengthens the hands of the
rent-receiver:' but No. 2.
(*"it attempts to strengthen the
position of the cultivating Ryot"*)
'No: it attempts to weaken the
position of the Ryot.'

-4-

The British speaker appeals to certain native gentlemen. And we answer: these are members of the Landholders' Association & first class Zemindars of Bengal.

And we say that the sum & substance of the whole Bill is that the "landlord has only "to file his plaint to secure x x x failing which (suit) the plaintiff will at once obtain a decree".

Mr. Mackenzie says himself (in the discussion): this is a most summary & severe procedure: & that it shifts entirely the *onus* on the ryot - He says this *himself*.

But Mr. Mackenzie appears to rely on the very Section 9

which is not sufficient.

And what is far worse he says: that the Bill is "tenderness itself compared " with the landlord's powers under Reg. VII of 1799 & Reg. V of 1812.

This is what irritates people so much: Is it desirable to return to 1799 & 1812?

[It is the Charles Dix principle! Is it desired in France to return to the times of Louis XV?] - 'Panjam' & 'Haftam', quoted by Mr. Mackenzie, were, were they not? engines of oppression in the Zemindar's hands: & for *that very reason* repealed by Act X of 1859. It is rather hard therefore to hark back beyond 1859, as if Act X is

to or ought to be repealed. Yet Mr. Mackenzie's speech sounds very like a condemnation of Act X as too 'tender'. And his present Bill is certainly not 'tenderness itself' as compared with Act X.

Then they are made very angry by his casting in their teeth the character of the Backergunge ryots. And they ask: because the Backergunge ryots are wicked, does it therefore follow that the ryots of other districts are wicked as well?

But the truth is: neither the Backergunge or any other Ryots are nearly so bad as they are painted. On the contrary: it is a good sign that they learn to stand up for their rights.

Mr. Mackenzie again repeats that the Zemindar is not to be allowed to turn the Bill into an "engine of oppression".

But what is there to prevent the proposed law from being an 'engine of oppression' in the Zemindar's hands?

And how does he propose to prevent it?

By, he says, Section 26. - which, they say, is one of the most objectionable Sections of all.

And by Section 27, a "proper system of rent receipts": - "an improvement advocated by the Zemindars themselves."

Is this any improvement at all? It is a pity that no real 'debate' is possible in the Bengal Council. The Govt ought to pay an Opposition

-5

The conclusion of all this is however a most lame & impotent conclusion and, except in discouraging sub-letting among the ryots (not the Zemindars), he, Mr. M., the British speaker, reverts again directly to strengthening the hands of the Zemindars.

I had/ve a great deal more to say from my 'clients': but, from my last letter from Bengal, it seems hopeful that the shape in which after discussion it is proposed to pass the Bill may be greatly modified:

-6-

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

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

Since I began this, I have had a letter from Calcutta, dated March 14 - the Select Committee (upon the new Bengal Rent Act) have made a preliminary Report upon the Bill.

They say that "they have taken it up without waiting for the criticisms & suggestions of the officers of Government & others who have been consulted, because they thought that it would eventually save time to clear the ground as far as possible & endeavour to come to some understanding among themselves as to the principle

"& details of the measure."

The individual members of
have not pledged
themselves to any part of the Bill.
They say: "the individual members
"of the Select Committee in
"making this preliminary Report
"reserve to themselves the right
"to modify, change or reject
"each & any portion of the Draft
"bill as now amended. There is
"still considerable difference of
"opinion in respect of many
"of its provisions, & one of the
"main objects of this Report
"is to invite attention to the
"points of doubt, a financial
"settlement as to which is not
"likely to be arrived at until all
"the Mofussil reports have been
"received & duly considered."

Further on they state: "Generally
"the Committee are inclined to the
"conclusion that, in view of the
"great importance of the matters
"treated in this Bill & of the
"amount of discussion that is
"likely to be raised in respect
"of them, the Government should
"not attempt to pass it through
"the Council too rapidly, or until
"full opportunity has been given
"for considering the detailed
"criticism of Mofussil officers
"& of non-official persons
"interested in land."

Of course you know all this
much better than I do.

At any rate I am devoutly
thankful that there is, as you
say, "ample time for securing
full attention." **[end 10:533]**

ever yrs sincerely
Florence Nightingale

Mallet, signed letter, 12ff, pen & pencil

BENGAL ARREARS OF RENT REALIZN BILL
 PRIVATE MAY 31/79
 & CONFIDENTIAL} 10, South Street, {printed address:}
 Park Lane. W.

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

Do you remember about the [10:533-35]
 beginning of April, being so
 good as to enquire about this
 Bill - & finding that it had
 "not yet reached the stage of
 "formal consideration" here.

Might I ask what further
 you have done about it?

Have you seen the Ryots'
 petition against the provisions
 in Part 2 of the Bill under
 the head "Procedure for
 summary realizn of arrears of
 rent"?

The circulation of the petition

for signatures was however

stopped - because the Lt.
 Governor, in accordance with
 the suggestion of the Select
 COMTEE, postponed the further
 discussion of the Rent Bill
 till next Session.

May one not be very glad of
 this?

He has appointed a Commission,
 as you know, for revising &
 amending *the entire Rent-Law*:

- how important this might be!

H.L. Dampier	President
J.O'Kinealy	Legal Remembrancer
C.D. Field	District Judge Burdwan
H.L. Harrison	Secy to Bd of Revenue
Babu Brajendra Kumar Lil:	Sub. judge
	24 Pergunnas

are the members: but no Unofficial member:

Are these good men?

And do you augur well of it?

The petition dwells much upon the fact that, whereas the *Zemindar's rent is the same now as in 1793*, the *ryot's rent* is from *three to twenty fold* what it was in 1793

[this, I suppose is strictly true]

"so that even if the Zemindar had to wait a year for his rent, he could not complain of inability to pay the Govt assessment from the previous year's rent."

The petition says that, tho' the "Zemindar may have parted to middlemen with much of the difference between the rent paid by the ryot in 1793 & the much larger rent paid now," yet "the fact that many

"are now fattening on the ryot, whereas the Cornwallis Settt designed that only *one* Zemindar should (not fatten upon but) 'protect & cherish' the ryot, is no reason for collecting from the ryot, with extra severity, the high rent which he now pays."

[This seems reasonable.]

In a long note, the petition goes into the fact that in 1853, the Regns of 1799 & 1812 were "mere instruments of oppression in the landlord's hands," & gives many reasons to prove that these "observations would equally apply to provisions of Sections 3 & 4."

The note dwells particularly on the fact that "a Zemindar, by simply stating an untruth,

-2-

"can either consign a man to prison or sell off his property by distress" x x - " & that "this power is not only in the hands of the Zemindars, but also in the hands of their agents, gomashlas, petty farmers - in fact of any one who pleases to assert falsely, whether in part or entirely, that a cultivator is in balance of rent due to him" - that " the tenants have no effectual remedy," because "for a poor man to find security is almost impossible," & that it must be "security to the satisfaction of the ferosh ameen or the nazir, both of whom are probably BRIBED {double underlining} by the more powerful party to reject it" &c &c &c

- that "the Zemindar has, in effect, arbitrary power", for the "Zemindar acts on his own legal responsibility, & the ryot is left to enforce that responsibility by process of law" [All which, I suppose, is beyond contradiction.]

The petition prays "that the Zemindar shall no longer be allowed to be the judge in his own case, subject merely to unreal & ineffective restrictions:"

It states that even the "Courts of justice say, 'The witnesses say so & so: I have no reason to disbelieve them': whereas it is well known that the witnesses can be purchased for a few annas a piece."

[This, I suppose, was too true

& *is* still too true:]

It states that

"almost all the claims enforced by these means are false."

The "Indian Tribune" has been publishing some articles on this Bengal Rent Bill: & some very important Tables -

It says that Mr. Mackenzie's Bill is "based upon the assumption that in the vast majority of suits for recovery of arrears of rent the defence set up is frivolous"

follows, a Table for the last 3 years in the 24 Pergannahs - which shows that "out of 1915 cases in which defence was entered, it failed only in 478, while it was successful in 1437 cases."

They go on to argue that, "if any restrictions are to be placed on any party in rent suits, it is on the landlord plaintiff & not on the tenant defendant"

and that, if this is the 'Table' for the 24 Perganas, where the relations between landlord & tenant are good, & the Zemindars enlightened, & "annually commended" by the Commissioner for their conduct towards their ryots, - what must the state of things be in other parts of Bengal?

And they argue that, if the Govt of Bengal were to ascertain {printed address, upside down:} 10. South Street, *the proportion of* Park Lane. W. *suits for arrears of rent, in which the defence proves successful*

-3-

the assumption upon which
Sir A. Eden has founded the
first portion of his Rent Bill
falls to the ground.

[This, I suppose, is true].

They say that
"landlords' accounts" "are not
worth the paper they are
written on".

that "the falsification of Zemindar's
accounts, is an every-day occurrence
in the Lower Provinces" -

that "it is a tradition of Bengal
to fraudulently magnify rent
claims & support them by
perjured witnesses & forged
accounts."

(which we know but too well)

The writer "challenges" any one
to contradict this

And the "challenge" has not yet
been taken up.

The Editor of the paper was
formerly, I understand, a
Moonsiff in Bengal.

The petition was drawn up,
I believe, by "a lawyer of some
standing", a vakeel of the High
Court of Calcutta, & was circulated
in Mofussil for signatures.

Can Part II of the Bengal
Rent Bill be worked in such
a way as to prevent its becoming
"an engine of oppression in the
hands of the *corrupt* amla
of the *absentee* Bengal
Zemindar"?

Side by side with all this are quotations from powerful English at home in favour of employing natives in all Govt offices - (which we all so wish for.)

How does the evidence corruption furnished by the natives themselves confirm the plan of putting natives into Govt situations?

This seems to me the real fount of the whole difficulty.

What system do you propose to reform corruption?

[end 10]

Have you read "Chronicles of Budgepore"?

I could tell many ~~anecdotes~~/facts to support its truth.

BENGAL RENT BILL

As regards the transferability of tenure, a native friend writes to me that "it is at best a "partial & not an absolute right of alienation. Suppose a tenant cultivates 6 acres of land, he contracts a debt which he can pay off by selling a portion of his holding, say two acres. Now under section 12 of the bill, he must either sell the entire holding, or he must not sell it at all. Then again a tenant having occupancy right dies leaving a widow & a minor son. These cannot have occupancy right in the lands held by the deceased from not being actual cultivators of the soil. Likewise {printed address, upside down:} 10. South Street, a ryot's widow cannot Park Lane. W. purchase an occupancy right from a co-sharer, as she is not

-4-

"an actual cultivator of the soil."

But they all say that they have

"grave doubts whether the transferability of tenure will not make the ryots reckless in contracting debts by giving them power to pledge a newly acquired right"

Would it not be MOST DESIRABLE to APPOINT TWO UNOFFICIAL MEMBERS, ON THE COMMISSION to revise the WHOLE BENGAL RENT LAW - *such* an important thing - ONE TO REPRESENT THE RYOTS, ONE THE ZEMINDARS?

If you think well, will YOU not URGE THIS?

II

if LORD AIREY is to be President of the COMMISSION for revising the INDIAN ARMY in its aspect to Indian finance, HE WILL NOT DO MUCH FOR US, will he?

The friends & advocates of the condition=of=the=people=of=India have not only convinced the House They have convinced the Govt also. Why were they not convinced before?

But could not much, much more be done in cutting down the 'Home' charges & the MILITARY EXPENDITURE than MR. STANHOPE says?

What do you think of the
Poona fires?

The reins of Govt seem to have
fallen almost as much out of
Govt's hands in Bombay as in
Russia.

The day of India *has* come, as
Mr. Gladstone told me.

But it is a dreadful day -
When we re-seize the reins,
may we have learnt our new
lesson!

Don't you think we have a
new language to learn, even a
new alphabet to create, to write
& to speak about India?

This burning down the Govt
offices in Poona (the country
capital of Bombay) & the
manifesto which the armed gangs
have sent to Govt, have lighted
up with an awful light
our broken promises to the
poor indebted people who rose

4 years ago against the
oppressions of the money-lenders.

We promised to redress their
grievances & we have done
nothing: nothing but report
& lay fresh ones on.

[Sir R. Temple himself admits
the dire distress in Deccan.]

1. Those who knew prophesied that
when the Public Works, essential
to employ the people *now* in
this second scarcity, were
stopped - & there is no work,
no natural work to be had
before July or August, - the
people would squat before
their huts - then they would
certainly steal a little - then
they would join the armed

{printed address, upside down:} 10, South Street,
gangs, & those who Park Lane. W.
were unsuccessful as
robbers would starve & come
upon famine relief. So the

-5-

last state would be worse & more costly than the first.

It was prophesied that it would be so - & *it has been so*.

2. A poor indebted Deccan peasantry - can nothing be done for this fine people? - It does not signify whether an assessment is light or heavy: For they have nothing. They *must* go to the money-lenders to pay it. That makes them slaves. but, such were the exigencies of the Govt of India that, whereas the 'remissions' were enormous & necessarily so in Madras, in Bombay the Govt boasted that it would make no 'remissions' - only 'suspensions' (as you know by Sir R. Temples' Minute -)

& would finally collect nearly all the revenue.

And it *has* done so.

It was prophesied by those who knew that, if this were done, the ground-down people would rise at last. And this much enduring, patient Mahratta peasantry *have* risen at last. - twice. this is the second time.

3. It is now prophesied by those who know that, should there be another Sepoy Mutiny, (which there *will* be, I suppose), the Mahratta peasantry, formerly our staunch friends, will join it to a man.

This is prophesied. May it *not* be so. May we learn in time.

Mr. Gladstone says that Mr. Fawcett's motion will be the prelude to much greater things - RETRENCHMENT: but retrenchment to SPEND more wisely & more well.

Meantime the accounts from the East & from the West, from the North & from the South of India are terrific. It is a dreadful day that is come.

From the very opposite side of

India to Bombay, an old

official writing to me says:

(of the Famine Commission:)

- there are the men who with few exceptions are directly responsible (for the poverty & famine) because they have reported for years that

'THE COUNTRY WAS FLOURISHING'

& 'THE PEOPLE PROSPEROUS.'

They ought to be on their *trial* instead of being the *judges!*

I venture to send you 3 LETTERS

OF MINE from the "Illustrated

London News": tho' not perhaps

quite to this point of the subject.

{printed address, upside down:} 10, South Street.

Park Lane. W.

FAMINE MORTALITY -6- }
of 1876-78 }

{printed address:} 10, South Street.

III Park Lane. W.

You will kindly remember our
correspondence on this subject:
- & Mr. Stanhope's little Memo -
& my writing to India for
further information in regard to
it. That information
has long since come. It confirms
the worst figures that have
appeared. The highest
estimate of Madras Famine Morty seems lower
than the actual fact - Bombay
is said to be 700 000 Deaths:
Of Hyderabad we never shall
know the exact horrors: but
they were intense.
As for the figures supplied to the
Ho. of C., last August, they would
be ridiculous, if we were treating

the question as one of arithmetic.

They would be like a sum on
a child's slate in
the lowest class: a child just
beginning to count.

