on exactly opposite principles. This, however, was of no consequence to the Delegate; inconsistency has never sat easier on any man's soul than it habitually sits on his. He began his mission by putting the starving people employed on works and receiving relief on a diet not much more than half as good as that provided for felons,* and much less than what, in Bengal in 1874, he declared was the minimum quantity to maintain life. The Famine Delegate passes along the ranks and turns out every man or woman who was not in a wretched state of emaciation and in a condition of almost primitive nakedness.

Here are his words as reported by a Madras Civilian †

* A Ceylon Newspaper (the *Times*) made the following comparison, which, in its general features, may be taken as fair —

Daily allowance to an able bodied labourer on our Indian Relief Works —	Daily allowance to Juan Appu recently convicted of knocking out the brains of a near relative —	
	Bread	4 ounces
	Rice	20 ,,
	Meat or Fish	5 ,,
	Vegetables	4 ,,
	Plantains	2 ,,
16 ounces of Rice,	Dholl	2 ,,
and	Sugar	1 ounce
One anna (1½d) in cash	Coffee	1 ,,
	Ghee	½ ,,
	Onions	½ ,,
	Salt and Pepper	½ ,,
	Curry stuff a sufficient quantity, comprising cummin seed, coriander seed, garlic, maldive fish, tamarind, saffron, cocoanut and lime	

This is how the Temple ration worked 'Some elder coolies, reports a Native Indian officer, 'saying they have no bellyful meals, have shown their bellies to me, which appeared like pits. They appear like persons who have had no food for several days.'

. . . . 'All coolies, men, women and children, represented to me that the rations were insufficient. One of the elder coolies asked me, "Have I not the virtues of a convict to get a bellyful of food?" Another answered him, "We also can get a bellyful of food if we commit theft."'

† A Pamphlet towards the History of the Madras Famine, by a Madras Civilian.

who, at this time, was administering a district. 'If,' said the Delegate, 'I were in England, and a man wearing a good black coat and silk necktie were to come up to me and tell me he was starving, I should not believe him, but should say, "My friend, were you really starving you would have sold your good coat and neck-tie, and bought food with the proceeds; come back to me when you have done so, and then I will give you relief." Such is the policy I would pursue in India. You have begun too soon. If you question this man you will find that he has at home a bullock, or perhaps two; yonder man has a couple of acres of land; if this man were really starving his blanket would be in rags, and yonder woman would have sold the glass beads she is wearing round her neck. Again, look at these six men I have picked out of your gang! They are fine tall men. Look at their broad shoulders and sinewy arms, and contrast them with these others who are thin and emaciated. Do you mean to tell me that in a gang of famine coolies there should be so wide a difference? These poor wretches have clearly nothing, but the others are probably men of some substance, who supplement their famine wages by the little property they still possess. In a famine so huge as this is the State cannot do more than keep alive. What you have to do is to muster each of your gangs as I have done this; you should, as it were, weigh each man on your finger, as a native cashier (shroff) does the coin which is paid into the treasury, and to those who seem to you to be not yet fit objects of relief, you should say, "Go home, my

friend, and come back to me in three weeks or a month, when you have eaten the proceeds of your hut, your plough, and your ploughing cattle."' During his tour the Delegate inspected in this manner upwards of a hundred thousand relief coolies in the presence of European and Native subordinate officials of all ranks, and it is therefore easily to be understood that his policy was soon widely known, and, alas! too frequently accepted with docility and carried into effect. The fallacy of the Famine Delegate's reasoning is apparent. In such a crisis as then existed in India, there was no market for the woman's glass beads, while if the man allowed his blanket to become ragged before he applied for relief he would not be in need of relief long; the cold nights of the period would soon have ended his life. The Delegate 'shroffed' the ranks and hundreds were turned away to die of starvation, and did so die. This treatment became known only too well among the people: how many of them would be likely to regard the British as beneficent rulers? At the time he so acted, the Delegate was himself receiving, as salary (not counting travelling allowances) from the Indian treasury, as many rupees per day as would, on his own reckoning, have fed nearly five thousand people per day!

Does the reader quite grasp the details of the picture? Do those members of the English public whose sympathies on behalf of the brute creation have caused them to be very active in stopping vivisection, fully realise the experiment the Famine Commissioner, with the approval

of the Government of India, was making in the early Spring months of 1877? All through the Famine districts of Madras, for several months, a gigantic experiment, dictated solely by financial considerations, was going on;—human beings, whose crime was that they were poor, poorer than they need have been but for British administration, subjects of the recently proclaimed Empress, were the objects of the experiment: with the stupidity and wickedness of their race they spoiled the experiment; they had the temerity to die. Surely the game that was played was worthy of an imperial race! Men and women and little children were the counters, and their continued existence at the cost of a few rupees per day per hundred the point at issue. How did the experiment actually work? An instance will serve to indicate. At Madanapilli, in the Cuddapah District, on February 2nd, the Delegate recorded that he found the laborers 'looked to be in good physical condition, and it appeared that some proportion of them must have been able to support themselves, for a time at least, without Government aid. Hardly any of them appeared to be in a physically reduced condition.' For some reason not stated these gangs were not 'shroffed,' nor were their occupants put on the reduced ration. It will be easy to judge the serious havoc caused generally by that ration from the statement of what happened to these gangs. Seven weeks later they were examined by Dr. Cornish, Sanitary Commissioner of Madras, whose good work during the famine can never be over-praised. He says:—

Out of the whole 800 and odd we found only three women who appeared in moderately good condition and fit for work. Of these, two had three or four young children each (the children being much reduced), and the remaining one had managed to slip in at the back of the enclosure without a ticket in the hope of getting a meal. I did not see a single man in a fit condition to work. What we did see was a large group of individuals in every stage and variety of starvation. We saw old men and old women bloated with dropsy, some with their legs covered with bad ulcers; we saw others again—and many of them men and women in the prime of life—literally moving skeletons. We saw children of all ages in such a condition of emaciation that nothing but a photographic picture could convey an adequate representation of their state. We noticed children hanging listlessly on their mothers' hips, slowly dying of diarrhœa, and others recently born, merely loose skin and bone, atrophied, in fact, by the mother's want of food before they came into the world.'