I have not sent you these
figures, because of what you
said & of what I said: viz. If
what is *certain*, what is
known already, what is *beyond*
dispute & challenge as regards
the Famine Deaths, does not
move the Govt to action,
nothing will. ~~B~~-it

But the figures are very
much at your service, if you
like to have them. Only I
am very much overworked -
& how must you be!

Has the Govt of India furnished
you with *any more information?*
as to *Famine Mortality?*

IV

MR CAIRD

Do you think he is
satisfactory? I long to know
WHAT YOU THINK.

V.

DECCAN MONEY-LENDING

Would it be possible, if I were
to send you a FORM, that you
could kindly have it FILLED
UP IN THE I. O., - shewing the lands
& acres that have passed out
of the hands of the ~~proprietors~~/cultivators
into those of the MONEY-LENDERS
in certain villages *since*
we took them over from the
Nizam's & other native States?

VI

May I be assured by your
kindness that, if it appears
from past correspondence
that *information* from India
reaches me which does NOT
reach the Govt, you have
never, *you will never betray*
~~my secret~~/the source of your information. Otherwise it (the
information) would be stopped to my address.

Excuse this long ~~long~~/rambling letter. I seem
to be trying to gather up the
ravelled threads of our past
correspondence, & only to
tangle them more: **[end 10:535]**

but pray believe me
ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

Mallet, signed letter, 8ff, pen

THE COMMISSION "TO REVISE THE ENTIRE
RENT LAW OF BENGAL

PRIVATE July 7/79

10, South Street, {printed address:}

Park Lane. W.

[10:536-38]

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I cannot tell you how much
I thank you for your letter.

It is quite certain that,
however discouraging Indian
public affairs are, it is an
immense engine for good for
India your being at the I. O.,
and if a man attains his
ideal he must be in a bad
way, for his ideal must be
low indeed.

With reference to the Rent Law
of Bengal, have you seen the
supplement to the Calcutta
Gazette of April 23/79?

It is extraordinary - extraordinary,

I mean, as showing
the things *acknowledged*
by *Government*?

And it is only as such that
I venture to direct your attention
to it.

In this case, it is not, as you
say, people "disagreeing, as they
almost always do."

It is the *High Court of*
Judicature which speaks.

["British "calves attend!"]
After a Minute by the Secy to
Govt of Bengal in the "Appointment
of a Commission to consider the
question of amending the rent
law of Bengal," in which he says
that Zemindars! declare the
amended Bill to be *of little use*

to them, & it is they who ask
for the Commission!

[it is something, I suppose, on
our side that there should be
"free discussion & deliberation"
upon the subject:

but will the members of the
Commission *examine the Ryots*
& ascertain what their actual
condition is?]

the High Court of Judicature
begins:

"The Judges" "desire to reiterate" -

"The Judges" "desire to express
their astonishment" -

the Ryots' riots, they say, are
all the fault of the Zemindar,
of "his impatience, pride, &
preference for illegal courses".

I listen in delighted silence

to the words:

But only imagine the chief
Justice & Courts of Law
in England reading such a
lecture to the body of
English land owners: & Her
Majesty's Govt putting it
in the Gazette:

" *the blame*" in riots "*must
generally rest with the Zemindar*"
"THE COURT" says. {double underlining}

The documents following after
this by an Offl District Judge
&c upon which the Minute of the High Court is based are painfully, frightfully
interesting. But of course
authorities can always get out
of facts by saying that the
Judge is "mad" or the like
& perhaps he sometimes is. [I
know Indian Judges & Collectors
who grind their teeth "in rage"

-2-

at the injustices they are
obliged to commit]

Nor should I take up your
time with this but that you
will observe it is endorsed
& urged by the *High Court*
of Judicature: -

*"The fact is the Zemindars
"seeking enhancement get the
"best of it either by open decree,
"favourable compromise, or other
"settlement agreeable to the
"Zemindar. The ryots cannot
"afford to carry on appeals.
"The Zemindar can & does." xx*

x x

And further on:

[I am still in my Gazette:]

It is "District Judges" who speak:

*"Zemindars sell out by auction
"the right of determining, of
"collecting, & above all of screwing*

"up the rents. When the disagreeable task has been effected, the Zemindar re-enters on the estate & claims to work on the enhanced rent-roll, for the ijaradar's rent collection papers are always carefully stipulated for beforehand. When a substantial but refractory ryot has managed to hold his own against a series of successive ijaradars, then the Zemindar or the later ijaradar selects him for the ultima ratio of an enhancement suit. x x x

"It is only as a last resource that a x x Zemindar betakes himself to anything so decorous as a suit at law in order to obtain an enhancement."

Is this trickery true? this
"system of periodical usually
triennial, ijara auctions"?

It is stated that the Zemindar
takes to it in almost every
district.

The same Judge x goes on (naming
some Zemindars by name): -

"By *undisputed rents* is meant
what the Zemindar chooses to
describe to the Exe authorities
as undisputed rents."

"As a rule, enhancement suits are
almost avowedly mere engines
for harassing by expensive processes.

x x x "The usual device is
to allege all the possible grounds,
increase in area, increase in fertility,

x The Judge's name appears
to be Geddes - And
Jenny Geddes' 'stool'
would come in with great effect.

*"increase in crop value,
increase in rates payable by
neighbour ryots of the same
class, to hop from the one
ground to the other, to fence
over all of them & to prove
none."*

This from a Judge ! endorsed
by a High Court.

*" As a rule, rent rates have
already been screwed up too
high, thanks to the high-handed
practices which prevail
among ijaradars."*

[This is from the District Judge
of Tipperah: but it is stated
that the Zemindars do these things in
almost all cases.]

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

-3-

"Zemindars & ijaradar substitutes for Zemindars, on finding themselves checkmated by the prescribed test of law as to increase in values, have resorted largely to the other test - that of the increase in rent-rates paid by similar ryots for similar lands. Then in too many cases the result was intriguing & manoeuvring. *The standard device was to bribe this or that member of the ryot class to tell a lie that he was paying at such & such rate, when in reality by a secret treaty he was to pay only at such or such a rate much lower. It was this extremely reprehensible intriguing which called forth combinations to withhold all rents as the only means available to resist improper enhancement of rents.*"

[Should we not call *perjury* what he calls 'reprehensible' & prosecute accordingly?]

"There never yet was any sustained combination to withhold rents, which was not a *perfectly legitimate reply to a challenge* thrown down by the *rent claimant himself*."

But what a state of things in a country nominally governed by law! really governed by perjury!

The Judge virtually says to the people: 'we cannot protect you by law: you must protect yourselves by riots.'

Now these Gazettes & official documents are of course read by the daily increasing class of educated Hindoos (*not Zemindars*) - daily increasing under our own influences - at Calcutta, Bombay &c x And what must they think of us?

There *is* a public opinion rising up now.

And whether they think of us or not, what must we think of ourselves?

[end 10:538]

x In fact, I not unfrequently receive these Gazettes, *copious marked*, from Hindoo correspondents of mine at Calcutta.

One asked me what questions to ask of ryots; & I told him: & he has printed them & ~~distributed~~/ circulated them among

P. turn over

{from the bottom of the next f}
{printed address, upside down:} his Mofussil friends:-not with my name &
extremely without my
10, South Street,
consent, -
Park Lane. W & is himself making a
tour in the country to collect exact
information from ryots. Do not think
me a firebrand & 'Latter Day' man.

My Gazette: (my High Court)
goes on: it comments upon
the absurdity of the "*unearned
increment*". It says:
"Is the profit by the substitution
of valuable jute for coarse rice
to be treated as unearned?
Is the bulk of even a large
share of the profit of that
change to pass necessarily
into the pockets of the Zemindar?"

x x x

"If that is to be so, *the ryots
will be unwise if they go on
introducing new & valuable
staples to replace the old
ones, that is to say, go on
furnishing the means for
raising rents on themselves or*

-4-

"*their neighbours.*"

This is still *the Judge!*

There is no doubt that this is

what the Ryots say in

parts in Orissa, e.g.

But what a strange thing for

the Judge to put it in the

ryots' mouths! In England

it would be an 'agitator', a

'People's delegate,' who would

say these things. In India

it is a Judge: & what is

more a *High Court*.

[There are two curious papers by

Moonsifs in the same Gazette,

in one of which is an account

of how the orthodox Hindoos,

or "respectable people," "very seldom,

if ever, come to give their evidence"

at once: saying, "tho' served with a

summons, that it would be derogatory

"to their dignity if they come *merely*
on a summons" &c

Is this because false evidence hired
& contracted for is so common?]

Is it not a tremendous case
when the High Court of Judicature
issues a document speaking
out in this way from the
whole body?

I remember it used to be a
complaint that the 13 or 15
Judges, (whichever it is), never
could be got to speak out as
a body.

But for the whole Court to
make such a case is surely
a portentous fact: is it not?

I do not presume even to think whether you might do anything with this. But, as you are so good as to say that I do not trouble you, I send it. I have much worse things 'in the shop': but it is not often one has the luck to have ~~the~~ Judges as *witnesses*, & ~~the~~ a High Court on the side of the prosecution: or rather ~~the~~ as PROSECUTORS {double underlining}

I am afraid that the high officials of Bengal (on the side of the Ryots) think that, in any re-adjustment of the settlement made in 1859, the men of money who command the lawyers & the newspapers & the NATIVE MEMBERS OF COUNCIL {double underlining} (there's the rub! these members join against their own flesh & blood: - like Saturn, they devour their own children:) will certainly not lose & may not improbably gain.

I am going to profit by
your great kindness to
send you the Form to be
filled up (about the
money-lenders in the Deccan
getting hold of the land)
tomorrow: & to answer
other parts of your invaluable
letter.

Pray believe me
ever most faithfully yours
Florence Nightingale
The "Commission" for revising
the "entire rent law" of Bengal
has begun to sit.
F.N.

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

Mallet, signed letter, 7ff, pen

LANDS *passing into* MONEY LENDERS HANDS

DECCAN money-lending:

July 12/79

10, South Street, {printed address:}

Park Lane. W.

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

By your kind leave, I
send the Form of Return by
which, if it could be filled
up, valuable information
would be had as to the effects
of our Civil Court system on
the Ryots.

[If you approve, I would
have this Form printed for
the purpose to be filled
up at the I. O.

In some Deccan Collectorates
the Collectors have themselves
stated that there are
villages received some years
ago from the Nizam in
which our Civil Courts have
but lately been introduced.
- that the people were most

least fitted to use them: -
the money-lenders.'

I rejoiced when I heard that

Mr. Pedder was your new
Revenue Secy. I suppose
there is no man who knows
the real condition & the
real interests of the cultivators
as he does, wherever his
experience has extended.

[It was the reading of a
paper of his which first
stirred me up.]

COLLECTORS' DUTIES & IGNORANCE OF RYOTS.

I had a strange confirmation
the other day of your remark
that "we in England have no
idea of what is done in our
name." - It was from a gentleman

now on leave in England
after 10 years in India -
(Madras Presy). He says
"The Collector does not know
the cultivators.

He has so much to do that
he cannot give the time to
seeing them in their villages.

As things are now, he is
often never known or seen
by them.

The only acquaintance
the cultivators have with the
British Govt. is thro' the
petty native official, in
whose hands are practically
placed the collection of the taxes
as well as the assessment
of those very taxes he collects.
He is also the returning Officer
for the Census & property
estimates.

-2-

The corruption resulting is, he says, & I believe no one doubts, appalling.

I am afraid to tell you the estimate which he has formed of the extent to which this corruption might go on in the Land Revenue: I mean, while the Ryots pay say so many millions per annum to Governmt for their land, what it is supposed they *may* pay to their *petty native & other village officials*.

One can only hope that his is an exceeding overestimate. But I mentioned it to Mr. Caird: & he does not think it is so.

But anyhow this is a matter which ought to be & hardly is enquired into by Govt.

A travelling Commissioner is one of the ways suggested to enquire.

These petty oppressions are

laying waste the country.

The agriculture in parts of Madras is becoming deplorable.

More than 4 millions of acres went out of cultivation in 1877-78.

too. [In a tour of the Sanitary

Commissioner's he found from one eighth to one third of the huts in villages ruined &

deserted besides villages wholly deserted: not a trace anywhere of their inhabitants having gone to other parts.]

It is terrible to hear from different parts of India the same prophecies of agrarian riots becoming universal.

One thing is advocated by so many:

viz. that the Revenue & Judicial duties of the Collector should be separated in order that the

Revenue officer may devote most of his time to becoming

acquainted with his people, their grievances & their *crops*.

A Coadjutor to attend to the judicial & office routine.

If, instead of the Collector being moved about from one

District to another, he, as a rule, were to remain for 10 or 20 or 25 years in one district; (& not for 2 or 3,) he might then really do some good: as you indeed have said:

[I could almost ask you to see my Madras friend/informant, not of course for the sake of his advice but for the sake of his information: as he really knows the ryots. There is no hurry: he is not now in London And he will not return to India till next year.]

I believe Mr. Caird's opinion is almost the same viz. as to the overwhelming duties of the Collector rendering him almost useless for the real object for which he is there.

And, as you say, "we are governing a huge empire of 200 millions without knowing how the Govt is carried on":

And as, alas! too truly, you also say: what is ~~the~~ our cry now? To "reduce our workers in every direction."

"The stoppage of half the work in India," how alarming this is The distress in consequence, I hear, is truly frightful.

[end 10:523]

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

-3-

DECCAN MONEY-LENDING:

You have of course Mr. Hope's Bill before you.

I have not seen it.

I trust you think well of it.

I must not trouble you with comments upon your two letters, for which I cannot thank you enough: & the more so as I know I shall have to trouble you again.

Pray believe me
ever yours gratefully

Florence Nightingale

I had a humble little article in "Good Words" for July on the Bombay Famine: & shall have another in August. Perhaps, when they are complete, I may have the honour of sending them you.

P. TURN OVER

If the remedy proposed
by Mr. Hope's Bill is:
improved Civil Courts: some
of the best informed are
almost inclined to say:
The better the justice, the
worse for the Ryot. For,
Tie him to his bond -
No equity -
If the Ryot is stupid & does
not understand the bond he
has put his mark to, the law
cannot help that: -
is the principle of the Civil Courts.
Do not some of our best men
dread this kind of thing?

F.N.

Explanatory Remarks

The only difficulty in the above definitions will probably
be in the terms "best land" and "inferior" used in the lower
subdivisions of Cols. 6, 7, 8. But this distinction is well
known in the Deccan, where in parts the two classes of
Dry crop land (as opposed to *Irrigated* or *Baghaet* land)
differ immensely in value & the nature of the crop they
produce. The "inferior" *Dry crop land* is *Hill land*
(or *Warkas.*) and all other *Dry crop land* should be classed
as "best land."

If lands held by Brahmins or other Non-agriculturalists
cannot be distinguished, they must be entered under the Sub
Cols. "Cultivated Acres held by Agricultural Classes". The Returns
will be useless if lands held by Money-lenders cannot be separated
& accurately entered.

If the Returns can be obtained for seven villages in
each of the 3 Collectorates, taken at random from among
newly received villages, it might be enough & save the
trouble of obtaining them for more. Possibly such
villages are very numerous in Sholapore and Kaladgi
Collectorates.

12/7/79

Return of cultivated land held by Money-lenders and by persons of the agricultural class in certain villages of the Ahmednagar, Sholapore & Kalagee Collectorates, received by exchange or otherwise from the territory of H.H. the Nizam in the years 1869-61 to 1869-70 {the following table is written both horizontally and vertically}

1	Name of Collectorate	
2	Name of Village	
3	Year in which Village came under British Government	
4	Year in which Indian Civil Procedure Code & Civil Law were introduced into village	
5	Latest year for which information is obtainable	
6	Areas cultivated in year mentioned in Col 3	
	Cultivated Acres in village hands of money-lenders	Cultivated Acres in hands of Agricultural classes
	Irrigated Best land } Inferior }	Irrigated Best land } Inferior }
7	Ditto in year mentioned in Col 4	
	Cultivated Acres in hands of Money-lenders	Cultivated Acres Do Do Do of Agricultural Classes
	Irrigated Best land } Inferior }	Irrigated Best land } Inferior }
8	Do in year mentioned in Col 5	
	Do Do Do Do Money-lenders	Do Do Do Do Agricultural Classes
	Irrigated Best land } Inferior }	Irrigated Best land } Inferior }
9	Remarks	

Mallet, signed letter, 2ff, pen

Dec 1/79

10, South Street, {printed address:}

Park Lane. W.

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I do not know whether
most to admire my virtue
in 'ceasing from troubling' you
for so long: or to wonder
at my audacity in
beginning again.

There are two subjects on
which you have been so
kind as often to listen to
my prayer: -

One is: the revision of the
entire Bengal Rent Law:
upon which a Committee
at Calcutta

was sitting, of which Mr.

Field was the Secretary.

Might I venture to ask if
you have any reports or
correspondence relating
to the progress which
that Committee has been
making?

2. You will kindly
remember the Forms
which you had filled up
in the India Office,
as far as they could be filled
up there,

up relating to the Area,
Irrigation & Revenue
Statistics of each Province?

Might I ask if any
action has been taken
IN MAKING them more
complete?

Probably, as it is a matter
of great public interest,
the Council may have
undertaken to follow it up.

Perhaps I might be
allowed to have copies
when they arrive from India
[I need hardly say that

whatever is private, I
will keep private.]
My mouth & my pen & soul
overflow with the tremendous
state of India: but I
nobly refrain. If I think
what must you not think?

Pray believe me
dear Sir Louis Mallet
ever yours faithfully & gratefully
Florence Nightingale

Mallet, signed letter, 4ff, pen

Commission to revise BENGAL RENT LAW

PRIVATE {double underlining}

10, South St.

Park Lane W.

Feb 23/80

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

May I trouble you by asking in what stage are the *Rent Commission* & its Report, of which the President is 'Dampier', & the Secretary Mr. Field?

I hear from a 'native correspondent' at Calcutta, - **[10:538-39]**
- a native who has really devoted himself to the good of the ryot that the Report is supposed to have been submitted to Govt : but is not yet made public &

that the introduction of a new Rent Bill may soon be expected in the Bengal Council.

My 'information' - excuse my talking like a newspaper - is very discontented, & says that "the interests of the ryots are to be sacrificed to those of the Zemindars."
- that, of the additional native members of the Rent Commn: (1) Babu Mohiny Mohun Ray is "the best pleader of the High Court, ~~who is~~ himself a big Zemindar": (2) Babu Pyari Mohun Mukerji is "son of that

big Zemindar Joy Kissen Mukerji, the terror of his tenants." "And all the native members are advocates of the Zemindar's cause. Babu Kristo das Pal, the Editor of the Hindoo Patriot, which is the organ of the British Indian Association, is "naturally an advocate of the Zemindars; " and "the other gentleman, Babu Brajendra Kumar Lal, sub-judge, 24 Pergunnas, is "inclined to the Zemindar's side." Mr. Field is "not a friend of the Ryots." And even "Dampier" (who I suppose is a very good man), is a "warm friend of some richest

"Zemindars of Calcutta.":

However, much of this may be gossip.

The only thing I venture to ask

is: *Is the Report gone*

in to Government?

and *what do you think*

of it?

[end 10:538]

They say that in some

districts, people pay

8 annas a rupee for

Road Cess: the ryots being

so afraid of the Zemindars

that they do not grumble

at paying it.

I wish there were a

powerful Zemindar-trap

as there was created by

-2-

the Register of the rents paid to the Zem. or by the Ryots of which every Ryot could, by paying a small fee, have an attested copy - And the Ryots used to come trooping in to get their attested copies of the rent they were said to pay.

A graduate of the Calcutta University, a talukdar, pays 2 annas per Rupee as Road Cess, & this he says his father pays thro' fear of the Zemindar.

Questions press upon my mind which I should like to ask you about India.

But I am ashamed.

The Famine Commissioners' *material* is portentous - ('proprio stupendo!) It remains to be seen whether they will have the courage of their opinions: or rather of their *facts* - Mr. Caird will. But will the others?

If you hear anything about the working of the new Act for the agricultural Dekkan debtors, I am sure that you will be so kind as to desire some one to send me the papers.

What do you say to Affghanistan now? ~~They~~/We say: "we will not interfere with the internal affairs of the country." It has no "internal affairs". We have smashed them all up. We have shattered & destroyed its "internal affairs". And then we say we don't want to interfere with its "internal affairs" when it has none ~~to~~ left to "interfere with".

What "bulwark" can Affghanistan be to us against Russia now?

I hope I shall be able to [10:539]
make better use of the
invaluable information which
from time to time you are
so very good as to send me.
I can but say that I can
scarcely have another 6
months like the last. Illness
& overwork I have had for 3
& 20 years. But the last half
year ending with the death
of my dear Mother can
scarcely come again - without
death. Therefore I trust
in your kindness not to
throw me over but believe [end 10:539]
me ever yours faithfully
& gratefully

Florence Nightingale
Sir Louis Mallet
&c &c &c

Mallet, signed letter, 4ff, pen

Commission for revising RENT LAW

IN BENGAL

PRIVATE

& CONFIDENTIAL 10, South St.

Park Lane W.

[10:538-39]

Feb 25/80

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I have heard, from a gentleman concerned in the "Proceedings", the actual state of things as regards the Bengal Rent Law Report, about which I ventured a question to you on the 23rd.

The 'situation' is: that Mr. Field has made a digest of the existing Law with suggestions of his own for its improvement, & the Commission are now going

over these. Mr. Field who is the working member, & also draws up the digests & drafts, is clearly *anti-ryot*. And his "suggestions" are very *retrogressive*, & try to give the Zemindar "immensely improved facilities for enhancement" And in fact our Law & our Collectors are to become Collectors=in=waiting & Law=in=waiting to their Zemindarial Highnesses.

But the Commission have *not* reported : they are in fact only entering on their work.

But some of our best

English officials say:

"I fear the whole thing".

There seem to be only two natives attending the meetings, of whom one is wholly for the Zemindars: - ~~but~~ the other the "sub-Judge," seems inclined to be just to the Ryots in most things.

Still the Ryot appears to be in great danger: As I understand it (from English officials) there is a proposal e.g. to introduce "the forfeiture of the holding of a Tenant who denies the title of his Superior": & a tacit assumption of the English idea

"that everything prima facie belongs to the ~~land~~ Landlord".

- "that in fact the 'unearned increment' is the right of the Landlord, & the Ryot is to have only bare justice."

[Now, has not the Ryot both by status & by the Law of 1793 original rights of his own?]

THIS {double underlining} 'correspondent' only ~~wishes~~/aspires not to give the Zemindars anything that the Act of 1859 does not give them. He recognizes the impossibility at present to give protection against ejection by the settlement of 1859." But he wishes

Private -2-

very much for "the Behar proposal:" i.e. protecting Ryots who have cultivated for 12 years in the same village.

Mr. Field's proposals are represented as most "objectionable": introducing new rules of enhancement:
- giving new rights to the Zemindar - also a right to buy out the Ryot at an arbitrary valuation:
in fact, for the Govt (our Law) to do the Zemindar's work for him: & to out-Zemindar Zemindars. And it seems by no means certain that these may not win.

I would gladly tell you what Mr. Field's proposals are. But I fear to trouble you.

Only, as I was bound to mention that the Commission have *not* reported, or got near a Report - in contradiction of my former letter - I thought I could not but show the danger our friends, the Ryots, are in.

I am sure you will kindly keep my counsel:
- I do not know that I have

any business to write about
this at all.

If you have taught
me to rely on your
kindness, it is your fault.

Pray believe me
ever faithfully & gratefully yrs
Florence Nightingale

Sir Louis Mallet

&c &c &c

N.B.

Anent Road cess: the Cess was
doubled for public works
(Famine fund:) but even so
is now only 1 anna in the
rupee: The cases of great
over-exaction must therefore
be flagrant" F.N.

Mallet, signed letter, 4ff, pen
Private Address

10, South St.

Park Lane W.

May 6/80

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I have never thanked you
for your kind (pink) note
from Mentone. I hope,
if you are come home, that
it has done you all the
good your best friends
would wish.

What do you think of
the new state of affairs?

And what do you think
of the new Viceroy?

Philip II is made to say:
'O for one pulse-beat only
of omniscience!'

I say: 'O for one pulse beat

[10:682]

of Mr. Gladstone as
Chancellor of the Exchequer
for *India*!

But I am not going to waste
your time with ejaculations.
Do you know Mr.

ROBERTSON, Supt of Govt
Farms in Madras?

He gives a Lecture on
"Agriculture in South India"
on Friday evening (tomorrow)
at 8 at the *Society of Arts*
(John St Adelphi)

I have no hopes that
you will have time to go.
Nor does that signify if
only you could see him.

And, if then you thought
well, if you would
ask Lord Hartington to see
him. Or, above all,
Lord Ripon, before he
sets forth.

Mr. Robertson is only in
London for a *few days*.
But he must be made
to stay if you will see
him.

I take the liberty of
enclosing his address: **[end 10:682]**

W.R. Robertson Esq
Hotel West Central Temperance
Southampton Row
Russell Square

Mr. Robertson is certainly [10:682-83]
the man who knows most
about agriculture in S.
India - [Mr. Caird thinks
him a little too "scientific"]
- perhaps in *all* India,
excepting Mr. Hume.
[You know Mr. Hume's
pamphlet on "Agricultural
Reform in India".]

When one thinks that
we take out of the land
of India twenty millions
a year revenue, & give
little or nothing back,
one feels that the day
must come when the
cultivators will ask
account of this.

-2-

Some think the day is not
far off & that the
people of India are
beginning to say: 'England
does not wish us to learn,
about Agriculture. because then we should
ask for roads & irrigation
& improved implements
& c & c & c in agriculture:
& something to be put
back into the land for
all this is taken out of it.'
Mr. Robertson was employed
by the Govt of Bombay
to make a scheme
for agricultural training,
including some agricultural
instruction for the native
Revenue officials - it
does seem ~~so~~ wonderful

that we require no
agricultural knowledge
in these native officials
of *agriculture*.

The scheme was negatived,
I understood, by the
S. of S. here, because it
would cost £1000 a
year!!

Is it true that the *War*
expences of last year
are 3 millions more
than they told us?!

About all this, however,
you know much more than
I. And I ought to beg
your pardon.

I have never seen Mr.
Robertson (tho' I have
corresponded with him)

And I could fancy that
he is not at all a '*persona*
grata': perhaps not
quite a gentleman.

But when one can get
facts out of a man of his
information about a
subject of such all=
=importance to India
as agriculture, I cannot
understand the *great*
(or as our Egyptian dragoman
called them, the **big**,)
caring for this.

Perhaps they don't.

I want so much to ask
you about the Famine
Commission Report,
& other things of countless
importance that I
forcibly stop myself; **[end 10:683]**
& am ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale
Sir Louis Mallet &c

Mallet, signed letter, 10ff, pen & pencil

BENGAL RENT } LAW
BILL } Feb 5 1881
10, South St. {printed address:}
Park Lane W.

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I have "refrained my **[10:539-40]**
mouth from speaking - even
from good" - Please reward
me by letting me ask you
now what is doing here
about the Bengal Rent Law
question.

Two copies of the Report
have been sent me from
India & letters & reports
upon it.

What you think upon the
question I feel so very
anxious to ask as far
as I dare: & what is

likely to be pronounced
upon it here that I cannot
help writing.

You know I dare say that
for the first time, I believe,
in rural Bengal, 8000
or 9000 common Ryots
have assembled at a
peaceable Meeting, on
the question of this Draft
Bill. And Resolutions

were carried all in order, -
as at the House of Commons.

I was going to say -
but NOT {double underlining} as at the House
of Commons but as at
an assembly of gentlemen. **[end 10:539]**

These Resolutions were:

1. That the Draft Bill would with some modifications be beneficial both to Zemindars & Ryots
2. That it does not contravene the power reserved to the Govt under Clause 7 of Reg 1 of 1793 for guarding the interests of dependent talookdars, ryots & cultivators of the soil.
3. approving of Sections 20, 26, 28, 29, 36, and 77.
4. forming a Committee to memorialize the Govt of Bengal
5. thanking the framers of the Draft Bill for their good intentions.
[I have not seen a copy of

a letter addressed by Sir Ashley Eden to the Secretary of the Brit. Indian Association, giving his view of the Bill, which my Hindoo tells me of. Might I ask you if you have a copy?]

At the said Meeting the Ryots said they always paid one anna for the Road Cess to their Zemindars whereas the Act required that they should pay only half an Anna -
They did not like that their "holding should be made "mortgage-able", as that "would, they thought, give a "handle to their creditors".
[This is curious & suggestive.

-2-

[I am not of course giving
you my Ryots as the wisest
of men: but only giving
their awakening public opinion]

They understood that, as long
as the law was not changed,
they were bound to pay the
same rent to their Zemindars,
& not to rebel,

[Please observe how far
ahead my friends the
Ryots are of the Irish]
or take the law into their own
hands, as the Ryots had at Pubna.

2.

I have a long letter from a [10:539]
genuine Hindoo, who often
sends me reports: the gist
of which is:

`the Bill in its present form
concedes too much to one
party:

[end 10:539]

`tho' the right of occupancy
has been made transferable,
it has not been made

Mortgage=able

`if the right of mortgaging
had been given, the Ryot
might pay off this debts by
mortgaging instead of selling

`the right of mortgaging has
been with-held from the Ryot
for fear of the holding passing
into the hands of *Mahajuns*.

`but the holding may pass into
the hands of Mahajuns by selling

'But it does not.

`In those parts of Bengal where
the right of occupancy is
transferable by custom,
whether by sale or mortgage,
the holding *as a rule does*
not pass into the hands of the
Mahajuns.'

[By the great kindness of some of my *Bombay* friends, I have some Statistics as to property in land passing into the hands of money-lenders *there*.

Doubtless you have *Statistics as to Bengal*. ~~as to~~ what amount of holdings become the property of the *Mahajuns*.]

I do not at all feel that my friend the Hindoo is certainly right.