Verily, the tender mercies of British administrators in India are cruel.

Two further passages must be suffered by the reader, otherwise the true measure of our *humane* acts will not be fully appreciated. Referring to the coolies on Relief Road work, Surgeon Æ. M. Ross, of Nellore, wrote:—'One of the women, I regret to say, Gainga Ademal, aged 50, fourteenth on the list, died during the week of sheer inanition, while at work. She, with her daughter, Jetty Soobakkah, No. 15 on the list, aged 35, had been marked emaciated at several previous examinations. She had often stated that she and her daughter were starving, and that the amount of rice they were able to purchase with the wages they received

was insufficient to keep them in life. The Collector, who was present at several examinations, and I myself, frequently urged them to go into the relief house, where they would get better and more abundant food without labour, for which they were unfit, but they both declared they would rather die, and they have done so; for I hear that, since the examination under report was made, the daughter also has died. It appears that the elder woman, while at work carrying earth, complained of feeling very faint, but continued to work for a short time more, when she fell down and in a short time died.' Does the record of heroic endurance and plucky effort during the Lancashire cotton famine contain a more pathetic story than the foregoing? Pathetic on one side in the pride that kept the cooly-women at work; cruel on the other in refusing them pay enough to keep their courageous souls in their weakened bodies, Again: 'A few more weeks of their present diet will render even the strongest among the men unfit for any moderately hard or continuous labour, while the weakest must die ere long. They are dying slowly now, day by day, week by week.'

NATIVE-INDIAN IDEAS AND PRACTICES IN TIME OF FAMINE.

While such inhumanity was characterising our action in the Madras districts, what was happening across the border in certain districts of the Nizam's Dominions,

where the crop-loss and famine were little, if any, less severe? Immigrants * were treated with great beneficence. They and their cattle were passed toll-free, no charge was made for cattle-grazing, the police were instructed to give special protection to the immigrants, the village officials were directed 'to request the villagers, as far as practicable, to employ the immigrants as farm labourers, and to render them all the assistance in their power,' and waste lands for cultivation on most liberal terms were granted to them.

There was no want of careful ascertainment of the state of affairs. Nothing in the British Provinces marked more complete forethought and adequate grasp of the situation than the action taken by Sir Salar Jung at the first appearance of distress. Sir Richard Temple was compelled to state, in January, 1877, 'the arrangements made to meet distress, and the diagnosis of the coming trouble, were creditable to the prudence and foresight of H.H. the Nizam's Government.' And, as a consequence, when the munificent charity of Great Britain and the Colonies, to which the reader doubtless contributed his portion, placed nearly £800,000 for private relief at the service of the Relief Committee in Madras and (on Lord Northbrook's suggestion) an offer was made to Sir Salar Jung of a portion of the British

* 'No less than 47,400 people migrated into H.H. the Nizam's territories from the adjoining British districts up to the spring of 1877 only. In the course of about two hours on the forenoon of the 9th November, 1876, the correspondent of the *Times of India* encountered some 230 persons on the Begumpore road *alone*, who were all migrating to the Nizam's dominions, and had no knowledge whatever of the existence of relief works in their own territories.'—*Times of India*, Dec. 14, 1880.

gifts, he was able to reply that while highly sensible of the generosity of the English people the distress was so well in hand and so nearly at an end that he would not ask for a grant from the fund. At this very time distress was at its worst in the British Provinces and in the British-ruled State of Mysore. The reason is not far to seek; it is not creditable to our rule.

And, here may be placed the picture to set over against that of the British Famine Delegate's action in the various camps he visited. For this purpose extracts may be made from a report, prepared by Moulvie Mushtaq Hussen to Moulvie Syed Mahdi Ali, Secretary to the Central Famine Relief Committee, as follows:—

'Famine-stricken persons have been classified by the Committees under the four following heads, namely:—

1. Able-bodied men, capable of hard work.
2. Men of weak constitution, incapable of hard work, or light labourers.
3. Men not at all capable of work.
4. Purda women having no ostensible means of support.

From the commencement of the famine, a sufficient number of relief works, such as roads, tanks and canals, are in progress in each district, to afford ample employment to those who come under the first of these heads. Persons falling under head No. 2 were found, mostly, to participate in the above relief works, and work to the extent of their ability to earn the ordinary wages. But the relief committees have thought it proper to relieve this class of men from such work, and at their suggestion, together with men falling under the third of the above heads, they have now been consigned to the poor-houses, where cooked food is distributed to them.

'With respect to the description of people coming

under head No. 2, it was also resolved that, as far as possible, they should be assigned only to such work as fell under the scope of their own respective professions, and should be called upon to turn out as much work daily as they possibly could. The object of exacting work in this manner is not that the coffers of the poor-houses should be enriched from the proceeds of the amount of work turned out, but simply to impress the labourers with the idea that, even in poor-houses, nothing is obtainable without honest labour and assiduity, and to give them the choice of earning their livelihood elsewhere, if they should be unwilling to abide by the rules and regulations enforced in these asylums. In this manner it was hoped that those only who are actually unable to obtain employment would gain admission into the poor-houses, and people, who make poverty a pretence for not doing honest work, would be kept out. These have therefore been placed under the denomination of "light labourers," and are employed on works of a miscellaneous nature, such as spinning, twisting of ropes, and the manufacture of mats and baskets. The works are in daily progress, and the supervisors of poor-houses have made the necessary arrangements for providing sheds for the workmen, so that they should be sheltered from the effects of a scorching sun.