3. The Bengal Ryots fancy that these Irish affairs have "thrown everything out of gear" for them - all their case & all their hopes. *Is this so?*

These most interesting & vital Land questions seem much alike in Bengal and in Ireland: ~~from~~ for which remark I hope you will not "remove" me "from the House" as a Home Ruler. [I assure you I keep 5 of the most ferocious wild beasts in my back Drawing room to be in readiness to go to the assistance of Mr. Gladstone. {printed address, upside down:} 10, South Street, in his intended Park Lane. W. massacre over there in Ireland of the land leaguers.]

-3-

You have always been so
very good as to be willing
to hear indications of what
is Ryots' public opinion,
or rather Ryots' friends' public
opinion,

[10:539]

what I am going to say
is merely as pegs to hang
questions upon :

IS ANYTHING BEING DONE YET
HERE ABOUT THE BENGAL
RENT LAW?

[end 10:539]

The Ryots' friends feel
that the Bill originated ~~in~~
not in a desire to help
the Tenants but rather to
help the Zemindars who
said 'they had not enough
facilities in collecting their
rent & *enhancing*.

'& that in one or two districts, e.g. Pubna, the Tenants' were able to retaliate for illegal cesses & illegal exactions by resisting payment altogether, till these things were settled.'

They the Ryots' friends say:- 'the new Bill not [10:540]

only enables Zemindars to collect the regular rent of Occupancy Tenants but also to enhance *thro'* a *Government Officer*, which the Zemindar was never able to do before.

'that there is in fact here a very great move *in favour* of the Zemindar:

'altho' the enhancement is to be carefully & systematically done & once done not to be repeated for 10 years -

They The Ryots' friends say: 'that the penalty for illegal exactions is wholly insufficient: [end 10:540]

the Ryot may sue for double the amount of damages: but suppose an illegal cess of 1 ½ rupees has been exacted, then by a lawsuit he may get 3 rupees.

One of the "3 F.s", the right of free sale, is an important concession to Occupancy Ryots - But they had that already by custom in some districts - in others they were gradually getting it. *They themselves did not particularly wish either for the right of mortgage or of sale.* It is rather a concession suggested by the Bengal Govt.

Is it not quite in the balance

WHETHER THE BENGAL OCCUPANCY
RYOTS WOULD GAIN OR LOSE
BY THE BILL?

The 'special provision' in
favour of the Behar Ryots -
viz. that, whereas the Indigo
planters have continually
changed them about
taking one field for Indigo
this year & another field
another year - & so
deprived them of the right
of occupancy, it is proposed
to restore that right to
those who have held for
12 years in the same
village tho' not the same {printed address, upside down:}
10, South Street, land - - - - -
Park Lane. W.
This, they say, would really be

-4-

inoperative *without a public record* which the majority of the Comm. decline to recommend -
In fact, they, the Comm would do away with the existing law which requires such a record.

Thus, it is said, a provision which would be very important if real practical effect were given to it becomes nil.

Then there is the important Chap IV in favour of Ryots who have not proved or who have lost the Occupancy title - viz. that they are to have COMPENSATION for disturbance & compensation for improvements after the

fashion of the Irish Bill of 1870.

But two very important members, the President Mr. Dampier, & Mr. Field are against Chap IV altogether?

On the whole, say the Ryots' [10:539-40]

friends: if the present Draft Bill could be carried out *in its entirety* with some *improvements*, they would rejoice in accepting it. But is not their fear quite reasonable that, before the Bill is passed, the Zemindars, who command the Press & all that makes a noise in speech and in Associations, and in law,

will get all the Bill gives
them & perhaps something
more -

[some say they have got
it already]

while many of the concessions
to the Ryots may ~~be~~
disappear.

Is not there an impression
in India, doubtless quite
groundless, that the
Secretary of State is in
favour of the Zemindars?
What people in India feel
is: that there is here a
great disposition to secure
to the Zemindars their rent
& their right to *enhance* -
with some safe-guards
against carrying that right

quite beyond bounds, &
some provisions in favour
of the Behar Ryots.
(on paper at least, &
likely to *remain on paper*,
they say)

& stave off all the rest
for "future consideration".

Unless the matter is taken
up strongly ~~& really~~ by
the higher powers in the
sense of giving real security
to the Ryots, people in
India seem to fear.

I always feel your great goodness in
allowing me to write. The above
matters are 3 months old in India (printed address, upside down:}
10, South Street, I am old in not liking to
Park Lane. W. trouble you before -

The subject is of such immense
importance that this must be my excuse
for writing now.

[end 10:540]

-5-

Feb 6/81

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

This immense letter ~~which~~ I
have no time to make shorter
Yet there are many interesting **[10:540-41]**
signs cropping up in the more
educated Hindoos near
Calcutta of progress

One sends me a report on
Agriculture, & (tho' it is much
like the "Chapter on Snakes
in Iceland":

"There are *no snakes* in Iceland.")

~~he~~/it says, what we have all
along said, that there are
more "graduates" in the
University than *the Government*
can provide for

but that no one thinks of
going into agriculture, ~~manu~~

manufactures, trade or
commerce

that, tho' the banians supply
money to *Europeans in*/for these
occupations, "we" (the Hindoos)
"have never been able, except
"in a few cases, to become
"merchants, bankers &
"manufacturers from the
"degraded position of banyans."

'Those who have landed
property are content to
screw their tenants: & do nothing

'A Zemindar offered to
give to Govt 3 lacs of rupees
for a public purpose. the
tenants asked the Govt to take
the amount from *them*,
instead of from their Zemindar
who would, they represented,

levy from *them 6 lacs* to pay
3 lacs to Govt. And Govt
declined the Zemindar's present."
Se non è vero, è ben trovato.

Our triumphant reception
of Genl Roberts in England
has excited a good deal of
indignation in India. They
recall Lord Hartington's
attack in the Ho. of Commons
& the Duke of Argyll's in the
Ho. of Lords on the occasion
of Genl Roberts' "executions"
of Affghans.

And then, they say, we make
a hero of this man !
But all this shows how
Hindoo public opinion
is awakening

[end 10:541]

Forgive me: & believe me
dear Sir Louis Mallet
ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

Mallet, signed letter, 8ff, pen & pencil

BENGAL RENT LAW BILL

Private

& Confidential 10, South St. {printed address:}
Park Lane W.

July 14/81

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

May I trust that you will **[10:542-44]**
excuse me reverting to the
question under its altered
circumstances of what the
Govt of India & the India Off.
propose to do as regards
Mr. Reynolds' Draft Bill.

My Hindoo correspondents
& their friends seem very
justly alarmed at the
modifications introduced into
the Rent Commissioners' Draft Bengal Rent Law"
Bill by Mr. Reynolds.

At a Meeting held by the

Ryots in Calcutta ~~the~~ Resolution

2 says:

"That this meeting desires to
"enter its protest against
"the provisions of Sections 6
"and 16 of Mr. Reynolds'
"Draft Bill, as being calculated
"to deprive the ryots & under
"tenure holders of an
"important right which they
"have enjoyed since 1859. **[end 10:542]**

"That inasmuch as these
"sections require ryots & tenure
"holders in permanently settled
"estates claiming a fixed rent
"to produce evidence to show
"that they have been in possession

"Of their holdings at such a
 "fixed rent ever since 1839.
 "(& not for 20 years before
 "the institution of the suit
 "as required by Act X of 1859
 "& the Draft Bill of the Rent
 "Commissioners,) - & that inasmuch
 "as, in the vast majority of
 "cases, it will *not be possible*
 "for the ryots to produce
 "such evidence extending over
 "such a length of time,
 "this meeting is of opinion
 "that the existing law on the
 "subject should not be
 "altered."

There are other Resolutions [10:542]
 at this Ryots' Meeting.
 But this seems ~~so~~ important

because this provision of
 Mr. Reynolds' Draft Bill
 seems to put the Ryots
 entirely at the mercy of the
 Zemindars.

And I know that in England
 a day or two ago, it was
 desired but for the lateness
 of the season to ask
 Lord Hartington to receive
 a Deputation on the subject.
 & I was asked to furnish some information
 & a copy of this Resolution.
 I will not trouble you with
 the aspects of Mr. Reynold's
 Bill with which of course
 you are much better
 acquainted than I am.

I have a note from Ld Hartington
 written in April } saying "in
 to my brother-in-law }
 Sir Harry Verney }

-2-

"India the Report with the
"Draft Bill proposed by
"the Commissioners has been
"circulated for the opinions
"of the High Court, the Services
"& *the public*, and when
"these have been considered
"the Government will frame a
"Bill for introduction into
"the Legislative Council" &c &c

What really happened was
this, as far as my Hindoo
correspondents inform me:

- Mr. Reynolds was deputed
to go to the Moffussil & collect
opinions of all classes of
people. He went to East
Bengal & Behar. But he
consulted the Zemindars

& the pleaders. The latter
for their own interests side
with their rich clients. Mr.
Reynolds did not consult
the Ryots. He then prepared
an outline of the Draft
Rent Bill that was to have
been introduced into the
Bengal Council. In this he
made large concessions to
the landlords & curtailed
some of the existing rights
of the ryots. The only
concession he made to the
ryots was to extend the
right of occupancy to the
khodkhasi ryots, i.e. the
resident cultivators living

within two miles of a village.

The Zemindars clamoured
even against this concession. **[end 10:542]**

Other Ryots' meetings have
been held, but the landlords
have kept away their Ryots.
[The Ryots are a much more
law-abiding people than the
Irish.] "the landlords
"have got the upper hand," it
is said in Bengal, "in the fights
between them & the ryots."

Bengal thinks that "the
"Bengal land question has
"been for the present shelved
"by the S. of S. for India.
"The Lt. Governor will not
"take it up now."

A memorial on behalf of **[10:542-44]**
the Ryots is now to be
submitted to Government.
But the Ryots have few able
supporters, while the influence
of the Zemindars is considerable,
& they have able spokesmen.

I have been urged for the
last twelve months to write
an article on this whole
Bengal Rent Law & ryots'
question in relation to
Zemindars & Permanent
Settlement for which I
have ample materials: but {printed address, upside down:}
10, South Street, I have been withheld
Park Lane. W.
by the idea that it would be
better to let the Irish Land

-3-

question be settled in

Parliament first - & that indeed such an Article might be actually playing into the hands of Parnell & Co., who I know have desired, merely for the sake of making capital, to take up the Bengal Land question. So I declined (again & again)

Still, IF the Draft Bill of Mr. Reynolds is to be the direction that the Govt of India & at home is to take, I shall have been sorry not to have done my little best.

What I want is to ask of your kindness, if it is not too indiscreet, whether

*"the Government of India
"will frame a Bill for
"introduction into the
"Legislative Council"*

THIS year, - for which of course they will have "to ask the "sanction of the Secretary "of State in Council" - that is, whether there will be a Bengal Rent Law Act passed THIS year: embodying perhaps Mr. Reynolds' Draft.

One hears on good authority that anything of this sort would infallibly bring about a rising & perhaps a Jacquerie in parts even of peaceful Bengal - & that

the state of Behar particularly
is becoming year by year
as regards the well-being
of the Ryots more unworthy
of a civilized Government.
It is a common toast in
Russia: to "the emancipation
of the SERFS in India."
& even the "serfs in Ireland."
Speaking of Ireland, I cannot
help being thankful that
the Ho. of C. affirms the
principle in this Irish Bill
that land is not like houses
or cattle but that the tenant
in occupation has an interest
in the land as well as the
proprietor, is co-
partner with his landlord

I have always thought that
land is like the air or the
water the rivers [the
landlord cannot be sole
proprietor] This principle
is of enormous importance
for India.

But I dare say I am
talking nonsense; & if it
is sense you do not want
it of me.

Thanking you for all
your kindness

pray believe me
ever your faithful servt

Florence Nightingale

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

N.B. -4- PS

There is an enormous question
which I have long wished
but feared to ask you
about: & that is
whether thro' the Civil
Service Commissioners
it would be possible
to introduce Agriculture
and Forestry as a subject, in which
the young Civil Servants
going out to India *must* qualify

And also: out there in
India: we bring up ten
times as many natives in our
higher education as we
can find Government places
for: & we *don't* give
them or

the Zemindars any knowledge
of the land. a country of agriculture

The European professors
we send out don't know
a cabbage from a turnip -
except on table -

Might I some day
venture to lay some part
of this tremendous question
before your kind attention?

[end 10:544]

F.N.

Balliol College general 410

Mallet, signed letter, 10ff, pen & pencil

Private SUBJECTS OF TRAINING OF
INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE [10:684-86]
10, South St. {printed address:}
Park Lane W.

August 18 1881

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I am extremely obliged to
you for your kind note of
Aug 8 about Major Baring
& the Bengal Rent Law.

Your immense kindness
encourages me to begin now
on an immense subject on
which I asked you leave
to address you some time
ago & which I know must
have engaged your attention.

To rush at once into it -
& to take it *en gros*:

would you think it well to
have an *enquiry* about
the *subjects of training*
of the *Civil Service*
candidates? Perhaps you
are doing this already:
my own poor little interest
in great India in asking
this centres of course in
the Agricultural subject:
in the absolute necessity
of the Civil Servants in
an agricultural country
knowing something of
Agricultural Science
including *Forestry*

this Forestry being essential
for the vital question of
manure: manure being now
burn for fuel.

Is not the want of knowledge
in the Governors & Governing
classes in India the main
cause of the want of
improvement in agriculture,
forestry, sanitary matters,
technical science?

they come out knowing little
but what an Eton boy knows:
plus the languages:
they have never heard the
word Sanitation:
forestry, botany, agricultural

chemistry, & geology, (soils) -
animal physiology, including
animal breeds, & veterinary
~~surgery~~/matters (diseases of animals)
are all dead letters to them;
of course,
yet upon these things
depend the life or death
of perhaps 150 millions
or more of our fellows: our
countrymen & country women
- ~~at least~~ /that is our native
fellow subjects.

It must happen to you at
the I. O. continually to find
men old in high office in India
not only ignorant of, but
from ignorance dead against
such vital subjects as
Forestry.

-2-

The Collectors are generally quite ignorant: the people talk them over, persuade them that their own plans are the best. Then the Collectors ~~are~~/become dead against all improvement.

Our Civil Servants when they go out don't know a cabbage from a cauliflower, except on table. They go out knowing nothing but "literae humaniores".

It is not in the land, I suppose, that the people fail unless it is that they have no deep ploughing? The land is much better tilled than it is here? Still, I suppose, it

grows about half what it ought or less? But

where they fail in is in manure - all manure being used for fuel and in the processes & machines for (say) cotton, or (say) some other crop after it is grown.

[end 10:684]

[I have been hearing lately a great deal about Egypt from an English gentleman who handles the finance there. I remember when I was in Egypt the fellaheen as the most hopelessly miserable & down-trodden peasantry on the face of the earth.

Now, they buy Agricultural machinery for themselves!!!

[15:925]

they can command loans
at a low rate of interest
from the *Land Mortgage Bank*
National Banks

(Crédit Foncier, I suppose).
such is their improved condition
under a juster system of tax-collection.
& can buy necessary machines
with the money thus borrowed *and*
pay off the usurers!!!!

My heart burned within me
for our poor Indian clients,
the ryots:

why cannot *they* have a
corresponding system?]

but I am afraid of writing nonsense - **[end 15:925]**

But to return:

why is Forestry almost **[10:685-86]**

totally neglected in India?

The people don't like it:

the Governing classes know

nothing about it:

the people set the Collectors

against it:

Virgin soils are no doubt
beautiful, but land
perishes for lack of manure.

2. To introduce Science, -
Technical, Agricultural, Sanitary
science - into the higher
Education in India - is
not this most necessary?

A beginning has been made
in Bombay : they have a
Science degree, which ranks
as a degree.

The higher education in
India - does it not fit the
students to be only Government
clerks & lawyers? It does
not fit them to go into {printed address, upside down:}

10. South Street, Agriculture
Park Lane. W. Industries
Trades

-3-

(so cruelly wanted in India)

No man brought up in our colleges carries improvement into his own land.

We don't want to make India into a literary country (the Brahmins are too much inclined to be literary already) we want, do not we?, to make it into an improving agricultural, industrial, commercial country.

3. But must not all this come from home?

If it is true, will you not tell the Civil Commissioners to enquire into the whole subject of the Civil Servants for India having some "realistic" as well as

"humanitarian" knowledge:

e.g. passing an Examination in Agricultural Science?

Why have model farms been a failure in India? because men who knew nothing of Agricultural Science were 'pitch-forked' into them - (as we pitch-fork a man into the Board of Works who knows nothing about building &c) - men who have failed in the Police Office or something else - & think they would like to 'do' agriculture. Or a man who comes out from England, really scientific, dies; & then some man of the ignorant sort is put it - [the Governors knowing nothing of agriculture

in a world of agriculturists.]
& makes 'Model farms'
ridiculous in the eyes of the
natives.

Does not a great part of
the evils of India arise
from the way in which
the Civil Servants who
are to go out to India are
educated or rather *not*
educated in what are the
peculiar wants of India?
Would not a little knowledge
of Technical Science on
the part of Governors,
Members of Council, Collectors
or Civil Servants generally,
have prevented the
most glaring evils, or the
stoppage of all improvement,

or progress?

[I could give the most startling
instances. But if they are
true, you probably know them
already. And I am here
not to take up your precious
time with making a case
but rather to ask questions
upon a case too well known
& to sue for enquiry into
the subjects of training of
the Civil Service.]

Is not what is wanted
that the Civil Servants
when they come out from
England should have some
knowledge of {printed address, upside down:]
10, South Street,
Park Lane. W.

-4-

(1.) *Agricultural Science*

because that includes everything

for Agriculture & Forestry	{	Botany - Plants
		a knowledge of woods
		Geology
		soils: water supply
		Land Surveying
	{	rural economy

all these could be studied

at Oxford: could not they?

Chemistry (Agricultural

Animals (Breeds

Forestry, above all

because that includes the

vital question of *manure*

for want of which all

agriculture is deteriorating

in consequence of India

being denuded of her forests

(& fuel) from the ignorance

alike of her people & of us

her Governors.

our ignorance on this all

important subject allowing

us to be talked over by the

people who are against

Forest Conservancy & tree planting

Then comes

Land Tenure

it is impossible to say that

this could not be studied at

Oxford: might it not

advantageously take the

place of a part of law?

(law cases?)

4. When I approach the sacred

soil of Oxford, my hair

stands on end, my teeth

chatter, & my pen trembles:

I do not presume even
to suggest:
the *two* years are so full:
the young men are so young
mere boys:
their brains might be addled
by putting in fresh subjects:
whether they could possibly
have
3 years in *England*?
whether they might have
a year - before they go
to their posts - in *India*
with Professorships of
Agriculture at the 3
Universities in *India*?
This last suggestion of a year in *India* which
has been made would
be fraught with practical

difficulties.

whether they could have
a theoretical course at
Oxford: to take up afterwards a
practical course in ~~*India*~~
India:

whether they should have
e.g. a Professor of Forestry
at *Oxford*, as they
have at the German
Universities - have not they?

[In the German forests
does one learn much,
except to drink beer?]

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

-5-

Would not Mr. Caird be
an excellent Counsellor?

Would not Sir Joseph Hooker
at Kew be able to draw
up an Agricultural &
Forestry course?

You see I am good enough to drop

*Sanitation &
Technical Science*

for a time for our
Civil Servants.

& not to enter for the moment
into that terrible important
matter of making

Agricultural knowledge

& Sanitary too
a subject for Examination
& a *means of promotion*
& advancement

for all *native Revenue Officers*
(in a wholly agricultural
country like India)

& an educational test
for all *Village headmen*
& accountants whose
hereditary appointments
have to be confirmed by
Govt.

I truly ask your pardon
for writing - & for writing at
such length. but if you
knew how much more I
could say!

If you have already
initiated an enquiry into
the subjects of training
of the Civil Service candidates,
I can only be too thankful, **[end 10:686]**

& beg you to believe me
dear Sir Louis Mallet
ever your faithful &
grateful servt

Florence Nightingale

In re-reading this letter,
I am ashamed to find it like
talk, long, repetitious, too tiresome -
But

I have no time to re-write
it, & can only beg your
most kind indulgence.

F.N.

Mallet, signed letter, 12ff, pen & pencil

Private AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT
IN INDIA

Dec 9 1881

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

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I have not thanked you
for your most kind letter of
Sept. 17 (relative to the
instruction in Agriculture, &
Forestry &c of the Indian
Civil Service before they
leave Oxford & London
for their posts) - - not
for want of eagerness but
because I would not trouble
you without definite cause.
Otherwise I should be
writing, I am afraid, every
day.

I have now what I hope is **[10:687-88]**
a very modest request

to make - But, to explain
even this, I must begin by
a little about Madras
agriculture, altho' I am sure
you know a great deal more
about it than I do -

[I am nervously certain
that this letter which I
shall not have time to
shorten will be incoherent
& ill=~~arranged~~/=~~put~~ like all mine]

Things seems to be looking
up a little in Madras as
to our agricultural views -;
1. I had a letter from Saidapet

dated Sept 11, saying that

"Government have just
"sanctioned a Stipendiaryship"
(in the Madras Agricultural College)
"for *each* Collectorate of the
"Presidency to be filled by
"each Collector."

[I think you knew that
Govt *had* cut down the No.
of their Stipendiaryships
from 15 to 5 : the
consequence of which was
almost fatal to the College.
The men thought they had
no chance (of getting the 5)
And the Class fell to the
ridiculous number of, I
think, 9 instead of 23. The 5 Stipendyships
were won by 2 Madras

Zemindars, & I think 3

Bombay Parsees (all of whom were quite able to pay for themselves).

The result has been disastrous. Now when the Agricul College *is* called upon to give Instructors, as we had so long hoped, for Agricultural Classes in the High Schools & Middle Schools, they can only give 6 or 10, instead of 30.]

Still, all honour to the Agricultl College of Madras. It has been able to furnish just now a Native Assistant to its Chief, Mr. Robertson - & to furnish last year Instructors for the Bombay Presidency Agricul classes

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2.

But what has been so long the bar to any really usefulness/ action, in the way of agriculture, ~~of~~/by the native ranks of the Revenue Service (which is, I need not say, solely concerned with land & agriculture) is: agriculture was OPTIONAL as a subject in the Schools & in the Examination: but there was no teacher. *And*, - this above all, - *it was* NOT {double underlining} *a means of advancement or condition for promotion.*

Of course, no Brahmin took up agriculture out of enthusiasm or dilettantism

Hardly even would an Englishman do this -

In September, I heard from the Head of the Madras Agricultural College that Government "have just" called on me to submit an Agricultural test for the examination of all future candidates for the Revenue Dept. - Agriculture having been prescribed as a subject for examination.

"And I have been called on to draw up a scheme for establishing a number of Agricul classes in the High Schools of the Presidency

" - these to be feeders for the Agricul College."

These are two good hearings.

But I have quite lately seen a gentleman from the Madras Agricul College - at home on sick leave -

And he fears that "the proposed test in Agriculture for the Revenue Dept is to be applied only to the Deputy Collectors" (nearly all of whom are natives.)

I need not say that it is still more required amongst the lower ranks of the Revenue Service (the so-called native "Inspectors") upon whom the Revenue Dept. hinges, & who are

in direct & immediate
contact with the Ryots.

And hereby hangs a tale.

These "Inspectors" are
what is usually called a
"bad lot". They are generally the
refuse of the Taluq officers.

They levy 'blackmail' on
the people - not exactly in
~~as~~ bribes - but they live
on the village wherever
they are - & take the
village's animals for
their own transport.

Their returns of live stock
&c &c are said to be quite
haphazard. {printed address, upside down:}
10, South Street, And the Tahsildar

Park Lane. W.

whose immediate subordinates

-3-

they are, is too busy, - being
both magistrate &
revenue officer - to overhaul
them.

The Examination which they
must pass is quite
elementary. (reading, writing, accounting)
And they need not go to any High School.

These Inspectors are chiefly
Brahmins

[I hate Brahmins don't you?]

The Tahsildars have been
greatly raised & improved of late
years by education: but they
know nothing of agriculture.

Now one would think that
nothing would raise the
all important class of
the "Inspectors", thro' whom
only the Ryots judge of us,
- for the "Inspectors" represent

our Govt to them -
as ~~an~~ agricultural instruction,
an agricultural test, -
agricultural proficiency
to be the means of advancement
& condition of promotion
[This was REFUSED {double underlining} *in so
many words* by the late Govt
~~some~~ not so long time ago.]

Then the Ryots would see
that we cared for them.
& the Inspectors would see
that we choose the Ryots
to be cared for.

At present the Inspector's
only object - his *only*
condition for advancement
- and he *knows* it - is

that he scratches together
'a good Revenue' *somehow*.
[These Inspectors may grow to be
Tahsildars & Deputy Collectors]
These Inspectors must
perforce gain experience
in agriculture in the course
of their collections. It
rests with us whether
this experience shall be
a means of improving
the people's tillage or
of 'screwing' the people.

I believe it is all in train.
But I know your sympathies
are all in favour of *this*
(I am not *asking* anything)
as well as of the scarcely

more important matter
of the agricultural education
of the Civil Service.

3.

I come now to my first
(& more modest) request:

Are not the two great
(*material*) wants of Indian
Agriculture: manure
& *improved* Agricultural
implements?

With regard to the latter, the
great English firms are
but too anxious, as a mere
matter of business, to find
out *what will suit India*
& at what price, for the {printed address, upside down:}
10, South Street, purpose of
Park Lane. W.
supplying it. The Ransomes of
Ipswich have said this.

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I happen to know that they,
Ransomes, of IPSWICH, too
~~is~~/are desirous to have a visit
from some trained English
Indian Agriculturist to
point out *what is wanted*
in India.

[end 10:688]

Howard of Bedford has
long been turning his
attention to this. [It sounds like
King Harry the Fifth's adjuration at ~~Brig~~/Agincourt]

Fowler of Leeds also
must be visited: on account
of his steam ploughs.

Mr. Benson, second in
command at the *Madras*
Agricl College & Experimental
Farm, is now in England
on ~~sick~~ leave. [He was in

charge during M. Robertson's
leave.] MR. BENSON is a
good able, energetic, sensible
young man of some 7 years'
experience, I think, in India
- & a man of good general
education besides being
thoroughly practical. But
these Agriculturists do not travel enough in India.

[I have lately seen him,
& endorse all this. But
it is impertinent &
unnecessary for me to give
him a character.]

[10:689]

*Would it not be well
for him to have a
Commission to go to the
great Agricultural Implement*

*Manufacturers, e. g. at
Ipswich, Bedford & Leeds,
& say/tell them - what they could
do for India in the way
particularly of ploughs -
- what Articles would suit
India & at what prices?
&c &c &c*

Those manufacturers at least the Ipswich one have
said that they would gladly
*send out specimens to
be tried in India -*
IF some Agricultural Officer
like Mr. Benson, (who could
tell them at least for

*Madras (And Madras is the only Govt which has an would visit
Agricultural College - the only one which has
sent out trained agricultural teachers to others)*
their manufactories & advise.

And of some things

as the *steam plough*
 Mr. Benson would take
 or send out *models*.

[Mr. Benson is on half
 pay, He could not well
 make these visits at his
 own expence. And besides
 would it not be much
 better that he should do
 it COMMISSIONED BY THE I.O.?)

HE PROPOSES TO WRITE TO
 THE S. OF S. ABOUT XMAS
 REQUESTING THIS. His letter
 will be, I suppose, referred
 to you. [I did not, of course, {printed address, upside down:}
 10, South Street, tell him that I

Park Lane. W.
 should write to you] But if

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his request is granted
 it should be as soon as
 possible for the
 manufacturers' sake as well
 as India's .

[I was told. by a pupil of
 Howard's of Bedford that
 a great want in Bengal
 was of *steam threshing* machines
 for threshing rice (like wheat)
 One threshes as much in a
 day as 60 men.]
 One is delighted to hear that
 the crying want of *Sugar Mills*,
 for extracting the sugar out
 of the cane, has been supplied
 by a firm in Bengal (Thompson

& Milne, I think) with their
"Bohea Sugar Mill."

4.

I saw Mr. Grant Duff before
he went out & saw him
agriculturally disposed.
[I had not known him before]

5.

One is very anxious to know
when the Decentralization
(Financial) scheme takes
effect whether Agriculture
gets its proper share in
an agricultural country
from *each local Govt* - Do
you think this? -

You probably know that
Madras Agricul College had
for one year (now ending)

its "Pound Fund" with
accumulations & its Imperial
grant - about which I
once troubled you - & made
good use of them by
completing its buildings -
most sorely wanted.

Will this continue?

6. Are you satisfied with
what Mr. Buck, the new
Head of the Agricul Dept, is
doing? I understand *he*
is very much *dissatisfied*
with the backwardness of
the local Govts in organizing
anything, & in neither having
a trained Agricultural Officer
for each - nor in appointing a local
Director for each -

Could any stimulus be given

from home to the Supreme
Govt?

No doubt you know that the
Supreme Govt has, as it were,
forced Sir A. Eden to send
~~home~~ two natives, very
good men, for 2 years to
Circencester? (Scholarships
of £200 a year each). One
is a Mahomedan - one a
Bengalee Baboo. But
these men will not be able
to instruct when they return
- will they? without further
experience in India.

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

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II

To return to our *Civil Servants'*
instruction in *agriculture*:

Could not *an enquiry* into
the *manner & subjects*
of *Education* of the *Indian*
candidates at least be instituted?

[Some authorities are for
a third year in England.]

SIR G. BIRDWOOD, it is
said, would be a very good
man to apply to to lay
down a course of
Agriculture. [I do not
feel sufficiently impudent
to apply to him myself]

It has been suggested
that the Civil servants might
go to Circencester for the long
Vacation

[end 10:689]

I will not take up more
time by apologies for this
frightful scrawl

but only add how much

I am

ever your faithful servt.

Florence Nightingale

Sir Louis Mallet

&c &c &c

Would it better if Mr.

BENSON sent in his application

to the I. O at once?

F.N.

Mallet, unsigned letter, 2ff, pen & pencil

BOMBAY:}

PRIVATE Agricultural
Improvements }

Dec 12 1881

{printed address:} 10, South St.

Park Lane W.