'Those under head No. 3, who are totally unable to work, are divided into three classes, namely: 1, Hindus; 2, Musalmans; 3, Pariahs and others who have no caste prejudice as regards their food and drink. In each poor-house regard is had to the above distinction, and separate seats are provided for each class of people, so that no confusion may ensue when they meet to partake of food, and people of one class may not, in the hurry of getting something to eat, offend the caste prejudices of those of another. Care is also taken to separate people peculiarly afflicted with disease, and they are provided for quite apart from the others.'

'Women nursing children receive an additional

quantity of one-eighth of a seer. Women in a state of dessication have their infants supplied with milk from the poor-house. Two tolas of the best quality of salt is used to every seer of food prepared. In the districts already named, jowari is the staple article of food; it is therefore the grain cooked and served out to them. Three-fourths of a seer of jowari properly boiled will produce a bulk equivalent to 2½ seers or more. Chutni is served out to make the food palatable, and the following is the proportion of ingredients supplied for the purpose, *viz.* :—

Salt	1 tola.
Chillies	2 do.
Tamarind	2 do.
Onions	1 do.

It has been ruled that the victuals should be frequently changed, and before doing so, the members of the Committee, in conjunction with the medical officer attached to the poor-house, should first ascertain the wish and the habits of the people of the district, and effect the necessary change to suit the times of the seasons.

'The cook-rooms have been carefully constructed, with the view that the victuals prepared for Hindus shall not be in any way interfered with by people of other castes and creeds. The cooks for these are selected by the Members of the Committee, which is composed of Hindus and Musalmans: the Hindus have their food served out by the Hindu cooks alone, whilst the Musalmans and lower castes of people get their food served by Hindu or Mahomedan cooks.

'Those not able to work at all repair to the poor-houses daily, receive their food and return home. The light-working poor are leisurely employed during seven hours throughout the day, after which they retire to their houses. Another privilege allowed them is that they are generally consulted by the members of the District Committee in fixing their time of work. The

inmates of the poor-houses have their personal comforts carefully attended to.

'Friday being considered a general holiday, the light-working people of the poor-houses are exempted from work, but rations are continued as usual.

'Each poor-house is provided with a hospital and a medical officer attached to it, together with an adequate supply of medicines. It is incumbent on the medical officer to look to the cleanliness of the house, to scrutinise the quality of grain served out daily, and to attend to the diet of the sick, on whom some of the incumbents are daily told off to minister to their wants and comforts. He must also see that no expense is spared in providing for the sick, and that the internal management of the poor-houses is satisfactory.

'Before the admission of any incumbent, strict inquiries are generally made as to the eligibility of the applicant for admission, and should the result of the enquiry prove satisfactory, the applicant is in due course admitted and classified.

'With respect to the clothing, there is generally an ample supply available, and those in actual need are freely supplied.'

As for the orphans and children, it is stated :—

'The arrangements made for orphans and other little children were in every way satisfactory. Women confined at the poor-houses were taken care of by the managers, and all their wants and requirements were supplied in accordance with medical advice. Provision was made under medical advice for new-born infants whose mothers' breasts were dried up from hunger. I recollect that the poor-house at Gulbarga was supplied with a number of feeding-bottles. Due provision was also made for the maintenance of orphan children, under which designation came also those that were abandoned by their parents or natural guardians. Every infant child was placed under the care of a steady female as

nurse, and to every two grown-up children one married female was allowed as an attendant. Medicine, food, clothes, and all other requisites for children were provided in accordance with medical attention. The dresses of the orphans in poor-houses were all alike, and all wore red caps. It was an interesting sight to see these little children, whom a similarity of misfortune had thrown together, taking their recreation thus arrayed of a morning or evening on the open ground before a poor-house, and to think of the strange vicissitude which had separated them from their parents, and to put them under the care of guardians who would have found it difficult to tell where their young charges were born or reared. The courtyard of the poor-house at Gulbarga, where these children were housed, was planted with trees and shrubs, and embellished as well as the circumstances would permit, and on one of my visits I remember with pleasure seeing these children playing about as happily as possible in their little garden. Their personal comforts, and their nursing and medical treatment when sick, were conducted on a generous scale, without regard to expense.'

At the end of the famine, it was found some children belonged to British territory: these 'were reported to to the British Resident at Haidarabad by the Central Famine Relief Committee, and were made over to a Christian Mission at Haidarabad.'

Before we leave this picture a glance may be directed towards another Indian State. There was famine at this period in His Highness Holkar's Dominions. Mr. Raghunatha Row, the Prime Minister of the State, in his report on the Famine period, intimates that the Maharajah, when the famine was sore in the lands bordering his territory, essayed to do as the English did and trusted to trade to provide food for those in want.