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I could not for shame **[10:689-90]**
make my too long letter to you
on Agricultural Improvement
in India, but chiefly as regard
Madras, any longer.

But I am afraid I ought
to add that energetic Bombay
is quite behind old Madras.
What had been initiated has
stood still: what was meant
to be initiated has not been
begun.

From a quite "*Confidential*"
letter I have received from
Governmt House, I gather

that "Hereditary Officers are
"not required to pass
"examinations of any kind."

[We were speaking of
Headmen & other Village Officers
being subjected to an
educational test - perhaps
'Sanitary' & agricultural too,
before their hereditary
appointments were confirmed
by Govt]

And it is even added
that it is doubtful "if it
"would be legal to impose
"such conditions on their
"Offices now.

[But it was the very point
of great authorities that it might
be made "legal",] A beginning even

had been made.

2. I gather that "native
"Revenue Officers are *not*
"required to pass examinations
"in agriculture before
"receiving appointments" -
This was to have been initiated

It is true the Bombay Govt
adds: "but in the disposal
"of appointments preference
"is to be given to such of the
"candidates as have passed
"such examinations"

[I heard a baddish account
from quite another source
of the Agricl classes instituted
at Poona & in the Bombay Presy
But it was not a source very
much to be relied on]

No doubt you will be kind enough to treat my poor little communication as quite "private", as you always have.

I am always penetrated with the kindness of any Govt giving ~~me~~ information - upon which I have no sort of claim

And they are very much AFRAID of "hostile criticism" & deprecate my "public use" of what they say.

[end 10:690]

Mallet, signed letter, 23ff, pen & pencil

Private AGRICULTURAL "RESOLUTIONS"

GOVT OF INDIA

January 23 1882

{printed address:} 10, South St.

Park Lane W.

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I understand that Mr. Benson has at last sent in the application to you which you were so very good as to permit for a committee to visit the great AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT MAKERS here on behalf of India - his reason for delaying his application having been, unhappily, a serious attack of Bronchitis.

2. It might not be disagreeable [10:690-91] to you to hear how some

Agricultural authorities in India take the RESOLUTION by the Government of India regarding the *new Agricultural Department*.

I. Its first business is to be a "systematic agricultl enquiry, "thro' the authorities in each "province" -

what authorities?

if introducing the SETTLEMENT Officers, it will mar the effect on the minds of the people.

The system is to be "worked "by the *ordinary official Staff* "supplemented, where necessary
&c &c &c "

My ~~authorities~~/correspondents - they are from Madras, the only Presidency that has really done anything for agriculture - write:

"The *new* Resolution of the "Govt of India x x x is "most disappointing. The worst "feature is the proposal "to combine *Settlement* work "with that to be done to "promote Agricultl reform "Nothing could be more "unwise unless the object "was to prevent the new "Departmt doing any work. "The *Settlement Dept is the* "*one Dept every Ryot dreads.* "However just may be the "work of the Dept., every

"Ryot knows that it is the
 "special work of that Dept
 " to get as high a rent as
 "possible from the land.
 " - all their field experiments,
 "all their minute enquiries -
 "open & secret being instituted
 "solely to determine *whether*
 "*the land can bear any higher*
 "rent. Imagine then when
 "their officials come, in their
 "Agricl capacity as Agricl
 "reformers, with what
 "suspicion they will be
 "viewed by the Ryots!
 "Already the one great
 "hindrance to Govt work in
 "the direction of better staples,
 "better stock &c is the almost

-2-

"universal suspicion with
 "which our advances are
 "received. In many places
 "the Ryots will not *accept*
 "*good seed, good rams &c,*
 "tho' offered *without any*
 "*reserve;* because they believe
 "that all such offers only
 "cover some possible attempt
 "to be made to *raise the rent.* [end 10:693]

Mr. Buck was a *Settlement*
 "Officer. x x x

"Any little good we have [10:693-94]
 "done amongst the Ryots has
 "been effected only by the
 "repeated assurance that
 "*our Dept had nothing to do*
 "*with Settlement operations."*

Do you think that this
 may possibly be *true*?
 And if so, could you not
 exercise your good *influence*
before what they, if it is so,
 so truly call the "fatal step"
 is taken?

[In the only Abstracts I
 have seen of the Resolution,
 it is not specified what
 the "ordinary official staff,"
 or what the "authorities" are,
 thro' whom the new system
 is to be worked.

~~But~~ Of course the object
 is to save expence.

But if the "ordinary official
 "staff" is {double underlining} to be "*supplemented*
 "where necessary, to meet the
 "special circumstances of the case,"

-3-

surely the expence of
 "supplementing" an unwelcome
 Dept had better be applied.
not to wedding the new body
 to but to severing it from
 any Settlement Dept. [This
~~last~~/wedding might lead even to agrarian
 riots].

Also: we know what in Madras
 the lower native officials,
 the "Inspectors," who come
 chiefly in contact with the Ryots
 & to whom must be entrusted
 executive details, are:
 how ignorant: how oppressive
 To entrust any agricultural=
 improvement=operations to
 these would indeed be a
 "fatal" blunder - would it
 not?

Though they COLLECT THE MATERIAL FOR ELABORATE REPORTS & STATISTICS, the majority know but little more of AGRICULTURE than they know of Engineering or Medicine. They are subordinates of the Tahsildars who are frequently as badly informed about farm affairs. Candidates qualify(?) for appointment as Revenue Inspectors by serving as *volunteers* in the office of the Tahsildar, and are little better than his *private servants*. Though the pay of the post is only Rs. 20 rising to Rs. 30, these posts are much sought after. IS IT SURPRISING THAT FAMINES USUALLY COME UPON US UNEXPECTEDLY, when

the men WE HAVE TO WARN US
OF THE CONDITION OF THE CROPS
& THE PEOPLE ARE SO THOROUGHLY
UNTRUSTWORTHY?

The European Officers of
the Land Revenue Dept
seldom see anything of the
country during at least 9
months in the year, and
TRUST TO THE REPORTS, produced
from the reports of their
Revenue "Inspectors", which
are elaborated in the Centre
Office, away altogether from
all agricultural associations,
& by men who have no
knowledge at all of what
they are expected to write
about.

Is not a complete reform
in the TRAINING of the REVENUE
INSPECTORS at the bottom of

any scheme for reforming
OUR AGRICULTURAL ADMINISTRATION?
- without this, can any real
reforms be carried out?

European Officers are, and
almost must be, *dependent*
on their *Native subordinates*.
To introduce some better men
into the subordinate ranks of
the Land Revenue Department
will be a very good reform.
Good men would benefit the
Revenue Administration, and
they would do much to aid
in spreading sound views
of agriculture.

Without any *agricultural education*
& some *agricultural test*, nothing
can be done to raise these men, pivots {printed address, upside down:}
10, South Street, of our system. And
Park Lane. W.
of *Agricultural Education & Agricultl*
Examination, not one word in
the *Resolutions*.

-4

And still no word of the
introduction of an AGRICULTURAL
TEST for the HIGHER REVENUE
RANKS. The Revenue Board
in Madras are certain to
oppose it. It is to be hoped
that Government will insist
upon the test being adopted.
Is it not almost a scandal
that THE DEPARTMENT WHICH
MANAGES (?) OUR 30 MILLION
ACRES OF LAND DOES NOT
CONTAIN A SINGLE OFFICER WHO
HAS ANY KNOWLEDGE OF
AGRICULTURE except what
has been learnt in the worst
school - FROM NATIVE SUBORDINATES
most of whom *despise*
husbandry, - are bred up &
bound to despise it by all
their ties of Caste & religion -

& all connected with it.

And in the majority of cases know far less of it than do Govt clerks in London of British agriculture.

"We are certain to have "another FAMINE before long." say the Madras people.

And how are we preparing for it? The 'RESOLUTION' speaks of FAMINE as one of the principal objects to predict & avert. *And these are the men whom we employ to do so.*

The establishment of the HIGH SCHOOL CLASSES is of the utmost importance, & HAS NOT YET BEEN BEGUN. And until these Schools are at work, it will be quite impossible to prescribe an Agricultural test for candidates of the Revenue Dept.

Of the 48 passed Students
(of Madras Agricultl College)
the REVENUE DEPARTMENT
have given EMPLOYMENT TO
ONLY TWO.

ONLY TWO are employed at
the Agricultural College. Yet
their work is so excellent
that they could do much of
the College work, & become
its Lecturers, in lieu of the Madras
College Lecturers, who know nothing
of Agriculture.

What is wanted are
OPENINGS for these young men
after the training is over
in the *Revenue & Settlement
Departments* & as Agricultural
Instructors.

But this will wait.
An irrevocable step is about
to be made: is it not?

REQUEST 1

II. The establishment of a small branch of the *Settlement (rent-fixing)* Dept for conducting *agricultural enquiries* seems to be going on - Surely this is a fatal blunder?

It has been done in *Burmah* as a result of Mr. Buck's visit there. And the "Times" (Madras) says a *Settlement Officer* has been appointed *Director of Agriculture* for *Burmah*.

Mr. Buck was coming to MADRAS, to repeat, it is said, the same operation. {printed address, upside down:} 10, South Street, *Could not he be* Park Lane. W.

put on a better scent & plan? But this is IMMEDIATE {double underlining} if it is to be done at all. **[end 10:694]**

-5-

February 2 1882

III

Since I wrote the preceding [10:694-95]
I have seen the "Resolution"
of the Govt of India.

It is very disappointing, is
it not?

In England we should call
its duties those of a Royal
Commission entrusted to
the "ordinary official Staff".

And should we not ~~say~~/ask -
When is enquiry to come to
an end? & when is
improvement to begin?

Twice over it says:

2."A scheme for the attachment
"of an Agricultural branch
"to the SETTLEMENT {double underlining} Department
"in the Punjab is at present
"before the Govt of India" and

"7 The Lt. Governors of the
"Punjab & the N. W. Provinces
"have substantially accepted
"these views in proposing to
"connect the work of the new
"departments very closely
"with the conduct of or the
"preparation for SETTLEMENT {double underlining}
"operations."

[Is not this exactly
what should be avoided
if we are to engage the Ryot, who is the one
person to be considered,
on our side?]

"The Govt of the N. W. P. has
"now proposed that its AGRICL {double underlining}
"Dept should undertake the
"work of preparing districts'

"for SETTLEMENT {double underlining}, whilst the
"Punjab Govt desires to place
"all *permanent* duties
"connected with AGRICULTURAL {double underlining}
"enquiry & *Improvement*
"under its existing SETTLEMENT {double underlining}
"Staff."

[But, is not this fatal to
any good machinery?
Is it not even a capital
error in administration to
give this work to a RENT=FIXING
Department?

We found in Army War
Hospitals that to put anything
like *supply* into the hands
of anything like a Paymaster, Banking or Account
keeping Dept was: to starve
& ruin the Hospls. It was,
in fact, one of the
main causes of the breakdown
in the Crimea & at Scutari.

~~You do not make your
butter your Paymaster or banker
or Rent fixer~~

The cases are of course
not parallel to this Indian proposal

But for Account-keeping
read "Revenue" & for Supply
read "improvement" - And
it does seem that TO CONNECT
RENT-FIXING & Rent Collecting WITH IMPROVEMENT
~~connect the two is a~~
in the points even enumerated in RES. 10, 11 is a
blunder, if we wish to
propitiate & engage the Ryot
to act with us.]

RES. 10 says: "When such
"an analysis has in any
"province succeeded n
"ascertaining the cause of
"agricultural difficulties &
"distress in any locality in {printed address, upside down:]
10, South Street, "which they exist,
Park Lane. W.
"the Agricultural Dept
[but the *Agricultural Dept* is {double underlining} the SETTLEMENT
Dept: is it not?] in this Resolution]

-6-

"the AGRICULTURAL DEPT should
 "at once endeavour to strike
 "at the root of the evil by
 "positive treatment. It may
 "be that the remedy will
 "be found in the IMPROVEMENT
 "OF COMMUNICATIONS, the
 "CONSTRUCTION OF CANALS OR WELLS,
 "THE PLANTATION OF FORESTS OR
 "FODDER RESERVES, THE SUPPLY
 "OF SEED GRAIN & CATTLE OR
 "the promotion of emigration."

[But surely it is the very
sine qua non that these
 things should *not* be done
 by a SETTLEMENT DEPT. (Rent-fixing)

Is it not enough to set
 the people *against* all
 "CANALS", "WELLS", & "COMMUNICATIONS",
 if they think it is to raise
 their rents, as they *will* think?

The people are already
 sufficiently set against
 all we have been trying
 to do to help them in
 forestry & the like without
 our "condemning" it ourselves altogether
 by putting it in the hands
 of what *they* think their
 standing enemy, Satan of India,
 the SETTLEMENT Dept.]

In 7. the Resolution appears
 to view with approbation
 the making "duties" permanent
 of the "existing Settlement Staff"
 instead of "its connection
 "with any particular district
 "ceasing on the completion of
 "assessment."

But is it not to be feared

that this will make the
dread & distrust of the Ryot
"permanent" instead of only
periodical? [end 10:695]

RESOLUTION 10 goes on:

"It may be that some
"reform in the *fiscal* system
"or *the laws relating to*
"*landlords & tenants* is required
"in order to enable the
"cultivating community to
"protect its own AGRICULTURAL {double underlining}
"interests. Careful inquiry
"will inevitably result in
"useful suggestions or in sound
"action."

But surely this is mixing
up "Settlement" & Revenue
questions with agricultural
improvement in a way that

will inevitably set the Ryot
on his guard, not to say
at defiance against
anything we can do.

It seems confusion twice
confounded.

Will not the Ryot think
necessarily (tho' most unjustly)
that we are showing the
cloven foot?

RESOLUTION 12 most truly says
that the first thing "should
"be to secure the active aid"
of the natives that it is
"only through & by the Native
"community that agricultural
"improvement" can be made -

This is indeed only a truism: {printed address, upside down:}
10, South Street, but are they not
Park Lane. W.

going the very way to set
the "native community" against
it all?

-7-

RESOLUTION 11, which is a really interesting one, says:
"The Dept x x x x x may
"hereafter give consideration
"to the general improvement
"of agriculture by the
"introduction of NEW STAPLES
"& IMPLEMENTS, the trial of
"NEW INDUSTRIES, & the experimental
"adoption of NEW METHODS."

But surely we know
enough to do this *in some*
measure at once. Our
enemies, of whom I am not
one, accuse us of - when
we want to *shelve* a
question, instituting an
enquiry. It does not often
strike me, peculiarly with

regard to India : thus.

'Govt *has* enquired : Govt

has admitted all this. And

'yet nothing is DONE? {double underlining} Has not

The subject of agricultural enquiry in India been over-
-enquired=into & over-reported=on?

RESOLUTION II. ~~goes on~~ again:

"It may, as time goes on,

"become the duty of the Dept

"to inquire how far the

"physical researches of the

"West may be beneficially

"applied to the agricultural

"system of this country

"& to associate with itself

"in this investigation the

"assistance of qualified

"experts."

But surely they want

"qualified experts" *now!*

if "enquiries" must indeed be made

at all?