But His Highness's courage failed him. At first he 'relied on the good results following the application of the principles of political economy,' and determined to let the grain market alone, but either the results were not good at all, or were not good enough, for His Highness soon changed his tactics in the face of the foe and fell back upon time-honoured principles. Three circumstances are alleged to have caused the change of front: (1) a combination among the dealers; (2) the effectual, though not formal, stoppage of all exports from the surrounding country; and (3) the insuperable difficulty of obtaining corn from the Central Provinces. These are the pleas put forward by Mr. Rughanatha Row in his report on the administration of the Indore State for the revenue year 1877. Finding the grain-sellers combining to force up prices, Holkar went into the market himself and bought a quantity of grain, and shops were opened for its sale; these shops were superintended by responsible officers of the State, who, for the time being, must have neglected their special and more legitimate duties to become tradesmen. Seven shops were opened, 53,191 maunds purchased at a cost of Rs. 95,069 and sold for Rs. 88,596, involving a loss to the State of Rs. 6,473. In addition to the above, in the provinces salaries were paid in grain at the rate of twelve seers per rupee. Mr. Rughanatha Row says:—'The able-bodied poor were allowed to work and were paid their wages in grain, while the emaciated, old, and decrepit people were fed and clothed. The poor who found asylum in Indore from other

countries, were fed and clothed and finally sent back to their homes at the Sirkar's expense, amounting to Rs. 31,800. Rs. 32,610 were remitted to several famine committees in British India. The suspension of the collection of export duties on corn, which had been ordered in the previous year, was continued during the year under review at the sacrifice of revenue amounting to about Rs. 10,000 a year. The import duty on corn was also suspended at a loss of about Rs. 12,000.' The famine in Holkar's territory was, therefore, fought entirely on native principles, and was successfully fought. So successfully, indeed, that Holkar was able, in addition, to give great relief in the adjoining Bombay Districts, to the great annoyance of the Hon. Mr. Gibbs, of the Bombay Council, who, more than once, was on the point of proposing His Highness's relief should be altogether stopped by the superior power of the Bombay Government. Collection of revenue was remitted, the great thing which ought to have been done by Sir George Couper in the N.-W. Provinces a year later but was left undone by the Lieutenant-Governor with most lamentable and fatal results. Comparing Holkar's administration with Sir George Couper's, Native-Indians are sure to say it was the wiser and more humane; who is prepared to say that they are wrong?

After these instances, there need be little surprise if, in times of trouble, the native of India prefers the mode of relief adopted by his own people in preference to that carried out by the British.

The same principle, however, holds good of all periods,—of times of prosperity as well as of times of adversity. There is no British district which for general prosperity can compare with the State of Travancore; fifteen years ago it was termed 'the model State,' and it has since in no wise fallen from its high position. No Briton is responsible for this success. It has been, and it still is, the work of purely Indian statesmen —of one man especially, Sir Madava Row, aided most wisely by the Princes of the reigning house. In more or less degree, all that is said of Travancore is true of the majority of the Indian States. When, however, as in the case of Mysore, we assume charge of a State, a blight falls upon it, and the consequences are lamentable. The story of Mysore is a sad and sorrowful one. On the death of the late Maharajah, and until the majority of the infant heir, the Government of India had control of the State. A British official was Chief Commissioner. British officers were everywhere. More highly paid, and more comfortable, posts than those in the lovely climate of Mysore were not to be found in all India,—(save, perhaps, in the wrongly-held districts of Berar, respecting which the cost of administration is significantly omitted on p. 102, No. 2,735, Parliamentary Papers, 1880, while that of all other places is given). The public works and other departments were under their special control; they had the country to deal with after the most approved British fashion. When they took charge of the State, so admirable is the system of tanks, it was almost proof against famine.

These tanks, varying in size from small ponds to extensive lakes, are dispersed through the country to the number of 38,000; the largest is forty miles in circumference. Some of the anicuts on the rivers are of great antiquity, having been constructed a thousand years ago, while the most recent are not less than three centuries old. Most of these were allowed to get into a condition of disrepair, and were useless for the storage of water. The seasonal rains partially or wholly failed in 1876, 1877, and 1878 in Mysore as in other places. So inefficient was the grasp taken by English officers of the situation that one person out of every four died from want of food and scarcity-induced diseases. The population in 1876 was five millions; when handed over to the Maharajah in 1881 it was only three millions and three-quarters, and these in a poverty-stricken condition. As regards finances, we spent the savings of thirty years and ran up besides a debt of £800,000. Even this was not the full measure of our maleficent action in the unfortunate State. When the Maharajah was installed we added 10 lakhs of rupees to his annual tribute. The consequence is that at this moment, in spite of the strenuous efforts of a wise Indian statesman, the late Runga Charlu, C.I.E., and the earnest attempts of the present Minister, Mr. Seshadri Iyer, the State is on the verge of bankruptcy. It is safe to assert that, had an Indian Minister of the calibre of Sir Madava Rao, or any one other of a dozen who could be named, been in charge of Mysore during the Maharajah's minority, the famine notwithstanding, the State would

at this moment have been among the most prosperous in the whole continent.

While this page is being written the *Madras Mail* of October 29th, 1884, reaches England. It contains an article entitled, 'The Anxious Financial Condition of Mysore.' That anxious condition is thus described:—

'When the Maharajah assumed the government he found his revenue reduced from the results of the famine; a load of debt, the interest on which amounted to more than four lakhs of rupees; a budget, where the income hardly covers the expenditure; and the prospect of an increased subsidy of ten lakhs more than has been paid hitherto. The argument that is certain to be made is, that the country was on the verge of insolvency under native rule. We managed it for thirty years, and brought it into a state of prosperity. We then gave it back to native rule, and after a few years of native government, it is again on the brink of bankruptcy; *ergo* the best thing for the country will be for the Maharajah to accept a pension and hand over his territory to us permanently. Will, however, those who love justice say that the facts carry out this conclusion? Let us suppose the case of the Maharajah to have been that of a ward under a trustee, such as would come under the ordinary civil law. Could we go into court with clean hands, and give a satisfactory defence? It would require a very able advocate to make one out. This, however, is a matter of State, and cannot be ruled by mere justice and equity. The bankruptcy of Mysore would deal a severe blow to the argument that natives are qualified to govern themselves, but to cite Mysore as an example of such failure would be unjust in the extreme. In a word, Mysore is not receiving fair play.'

It may be noted in passing that the journalist's remarks are based on a speech made by the Minister in

a Parliament of representative ryots, summoned once a year to Mysore to hear from the Dewan the condition of the country, and to be taken into counsel as to the policy to be pursued. We in our wisdom, declare the Indian people have no faculty for self-government, that they are such a contemptible order of beings it would be folly to ask their advice; give an Indian Minister the chance and he associates the people with him in his task of government. Once more, *we* are the men, and wisdom is our possession, is ours alone. Who can doubt it?

Some farther statements may be given, showing the blighting influence of British control. The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces in 1878 described the state of certain districts in Jhansi, as one of overwhelming 'indebtedness and ruin. His Honor enumerated among the causes the following, which are given in Mr. Justice Cunningham's own words, he, as a member of the Famine Commission, having written a Memorandum on the subject:—

(1) The fact that the British Government obliged the people to pay a second time the revenue which had already been exacted from them by the Orcha State in the Mutiny.

(2) A series of bad seasons combined with unrelaxed revenue demand:—'The crops of 1867 were a failure. The year 1868-69 was one of famine; one-fourth of the whole stock of cattle in the district died, and the poorer classes emigrated to Gwalior or Malwa, or perished from starvation

or disease. *In the midst of this distress the British officials were inexorable in demanding payment of the revenue, and, in order to pay it, the people were obliged to commit themselves to written contracts of the most one sided and ruinous character. They thus fell an easy prey to the money lender, whose exactions the Civil Courts have not been slow in supporting. The famine and the injudicious action of the Revenue authorities had reduced the people to a state of absolute poverty.*' *

This poverty is summarised thus—The ascertained debts of the revenue-paying proprietors in three pergunnahs are reported as 16½ lakhs, and their annual profits fall short of their annual liabilities by some Rs. 80,000 a year, which is running on at compound interest. A specimen of the way in which debt accumulates is given in the case of some zemindars, who ten years ago borrowed Rs. 3,600 of 'the most respectable firm in the district.' They have since paid Rs. 6,999, and the account, when last balanced, showed the debt to be Rs. 9,766.

'The Zemindars, it is needless to add, "are quite destitute;" population is diminishing, cultivation has decreased from 258,000 to 231,000, and an area of 37,800 acres is infected with a weed (kans) which only capital can eradicate.'

'What,' continues Mr. Cunningham, 'seems to be wanted is some machinery for bringing the best ability of the Government to bear forthwith upon these

* The italics are *not* mine: they are Mr. Justice Cunningham's.

acknowledged failures, which the Government of India has described, in the case of Jhansi, as "a blot upon the administration." The state of things in Jhansi, apparently, has been known for many years, yet the machinery for improving it is extraordinary slow in getting into motion; the Senior Member is six months before he can write his Minute upon the Report; the Junior Member takes another six months with his; the North-Western Provinces Government takes another six or seven months to frame its letter to the Government of India; meanwhile the compound interest debt, which increases at the rate of Rs. 80,000 per annum is running on, and the condition of the patient becoming hourly more desperate, while the doctors at their leisure are discussing the most appropriate remedy.'

The remarkable good sense which our fellow-subjects in the East possess in matters of self-government is indicated in the Rules which were passed by the revived Village Councils of Ceylon. Some of these Rules were quoted in an article appearing in the *Fortnightly Review* * some years ago; an extract from them may, however, be given here. Their good sense will doubtless astonish some whose ideas of orientals are gathered from wrong notions which have been too long current:—*e.g.*, 'Rule 7. At the request, by petition, of the parents or guardians of twenty-five or more children for the establishment of a school, a school shall be established, which is to be built at the expense of all the villagers within two miles of the proposed school: provided

* 'A Home Rule Experiment in Ceylon,' *Fortnightly Review*, August, 1875.

always, that a schoolmaster is provided without charge to the villagers [*i.e.*, at the cost of the Government]. The repair and upkeep of the school-house or room shall be provided for by the levy of a moderate fee from the pupils attending the school, or by labour given gratuitously by the parents or guardians of such children. *Any parent who does not send his children to either the village school or any other place of education shall be considered as totally unfit for holding any office under Government, or of being a member of a Gansabhawa'* (Village Council).

'Boys from six to fifteen years old, and girls from six to twelve years old, shall be sent to school by their parents or guardians, except when prevented by sickness or other material cause; and the parents or guardians infringing this rule shall be subject to a fine not exceeding one rupee.'

'13. No cart-racing shall be permitted upon any public road, and no vehicle shall be driven thereon without a light at night.'

'14. Gambling and cock-fighting are prohibited. Every headman is requested to prosecute offenders against this rule before the Village Tribunal, as also all disorderly persons and vagrants, also persons using obscene and abusive language.'

Another rule prohibits pawning articles 'without notice previously given to the village headman.'