"qualified experts" to
make their present "enquiries"
if indeed any such are wanted?
What is the good of making
them over & over again
WITH THEIR PRESENT OFFICIAL
Staff"? - WITH THE NATIVE
"INSPECTORS" WHO, WE KNOW,
make random & wholly
unreliable returns e. g. of live
stock & all the rest ~~of it.~~

-WITH THEIR NATIVE SUPERIORS
who are too hard worked & too ignorant
to check *them* - *with* THEIR {double underlining}
Anglo-Indian superiors
who are twice too hard
worked to inspect them.

- WITH THE WHOLE REVENUE
(& SETTLEMENT) STAFF
about whom the very point

is *that they know nothing*
about *Agriculture* -
that they can learn nothing
having much more than they can
do already - except from native subordinates
that the natives turn them
whichever ~~thei~~ way they like
upon this matter -
that a great part of the
evils of India arises
from our ignorance of the
peculiar wants of India
- especially in the all
important & universal matter
of *Agriculture* -
& that the land is WHAT IT IS
~~because we do now know~~ {printed address, upside down:}
10, South Street, ~~anything about it--~~
Park Lane. W.
~~& just~~ because we are what
we are, & don't know *how*
to "enquire" or how to check returns.

-8-

Surely we want "qualified experts" at once:

"qualified experts" first (& last)

Otherwise it is like a cat running after its own tail.

Collectors have said that everything is going on well in their own Districts - especially Agriculture.

They don't like "qualified experts" to come in & find out that every thing is going on ill as ill as possible.

The Collector or the Revenue Staff or the Settlement Officer is admiring & running after his own tail.

And these Resolutions say
 'go on in the perpetual
 'circle after your own tail
 - 'nothing can be better -
 'No one shall interfere with
 'your tail. No Darwin
 'or "qualified expert" shall
 'come in & explore your
 'fur, which is your own -
 'at least *not* till "*hereafter.*"!

[I am almost a fanatical admirer of these great Anglo-Indian Officers who recall the old Roman days -

But ~~it is~~/is it not degrading them to set them after their own tails?]

Let us have "qualified experts" now. may not we? to "enquire" or how to check returns

~~—~~Another Anglo-Indian writes
 to me: "The necessity for
 "careful agricultural enquiry
 "there is no one more clearly
 "impressed with than I am,
 "& than we of Madras are,
 "but to find that our supreme
 "rulers are indisposed to do
 "anything more than 'enquire
 "'& report" is very disheartening.
 "The Depts to be established
 "may be very good Institutions:
 "for the objects mentioned
 "in the Resolution, but to
 "call them AGRICULTURAL DEPTS
 "will be an utter farce."
 Is this not true?
 Or might he not rather
 put it much more strongly -
 'This would do very well for
 'England - but for India

'where at least everywhere but in Bengal *the Government* is {double underlining}

'*the Landlord* surely the
 'first duty of *the Landlord*
 is not only 'enquiry & report'
 but improvement of his
 estate.

Otherwise he becomes like
 the Irish landlord.

[Mr. Grant Duff said to me
 on leaving England that
 the great aim of a Governor
 should be not a policy
 but to improve his Presidency
 as a Landlord his estate.]
 {printed address, upside down:}
 10, South Street,
 Park Lane. W.

-9-

My correspondt goes on - [10:695]

"One of the greatest duties
"of an Agricultural Dept is
"the promoting of all efforts
"devoted to improvement
"& the diffusion of Agricultural
'information - this the Govt
"of India propose to defer
"for an indefinite length of
"time - apparently until
"they have funds! who can
"tell when that may be?"

[A man of Balliol (not
Belial) said to me: you
know Balliol has half the
Civil Service candidates:

'the business of the Civil
Service is not to collect
Revenue but to *make*
Revenue; it was à propos

of teaching these C.S. candidates Agriculture
& the like.]

"It is deplorable that the
"Govt should not have
"appreciated the importance
"of securing properly trained
"men for their staff of
"agricultural enquirers, &
"this could only be done by
"promoting some general
"scheme for agricultural
"education"

Surely he is right here -
& he might have said:

also among the Civil
Service candidates at home.

"Further agricultural enquiry
"can never be complete, in
"the sense mentioned in the

"Resolution, unless experimental
 "agriculture be carried on,
 :continuously with other
 :systems of enquiry TO SEE
 "WHAT AGRICULTURE CONDUCTED
 "ON WESTERN PRINCIPLES CAN
 "do for the Ryot of any
 "particular district or ~~Ryot~~/tract":
 [This is almost a truism,
 is it not? why should it be put off?
 The great Bengal Anglo-Indians
 answer: 'oh but experimental
 'Govt farms in Bengal
 'have all been failures' -
 So do we say too.
 But why?
 Because they have had
 no "experts" as farmers.]

"The Govt however say
 "that experimental agriculture
 "is of part of their scheme
 "& as they will have
 "apparently no *agricultural*
 "experts on their Staff
 "THEY WILL NOT EVEN BE ABLE
 "TO FORM AN IDEA OF WHAT
 "MIGHT BE DONE BY IMPROVED
 "FARMING.'

[It is just the same as
 what we do in our Christianity.]

We say over & over again
 that we are "weak", which
 is quite true, but makes
 us no stronger. And
 we don't try, we (scarcely) acknowledge {printed address, upside down}
 10, South Street, any system of
 Park Lane. W.
 improvement to make
 us stronger.]

-10-

RESOLUTION 11 goes on:

"*Engineering* science would be
"required for the construction of
"works of irrigation or of improved
"agricultural implements; the
"science of the VETERINARY surgeon
"will be necessary when the
"breeding or the diseases of
"cattle are dealt with;
"the science of FORESTRY is
"called for in arboriculture
"& reboisement, and technical science
"of divers kinds for the
"development of various industries.
"Finally, the science of
"AGRICULTURAL CHEMISTRY will
"be demanded for the solution
"of many important agricultural
"problems."

~~But what is the lame &~~

Just so: this is capital.

And of *agricultural chemistry*, the

natives know absolutely
nothing.

This delights our souls:
but it is all at an indefinite
distance.

I am like a thirsty bird with
a long stork's beak who
is offered water in a plate
- or like a pilgrim who
sees the mirage in the Desert
which he thinks will slake
his thirst.

All this, if *now*, would
save India.

All this is just *what we want*
our Civil Service candidates
to learn.

All this is indeed a pointed
summing up of what are
the peculiar wants
of India.

But what is the 'most lame & impotent' conclusion?

"Recognizing, however, the
"existence of these great wants,
"the Governmt of India
"does not now invite any
"proposals to supply them." [end 10:695]
REQUEST 2.

[Then, may we not do
what the Govt of India does
not do, namely, these being
exactly the things which
we proposed to be included
in the SUBJECTS OF TRAINING
for the CIVIL SERVICE CANDIDATES,
(- at least directing their {printed address, upside down}
10, South Street, attention to these.)
Park Lane. W.
may we not ask for an INFORMAL
ENQUIRY INTO THESE SUBJECTS OF TRAINING?

-11-

REQUEST 3

I know not whether I
might ask you IF
YOU AGREE in the
disappointing CHARACTER
OF THESE RESOLUTIONS to
bring it TO THE NOTICE OF
LORD HARTINGTON - - if
you agree it is done
already, I am sure

N.B. 1

It is not disputed that
INDIVIDUALS - some Revenue
Collectors, - Settlement, Canal,
Survey & Medical Officials &c
& some non-officials, Planters
& Zemindars, have done
much, but always as INDIVIDUALS {double underlining}
- able & willing, when officials -

to overcome the inherent
dread the Ryot has of.
official advice. Is not
this do?

N.B. 2

Might not much be done
by paying the expences of
intelligent Zemindars or Ryots
travelling with an Englishman
they know, to see what is
done in other countries?

Might not they learn much
in a trip to Egypt, & Italy
- more by a summer in
England or a winter in China?

Would not a genial man
like Mr. Pedder of the I.O.
attract & manage a company
of Cook's Tourists (Brahmins
& Rajpoots)

& teach them more in a
year than all the Depts of
Govt in a century?

Their Reports would be
worth reading & printing -
And they would write
Manuals which would
be really useful.

Dear Sir Louis Mallet,
I am confounded at my
own impertinence: but
pray do not let it
prevent your kindness.

And I am ever your
faithful & penitent servant
Florence Nightingale

-12-

It is said that Lord Ripon
never saw the Resolution
which is called the handy
work of some clever Essayist
in the Secretariat:

or of Mr Buck himself -
& certainly is an Essay on
'How not=to=do=it' : is it not?

Though we get 20 millions
a year from the land, ~~we~~
& spend only £10,000 a year,
we will not have an
Agricultural Dept like the
United States; but we put
it in the hands of our
co-civilians who don't
understand anything about
it:: but then we will take,
we say,

care that they have no
work to do in it which they
don't understand.

If they did, they would
expose the "exhaustion" of the
soil.

By the way, is not the United
States Agricul Dept doing
their utmost to promote the
growth of JUTE in the
Southern States & while
we are talking spoiling
our American market for
Jute?

In the same way with COTTON:
is it not true that, if the
farming were improved, India
might produce as good
long-stapled Cotton as any country

& defy the 5 p. c. import duty?

Our new spinning mills
cannot get long stapled Cotton
in India & must import it.

But the country could well
afford to grow cotton as well
as food.

For every acre under crop
there is a soil lying under
that is idle.

F.N.

Mallet, signed letter, 10ff, pen & pencil

BENGAL. *Revised Rent Law Bill*

PRIVATE {double underlining} Jan 25 1882

{printed address:} 10, South St.

Park Lane W.

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I venture to hope that my
goodness! is leaving you so
long untroubled about this
most momentous land subject
which dwarfs all other subjects
in importance, will not
go unnoticed!!

I am to have by next mail
the "*amended Bill*," - which I
presume means the Govt of
Bengal's Bill, & which ~~of~~
~~course~~/doubtless you have had {illeg} already
~~since~~ at the I. O., - from India.

During the last months
I have had sent me from
India

- Mr. Reynold's Draft Rent Bill

which of course you have -
2. - the report of many Ryots' -
Mass- Meetings & their
"Resolutions" - very fair & good.

[the Hindoo is a gentleman
compared with the Irishman]

These meetings show that
the Ryot is beginning to have
views on politics or what is
far better on administration.

They are doubted as being
genuine Meetings at the
I.O. But they are none
the less genuine for all that.

3 - copies of the Brahma
"Public Opinion" newspaper
& of the "Bengalee" with

the Ryots' "Resolutions"

[The "Bengalee" will be
known to you as a good
Ryots' paper.]

4 - copies of the "Indian Association
memorial to Mr. Mackenzie

The "Indian Association" is
the only association in Bengal
which may justly be called
the *people's* Association.

[The main spring of the
Association is Mr. Bannerjee
"the ex Civilian" and the present "Editor
of the Bengalee : however -]

Both "Bengalee" & "Indian
Association" have taken up
the ryot's cause in right
earnest, as is probably
known to you.

How desirable it would be

if the views of the best
men in England, ex-Anglo
Indians, could be used to
put sense into these hopeful
people - who yet have
more words than sense, &
more sense than practical
action in improving their feebler
brethren.

~~of~~ The Memorial is
however very good
5 - copies of the Ryots'
Memorial to Sir Ashley Eden.
& pamphlets on the
native view of the Rent
Question. innumerable.
besides letters many
from Hindoo Baboos.
I would not trouble you
with extracts from these,

-2-

altho' they are generally
~~remarkably~~ well written -
& altho' I try to enlighten
my correspondents with
the views of the best
Anglo-Indians in England, however
feebly reproduced by me.
& anonymously, of course.

The criticisms on Mr. Reynolds'
Draft Bill seem remarkably
fair & are indeed much
more temperate as expressed
by the natives than those
expressed by the Anglo-Indians
one of whom writes to me:

"I have been stunned
"with the bill of Reynolds'
"doing away with the 12 years
"right of occupancy - it will
"have most serious consequences

"and an alarm ought to be
 "sounded at the India Office
 "and in the Press"

x x x

"A native gentleman has
 "been with me this morning
 "who tells me the Zemindars
 "endeavour to evade the law
 "by giving losses dated only
 "5 years previously."

Other Anglo-Indians in England are
 much more favourable to
 the Bill. And I beg to
 say that I have even
 incurred reproach with my
 clients, the Ryots, for having
 transmitted these views to them.

But they work like leaven
 in them.

One of my Ryots writes to **[10:544-45]**
 me a distressing account of
 the corruption which *still*
 prevails in the Courts

He says, very fairly : x x x
 "Then again as regards the
 "Zemindars no speedy mode
 "of realizing undisputed
 "rents from the Ryots has been
 "devised. There will still be
 "room for the Ryot for filing
 "false receipts, proving false
 "payments & producing false
 "evidence in rent suits in our
 "courts of Justice. Mr. Reynolds'
 "Bill meets the questions of rent
 "only half way, and as such
 "will practically do very
 "little good to the Ryots.

x x x

"There is no check, no restraint

"of public opinion here
"Corruption is systematically
"practised in our Courts of
"justice (*of course my (!!!)*
"educated countrymen are
"honest (& true!) - The Ministerial
"Officers - the amlahs of our
"courts of law - are proverbially
"corrupt. They extort large
"sums of money from the litigants.
"One can get plenty of witnesses
"in this country ready to swear
"by anything & to give false
"evidence for money. In not
"a few cases, forged documents
"are produced; sometimes the
"crime is detected, sometimes
"it is done in such an ingenious {printed address, upside down:}
10, South Street, "manner that it escapes
Park Lane. W.
"the scrutinizing eye of the judge
"Imagine the state of such

-3-

"a weak & unprotected class
"as the Ryots in a court of
"justice. The Ryots generally
"depend for legal advice on
"the law agents - the mooktars -
"those harpies who infest
"our courts of Law & who fail
"not to rob them of the little
"they have.

"The field for work in
"this country is very extensive
"but alas! the workers are
"so few".

The rest of the letter
reminds me of that man
whom we may truly call
the "late-lamented" Judge,
truly lamented. - the Judge
in Tipperah; who was a

"Positivist" - & who was
known to you - "Geddes", I
think

Feb 1 1882

I Might I ask if you would
be so very kind as to
let me know anything
that I may rightfully
ask for as to the
present state of the
Bengal Revised Rent Law
question - as to your
views on the *Govt of*
Bengal's "amended Bill"
{~~illeg~~} & let me see *that or any*
documents that I might
see - And I need not say
that they would be kept
in confidence.

Might I ask if the "amended
"Bill" has yet been introduced
into the Legislative Council,
and the sanction of the
SECRETARY OF STATE IN COUNCIL
been yet asked? or *where it at*
present stands?

II.

And - another request -
might I ask if the
Supplement to the Calcutta
"Gazette" April 23 1879
(p.p. 469, 470 &c &c) containing
~~with~~ a Minute of the High
Court of Judicature, - based
on papers (included) of District
Judges, & amongst them of the
Offs District Judge of Tipperah
(Geddes) containing

also: a Minute by Secy to
Govt of Bengal on "appointment
"of Commn" &c

the whole upon this "Arrears
of Rent Realization Bill"
whether this No. of the "Gazette
of India" could be *lent* me
(- I promise to return it in
a month or a week, *if/as*
directed so to do.)

or whether the I.O. could
direct me where to get
it in England?