CHAPTER IV

ANOTHER argument in favour of Indian over British rule is personal,—that is, relates to the individuality of the rulers. The British Officer cannot, from the very nature of his position, make the good of the people whose affairs he administers his first object. Not the men and women struggling it may be against great difficulties in obtaining daily food can be his first object, his foremost care. The largest sum yet obtained in the district as revenue is ever before his eyes; how he can exceed it, so as to earn the character of a particularly smart officer, and gain rapid promotion, is, of necessity, the ambition and hope of the typical British administrator. An official so described is a true type of the picked men who constitute the Indian Civil Service. Here and there is to be found an officer who regards human life, reasonable comfort, and a modicum of happiness in the people as his chief concerns; but such instances are rare, very rare, and the men who thus consider lives before rupees are not the men whose promotion is most rapid, or who are regarded with favour at imperial head-quarters, or who are posted to the most salubrious or pleasant districts. We rack-rent our tenants whenever opportunity and the 'settlement' permit; we make them pay for land which they do not

cultivate;* we make them pay heavily on their own improvements until the last thing which a cultivator cares to do is to sink a well or adopt any other means whereby the out-turn of his holding may be increased. It is all very well for Sir James Caird † to assert that the increased yield of one bushel of grain on each acre of cultivated land once every ten years would furnish food for the increase of population: while *we* rule India with the rigidity and carelessness for individual interests which are our chief characteristics at the present time, the land will *not* yield its increase. It is not worth the people's while to grow the extra bushel, seeing it will be required for additional 'home' charges—not the Indian 'Home,' but the English.

The rigidity which is complained of, is specially seen in the decrees of our Courts when indebted ryots are sued by the money-lenders. If the state of things which prevailed in the Deccan at the time of the investigation by the late Commission were realised in this country and we were honest with ourselves, no London journalist—and it is the journalists of the metropolis who are the great panegyrists of our rule—

* The Native States hold out one advantage which the British cultivator does not enjoy. While the ryot here is made to pay his fixed assessment due on his registered holding irrespectively of the actual cultivation, the Native States levy assessment only on the land actually cultivated. This appears to be fair, for land will never be thrown up while it yields a fair crop; but it is harsh if, owing to the diminished productive capacity of the land or the absence of capital, a cultivator should have to leave his holding fallow, that he should have his difficulties enhanced by having to pay assessment without reaping any harvest in compensation.—*The Kaibari of Kolhapur*, Famine Commissioner.

† India. The Land and its People, p. 210.

would, for very shame, ever again put the trumpet to their lips, and give the note of command to a wondering world to pause and admire the beneficence of British rule in India. Here are some instances in proof of the harm we have done—(the quotations are from the Report of the Deccan Riots' Commission, prepared by Mr. W. G. Pedder, then Secretary to the Government of Bombay):

'In one case a Sowkar took advantage of the temporary absence of a perfectly solvent peasant to obtain, on the plea of his having absconded, an *ex-parte decree, with immediate execution*, on a bond of Rs. 500, borrowed to provide the land with the means of irrigation, sold the estate, worth Rs. 6,000, and bought it in himself for Rs. 1¼!'

'A few years ago, an old peasant in the Gaekwar's country, then infamously misgoverned, was complaining to a British officer of the oppression his village suffered from, but on being asked why he did not come into British territory, where land would be given him, he replied, "God forbid! At least we have no civil courts!" There is, however, a depth lower than penury or exile. Sometimes the wretched debtor executes an agreement which almost avowedly makes him the bond slave of his creditor. In one case cited by the Commission, a cultivator and his wife, after their land and property had been sold, passed a bond to labour for their creditor for thirteen years, home or abroad, for food and tobacco and one blanket a year!'

'Jan, an old widow, borrowed Rs. 150, many years ago, for the wedding of a son, since dead. Thirteen years ago, for this debt, she executed a mortgage bond for Rs. 300, and gave possession of her land, about forty acres, with a well. The Sowkar has had the entire produce of the land ever since, and will neither restore the land nor give an account. Twenty years ago Andu borrowed Rs. 17 in cash, and a maund of grain—has

paid, at different times, in liquidation, Rs. 567, and has executed many bonds, two of which for Rs. 875 are now outstanding.'

Mr. H. P. Malet, a Bombay civilian, writes:—

'Under the Land Revenue Survey it was expected that no remission of revenue need be granted in the yearly settlements. From 1838 to 1852 I never made a settlement without being forced to make remissions. Natural or unavoidable causes had brought on penury, but in all that time the bankers were exacting their usury from the people. Up to the last year of my revenue service (1853) I found instances of personal slavery, where, for a few rupees or a few bushels of corn the cultivators had bound themselves on stamped paper to serve their bankers for a certain number of years, or for life. These cases were called personal service, similar to the service of an ordinary servant, but it was not the case—they got food, clothing, and house, but no pay. The ordinary daily pay of an Indian cultivator is about 3d. of our money. On this he could live in his own economical manner, and shift pretty well in times of scarcity. Now that all subsistence has risen in value, and but little food is stored in the villages, the ryots are at once in distress when the season crops fail; the banker sends his slaves to the Government works to maintain themselves and to pay to him the value of the labour he loses; and thus, instead of mitigating the intensity of distress, our Indian Governments have done a great deal to enhance it. What with the enhancements of the Revenue Survey, the civil courts, the rapacity of the banker, and the ignorance of the people, a vast social revolution has been going on for many years, tending to the destruction of a race of men who deserve protection and encouragement at our hands.'

Mr. C. H. Crosthwaite, described as a revenue officer of large experience and sound judgment, tells the story

of the Thakoors or landowners of a certain village who, having got into debt, engaged (on pain of eviction), to pay off the debt, amounting to Rs. 6,000, by annual instalments of Rs. 500. Mr. Crosthwaite proceeds:—

'For five years the instalments were punctually paid. Two thousand five hundred rupees had been paid off, and the Thakoors began to think themselves out of the wood. In the sixth year, however, it happened by some accident that they were a few days late in paying the money into court. The money-lender, who had been watching them as a cat watches a mouse, petitioned at once for the execution of the original decree. The Thakoors pleaded that the delay was only trivial and accidental, but to no purpose . . . . . No one, from the judge downwards, made any allusion to the justice and equity of the case . . . . . The question before the court was not whether a most grievous and iniquitous wrong was about to be done, but merely whether the letter of the agreement had or had not been infringed. They wanted justice, they were given law. The pinching and parsimony of five years had all gone for nothing. They had lost at one moment all their land, and all the money they had paid besides. They knew that if their land was put up to auction it would fetch five or six times the amount due on the land. This, however, they were told could not be done. The money-lender had got a decree upon their land under certain conditions. They had not kept those conditions; and the money-lender was entitled to have his decree executed . . . . . They left the court with frowns upon their faces and curses in their hearts. They still, however, as they said to themselves, had their lands. They had lost their proprietary rights. They could no longer boast themselves landowners. But the old fields—over which they had toiled year by year—still remained to them. No one could turn them out of the fields. They had still

to learn what English law was. Before many days had passed, down came the money-lender . . . . . to settle the rents of his new property. He began by doubling and trebling their rents. They sternly refused to agree with his terms; and he left them threatening vengeance. After a few days, ten or twelve of the most prominent landowners were served with summonses to answer suits for ouster, that had been filed against them in the Collector's Court. They pleaded long possession and occupancy right. The money-lender produced his decree. The Collector informed them that when they pledged their proprietary-rights, they had pledged their cultivating rights also, and the one went with the other. They were summarily ejected from their lands, and were glad to accept them back again at the money-lender's own terms. The money-lender's rental now stands as follows:—

Rental	Rs.	1218
Revenue paid to Government ..	,,	300
Profit	Rs.	918

His claim with interest and cost amounted to 6,000 rupees. Out of this he pocketed 2,500 rupees in hard cash. For the remaining 3,500 rupees he has acquired an estate that has yielded him a net profit of 918 rupees for the last four years; not a bad investment on the whole. As for the Thakoors . . . . . they have not murdered the money-lender as yet. But if any one wishes to see rage, hatred, and despair pictured on the faces of living men, let him go some early December morning to the village of Bhoree, and see the Thakoors shivering round their little fire of dung and straw in the village square.'

In the Indian States things are not ordered thus. The money-lender is not the paramount power in Travancore, in Rajputana, in the Nizam's Dominions, in Mysore, or elsewhere outside the British Provinces. Mr. Furdoonjee

Jamshidji, in his Settlement Report of the Paitan Taluka in the Arunugabad District of the Nizam's Dominions, says: 'It must be remembered that the ryots here enjoy certain privileges from which their brethren in the British dominions are debarred. While many of the superintendents of revenue survey in the British districts are raising an outcry against the proceedings of the civil courts as affecting the ryots, while they state how unscrupulous Marwadis commit frauds, and by tricky proceedings make the ignorant and needy cultivator pass a bond for ten times the amount of his original debt, how the terms of this bond are rigorously and mercilessly enforced by decrees of the civil courts, and how the poor ryot is sold out of house and home, while these officers and many others are denouncing this great evil, a beneficent and thoughtful provision in our civil laws protects the cultivator from the maws of the ruthless Marwadi, and guards him from the danger of falling a victim to his artful machinations. For in our courts a mere execution of the bond on which the claim rests does not make the contending or absent debtor liable to the amount sued for, until the creditor proves to the satisfaction of the court the consideration for which the bond was executed; and if on going over the accounts it is found that an usurious rate of interest has been charged, the court at once reduces it to a reasonable rate. In the execution of a decree against the property of a cultivator, his house, his agricultural implements, his cattle, and a supply of grain enough to last him and his family for a period of six months are

exempted from attachment. This wise measure saves the cultivator from beggary and ruin.'* There need be little wonder, under these circumstances, at an unprejudiced observer like Mrs. Burton (the wife of Captain Burton, Consul at Trieste), in a work recently produced, remarking that the traveller passing from British territory into the Nizam's Dominions is struck by the change for the better perceptible in the ryots and their surroundings. Fourteen years ago even the British Resident at Hyderabad (Mr. C. B. Saunders) was constrained to say that 'the land-tax is moderately assessed, and the peasantry—no longer suffering under the evils belonging to the revenue system of former days—enjoy a very fair share of prosperity.'

In so important a matter, too, as the enhancement of rent at the periodical assessments the advantage is all on the side of the cultivator in Indian territory as compared with the cultivator under the control of a British officer. Not that the latter is ever consciously unfair or desirous of doing anything other than which he believes to be right and just, but he is inexperienced, unfamiliar with the host of unwritten and unwriteable customs and experiences which are a part of the

* To sharply contrast the consideration shown by Indian in dealing with Indians, as indicated in the passages quoted in the text, with British administration, let a Member of Parliament, on the re-assembling of the House of Commons, call for a copy of the Bombay Land Revenue Act of 1879, let him ask that the Land Revenue Act of 1827 be printed in a parallel column with that of 1879, and issued as a Parliamentary Paper, the British public will then become acquainted with landlord legislation of a most merciless character. Englishmen will hardly believe it possible that such an enactment as that of 1879 can have proceeded from their fellow countrymen. But the proof will be before their eyes.

existence of the Indian administrator. The latter learns them as he grows up without knowing that he is learning.