[end 10:545]

[I *had* this precious No. of
my own & I think I sent
it to you, marked. (You (printed address, upside down}
10, South Street, permitted me some
Park Lane. W.
correspondence on this No.),
~~which was 'inqualifiable'~~

-4-

in what was admitted by
Govt. I do not ask
you to look for it : that
would be too outrageous -
but only kindly to tell me
WHERE I COULD OBTAIN A
LOAN OF IT.]

N.B. and P.S.

Alas! do not suppose that
I am not aware of the
cruel short comings of my
Ryots as e.g. 1. the "Bengalee"
& the "Indian Association"
having fallen into the hands
of the Ex=Civilian Banerjee.
Nothing seemed more
discouraging to the friends

of the natives than that it was so soon necessary to turn the first native Civil Servant out of the Service for disgraceful conduct. But it is worse that, instead of being degraded in the eyes of his compatriots, I am told he is the most active elected member of the Calcutta Municipal Council, [is this so?] and, as they say, Editor of the "Bengalee". Such a man may in some respects (in default of better) be useful, but one always feels that what comes from

him comes from a tainted source.

As to the general statements of corruption & the parenthetical remark ("of course our educated countrymen are honest & true") sounds almost ironical when we remember the case of Banerjee - It is not always the uneducated aboriginal who is the greatest rogue. And we seem not half enough to think about where our system of education is landing us - or how much dust is thrown in our eyes - or where we are going -

2. Would it not be well to try & enlighten the Ryots against the tone of denunciation of the whole policy of the Govt on the land question?

There is no doubt, is there? that to give Occupancy rights to all *resident* Ryots would be an enormous concession - more than we had ever expected to see - And, if that were carried, the objection to the exclusion of non-resident Ryots would be comparatively petty.

Those of the latter who had already established rights {printed address, upside down:] 10, South Street, would keep them Park Lane. W.
- would not they?

-5-

The old law of the country certainly excluded non - resident men: & most of these are probably above the rank of mere Ryots.

If the Govt really try to carry through the concession to Resident Ryots which has been proposed the friends of the Ryots will be those who aid - not those who oppose & abuse the measure.

Are not these last like the Irish who threw obstacles in the way of the Land Bill?

But I really ask your
pardon for the digressions
of one seeking earnestly
- & earnest people are often
impertinent, I am afraid
to know your verdict.

If you will be so very
kind as to answer my
two questions I ought
to be more than grateful
& more than ever
your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

Mallet, signed letter, 1f, pen

AGRICULTURAL DEPT RESOLUTION
of the GOVT OF INDIA
{printed address:} 10, South St.
Park Lane W.
Feb 10 1882

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

Let the urgency of the
occasion plead my excuse.

These "Resolutions" of the
Govt of India on the new
AGRICULTURAL DEPT. _____!!

It is impertinent of me -
having troubled you so
lately with so long a letter
- not yet answered.

But Mr. Buck is already
carrying out what appear
to be very fatal steps.
May I explain?

yours penitently yet
hopefully in you -
Florence Nightingale

Mallet, signed letter, 6ff, pen & pencil

Private BENGAL RENT LAW

Feb 13 1882

{printed address:} 10, South St.

Park Lane W.

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I am exceedingly obliged
to you for your two kind
notes -

Of course it is a disap=
pointment that the "AMENDED
"BILL" THE GOVT OF BENGAL'S
BILL has not come home,
& that *the* Bill is not
likely to come home "this
"year. It was right &
desirable that the Govt of
India should give time for
public opinion to speak,
& should avoid even a
suspicion of wishing to hurry
through

~~through~~ a matter of such
truly incalculable importance.

But the Ryot mind is
now in turmoil & accuses
(most unjustly) the Govt of
India, & even the S. of S., of
wishing to shelve the whole
thing.

2. About the RESOLUTION of the
Govt of India on the new
AGRICULTURAL DEPT: I am
so very thankful for your
view of improving Indian
agriculture. [I should have
thought there was no sense

in what I feel with such
strong conviction, otherwise.]
But I do not plead guilty
to ~~thinking~~/expecting that the S. of S.
can work a miracle.
Altho' I am certain that you
altogether undervalue the
great impulse that you
have given to the direction
of Indian affairs in the
last 10 years [there are
many things to prove it] -
yet I did not mean what
you impute to me. I meant,
- (in order to diminish the
impertinence of presenting
a view to you which, if
it were correct you were

sure to hold already), to say that
"if you agree" I ~~knew~~/know that
your inculcation of this
on the Govt at home & in India
"is done already."

And I choose to hope still.
You say that the "British public" [10:816-17]
gives us "no response"
But that is not entirely
the British public's fault.
If I were a high Indian
official returning home,
I should devote myself
entirely by speeches, Lectures
Articles in Magazines, (since
that is the fashion) - by every
way that is open to a
manly man to popularize

-2-

the great subject of British
Administration in India
& bring it home to us
English in England: "stump" it, in short.
[When the ex-Prime Minister of
England "stumps" it
about the country, there
can be nothing below the
dignity of an ex-Viceroy or
ex Governor or Lt Governor
in doing so.]

We do not care for the
people of India ~~but~~ because
between them & us is a
great gulf fixed - nay,
two gulfs - the official
gulf *there* & the official gulf
here. And scarcely an
effort is made to bridge it over.

If there is an ex-Viceroy
who can write a novel like
Dickens, let him write it -
- on the *people* of *India*.
I too was 'mad' at the way
"Mr. Caird's Mission" fell to
the ground, & the "Famine
Commission" Report altogether.
But as to the latter not a
soul in England knew any
thing about it: They
should have had an article
(not a Leading Article) in
the "Times" about it every
day for a week. Some great
ex-Indian officials should
have written ~~an~~ Articles in
~~a~~ Magazines. An Abstract
(an interesting popular one)

should have been published
with appropriate photographs
of famine miseries - at a low price.

All this should have been

done & nothing have been left
undone, if it were to 'tell'.

Mr. Caird's previous articles in the "XIX
Centy" were no good. He should
have written a good stirring
Article *after* the "Famine"
Report was out.

All the great Administrative
& other Reports about the
Hindoo remain as much
a dead letter to the English
in England as if they were
written in 'Hindoo' or in
Sanskrit.

Why does the Govt do all it
can to stifle any interest
of the English in/about India? One

would have thought they
would have liked public opinion
to back them. e.g. why did
they contradict the truth
about the famine deaths?

Natives & Anglo-Indians are
alike alive to this, now: - viz.
that they must have public
opinion in England to help
them. But Anglo-Indian
ex-officials do little or nothing

to bring it about. And Hindoo pamphlets are too *controversial* to be of any use
- England

is the only country where a
great ex Prime-Minister
could "stump" it - where an
ex-Viceroy could "stump" it - **[end 10:817]**

But a General Election *is* worth while {printed address, upside down:}
10, South Street. And 250 millions of

Park Lane. W.

Indian lives are *not* worth while.

-3-

I was broken hearted by the small results of Mr. Caird's Mission. [I thought the Indian Millennium was coming.]

Are you not, however, a little unfair in what you say? Since the Govt of India has, almost too pointedly - attributed the creation of an Agricultural Dept to the Famine Commn Report's advocacy

I think the failure of Mr. Caird's private pamphlet was partly attributable to his mixing up the political with the administrative. He may have been perfectly right. But does not America & Russia & indeed all history show that the greatest evils arise from ~~confusing~~/combining politics & administration?

3. I thank you very much for your promise to press the Agricultural Improvement question As for "sending" a copy of "my letter to MR. GRANT DUFF," I leave ~~it~~/that to you. who know him so well. Of course he will not show it TO HIS OFFICIAL COUNCILLORS. They would guess who my Madras correspondts are. They might guess *right* - or they might guess *wrong*. But it would not improve the prospects of the unlucky wight on whom their suspicions light. [Here again comes in the "suicidal mania" of officials for silence & the dark.] I suppose it would not do to

leave out what I have put
in inverted commas as my
"correspondents'" information -?
Probably that is the pith of the
whole? Mr. Grant Duff
must consider it "PRIVATE"
EVEN FROM HIMSELF. {double underlining}
Mr. Grant Duff has won a
golden crown of opinions
already from the real
agricultural reformers of
Madras. He is laying a
good foundation. He has
seen more *for himself*
since he has been there
than his predecessor, altho' a
reputed Agriculturist, did in
the whole term of his Office
or indeed than Mr. Caird, in his
too short visit.

I earnestly wish you good
speed at the Riviera.
And if you bring back as
much restoration as your
friends desire for your, it
will indeed be a goodly stock

Pray believe me
ever your faithful servt.

Florence Nightingale

I have not the impertinence to
inflict upon you an account
of *Bombay* Agricultural improvements
but venture to send a scrap
I began long ago. You will ~~filleg~~/know
how little they are doing.

F.N.

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

Mallet, signed letter, 6 ff, pen & pencil

Bengal Revised }
Rent Law }

July 31 1882

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

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I cannot tell you how grateful I am to you for remembering me, & for sending me the most interesting Volume. (Vol. I) containing the Report, ~~Bill~~ & Appendices on the Govt of Bengal's Bill for amending the Rent Law -

[I had heard that your Committee at the I. O. was sitting twice a week upon it.]

I had not received (you kindly ask) any copy "from other quarters." The Govt of India have, I fancy, kept it very 'close'. [Up to this last I had been supplied with all the papers, from India, even to Mr. Reynolds' Bill & the Ryots' Petitions, &c &c &c -] The Zemindars are, I am told, expected to make an immense resistance, as soon as they know what to resist -

May the Govt of India's proposals prevail - which seem to go farther as to occupancy rights than the

Govt of Bengal's -

[You say in your most kind note of July 28, "I send you another big volume"

- I have not received my other - only ~~except~~ Vol I.

I do not allude to Vol II -, which, as you kindly say, you "cannot spare". But, if you have been so good as to direct "other" papers to be sent me, as appears by your note of July 27, they have not reached me]

It is impossible to feel more grateful than I do

for your remembering me at all

I wish I knew more particularly what the Govt of India's "important extensions" were -

-2-

2. There seems some hope of a re-consideration of the Subjects of training, - of the age at admission - & of the years of training (3 instead of 2) of the Civil Service Candidates for India.

To introduce some Agricultural & Technical Science among these youths going out to an agricultural country like India seems all important.

And one cannot but look upon the present system which might be so good, as a failure - NOT {double underlining} owing to the teaching at Balliol College, Oxford, where the

majority of the candidates
are, which, as you
know, is so excellent.

The subject of Education
in India, especially of
Agricultural Education: -
- of the Text books used in
the Schools, both *Primary*
& Upper - & the information
or *misinformation* given
in these Text books,
upon which may really
depend almost the whole question
~~of~~/as to whether the *masses* of
India are to improve or to
remain in wretched superstition
[I am not of course alluding to
proselytizing matters]

Have you seen a letter
written to Lord Ripon in
the form of a pamphlet,
printed in India, by a
Mr. Murdoch, L.L.D -
who has been connected with
Indian Education for 40
years, & has travelled for
the last 20 in India at
his own expence - & is
connected with the "Christian
"Vernacular Educn" or some such
Society? It deals
with the *effects* of our
Education in India - &
with the *non-effects* of
our agricultural education, {printed address, upside down:}
10, South Street, because it does
Park Lane. W.
not exist - or hardly exists
except in Madras.

-3-

I have seen Mr. Benson,
of the Madras Agricultural
College, to whom you so
kindly granted leave to
visit the great Agricultural
Implement Makers in
England.

3. How grievous is this [15:915-16]
Egyptian War - all the
"Control" improvements stopped, ruined, by
which we had raised the
fellaheen of Egypt far
above our own ryots of
India. Why do we care
for the 5 millions of Egypt
who are not ours more
than for the 200 millions of

India who are ours?

By preventing all illegal
exactions, &c & having the taxes
collected *not* at the will
of native extortioners, &c the
fellaheen were raised in
4 or 5 years to pay off all their
petty usurers, - &, by opening
National Land Banks, to
borrow at cheap rates & ~~have~~/buy
improved Agricultural machinery
from England.

Why do we not have
National Land Banks in
India?

Your friend, Mr. Caird, is
in their favour.

Pray do not suppose that
I imagine that I am telling you

anything - not so impertinent.
 I am only reminding you of
 what I believe is a
 subject of yours. Pray remember
 the National Land Banks for India
 (as the poor debtors used to say: "pray
 remember the poor debtors." I am a poor
 debtor.)

That Major Baring has
 "fastened" on the "temporary
 settlements" is delightful.

We are in all the press &
 drive of getting off Nurses
 for the Mediterranean War
 Hospitals. We had had an
 enquiry into the Army Hospital
 Corps conduct, ~~ed~~ which had
 been very bad - but this war
 is Egypt - pray do not call it
 a war "*with* Egypt" - it is Arabi

who is at war *with* Egypt
 not we we are endeavouring to
 bring peace to Egypt -
 this abominable cross
 of a Paris Communist & a
 Military despot with Turkish
 Oriental cunning - is stopping
 not only all his country's
 improvements but ours
 too -

I am very cross, I am
 afraid, but it is Arabi's fault
 but pray believe me
 ever your faithful servt
 Florence Nightingale
 {printed address, upside down:}
 10, South Street,
 Park Lane. W.

What now with Turkey?

[end 15:916]

Mallet, signed letter, 2ff, pen

PRIVATE

August 3 1882

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

Dear Sir Louis Mallet

I am very grateful for
your kind note of July 31.

I need scarcely assure
you that, even without
your most kind warning,
I am most careful to give
no *information* in India
- not to "set the Zemindars
"going" - to treat "confidential"
matters "confidentially" -
- not to give any hint
even which might make
"public" any deliberations
whatever going on.

And I should not even **[15:916]**

have troubled you with
this assurance but that
for this "Egyptian business".

Men employed in India
all their lives among Hindoos
& Mahometans - in Turkey among
Mahometans are
convinced that there is
every prospect of Turkish
troops, landing in Egypt
in the next 10, 15, or 20
days, fraternizing with
Arabi's troops -
They tell me this. They press

that the troops now at
Alexandria should make
"a dash" at Arabi, even
with the loss of 200 or 300
of our poor fellows, *now*. -
before the Turkish troops
arrive. The Sultan is playing
so deep a game. -
Nothing is more preposterous
than fancying oneself in
possession of information
which the Govt has not -
(in matters political, not
administrative) - except
believing that one knows
more what *can* be done
than Military & Naval
authorities on the spot.
Still this is no isolated

opinion (about the danger
of the Turkish troops & Egyptian
fraternizing) - And I thought,
as I was writing to you, I
would add my mite to
what you already know. **[end 15:916]**

Pray pardon me
& believe me
ever your faithful servt
Florence Nightingale

Mallet, signed letter, 1f, pen

May 25/83

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

It would be too presumptuous
in me to venture to hope
that you could find time to
go & hear my poor little
paper on the "Bengal Rent
Bill", & confute it in the
discussion afterwards.

I have not dared even
to ask to submit it to you.
but I feel as if all our
fates were hanging in the
balance while this vital
Bengal Rent Bill is
awaiting decision to become
an Act.

Florence Nightingale
Sir Louis Mallet