In yet another matter of no less importance the comparison is all in favour of the Indian administrator over the British officer. In times of drought and famine everywhere the fields yield either very scanty crops or no crops at all. Are, then, the rents based entirely, be it borne in mind, on the annual yield, remitted? In the Indian States they are remitted with a liberal hand; the generosity thus shown by the State landlord is repaid many-fold, as will be shown when we come to deal with famines as a whole. It suffices

* The *Times of India* of April 12th 1875 reviewing some particulars of a new settlement in one of the Nizam's districts remarked—'The net results of Mr Furdoonjee's settlement show an increase of 22 per cent over the old assessment and it includes the road cess. It is noticeable, however that this increase in revenue is not due to any general enhancement of assessment rates but mainly to more accurate measurements by which an increase of 19,000 acres of cultivated land has been attained over the cultivated area as shown in the Tehsil record. Now an increase of 22 per cent would appear to be very moderate compared to enhancements of rates in the neighbouring talukahs in British territory. We find that the revision of Indapoor taluka enhanced rates by 53 per cent, of Sholapoor by — Madeh by 77 Bhimthuree by 63 Punderpoor 77, Barsee 66 Heveli 66 Pabul 48 Soopa 36 and Dharmal 31 per cent. And yet these enhancements of rates were considered moderate at the time they were announced. As, however, they were made at a time when the reaction in prices had set in in full force Government was compelled in sheer justice to the complaints of the peasantry, though against the inclinations of survey officers to offer a concession of rates in a resolution dated the 29th October 1874 in which it was laid down that in no case was the increase of revenue by the re-assessment of a taluka or a group of villages to exceed 33 per cent, that in case of an individual village the enhancement was not to go beyond 66 per cent, and in case of a single holding beyond 100 per cent. Even this resolution, in the opinion of the Deccan Riots Commission, has not solved the difficulty. In fact Mr. Peddar considers that Government might with advantage lay down a general rule that the enhancement on a revision of settlement in any taluka should not exceed 25 or 30 per cent. These opinions satisfactorily show that Mr Furdoonjee's settlement is quite moderate.'

here to record the fact that, though, as has been shown, in the Indian States the assessments are moderate the remissions are liberal, and, as a consequence, the ryots tide over a period of scarcity and distress with comparatively slight harm. No one who was in India in the early part of 1877 is soon likely to forget the dire conflict which raged between the special Famine Delegate, and the Government of Madras as to whether the land revenue in the Madras Presidency should be remitted or merely suspended. The Delegate, knowing the aversion of the supreme government at that period to spend much money or lose revenue on account of the famine, argued strongly and persistently in favour of suspension. The Madras Government, on the other hand, insisted upon remission, and in the end prevailed. But where one rupee was remitted, it is safe to say the rulers of Indian States would have remitted five and would have gained in the long run by so doing. The quaint couplet composed by John Bunyan is wonderfully apt and accurate in relation to generous action at the beginning of an Indian famine. The Bedford Dreamer wrote :—

'A man there was, though some did count him mad:
The more he cast away the more he had.'

From the India Office itself comes a most significant instance of the manner in which an Indian State can consider the prospects and lives of its subjects while a British Province can do neither.. The little State of Pudukota is completely environed with Madras Districts, some of them Districts in which remission was made

difficult four years earlier. In 1881-82, says the Statement of the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India issued in August, 1883, the year opened badly, but the season ultimately resulted in a very good general harvest owing to which prices fell unprecedently and caused so much distress amongst the ryots that it was thought advisable not to press for payment of land revenue, more than a quarter of which remained unrealised at the end of the year. It is impossible to imagine the British Authorities similarly acting. Yet, who can doubt that Mr. Seshiah Sastri, the Minister, acted with conspicuous wisdom in doing as he did? And, who can wonder that such consideration is appreciated by the cultivator?

The materials are not available for a complete comparison between the manner in which the public works in an Indian State and in a British Province are carried out. Inasmuch, however, as the village system of administration is maintained in the former in all its vigour while it has been nearly crushed out of existence in the latter more than a presumption exists in favour of the Indian State and the way the work in it is done. It is matter of common observation, by our civilians even, that we have failed to do as well as our Indian predecessors, that the village committees have lost much of the power of self-rule and self-help they formally possessed. The President of the Madras Municipality, (Mr. Arundel,) when a magistrate at Coimbatore, wrote on this subject as follows: —

'It is a singular feature, of the centralizing tendency of our bureaucratic rule, that the village communities have lost much of the power of self-rule and self-help they formerly possessed. The native jury system, the *punchayet*, has been rudely shaken. The decisions of such a body, if ever it sits, no longer bears the old authority, and for the upkeep of irrigation works the punchayet, or native jury, cannot be relied on. . .

. But the communal labour, though it has languished almost everywhere, and is in many places almost in a state of suspended animation, has never completely died out, and exists in various forms and various degrees in different parts of the Madras Presidency. . . . It flourishes with the greatest activity upon works such as temporary drains in river-beds and river-fed irrigation channels, where the expenditure of time, money, and labour is greatest, and where the neglect of common duties is immediately followed by common loss or common ruin. It has become most lethargic as regards rain-fed reservoirs, where only a trifling expenditure of labour is regularly needed, and where the results of neglect are not immediately felt.'

Whether things can be as bad in non-British Provinces as they are in some of our districts, the present writer cannot confidently assert. But this must be said, in all he saw in India he never became acquainted with anything to equal the neglect of which he was an eye-witness in Madras in the terrible year of 1877. Here is the record made while the incident was fresh in his mind. In May of the year mentioned, during a cyclone, more than twenty inches of rain fell in Madras and its neighbourhood in three days. Even the rain which fell was a source of disquiet, so much of it was wasted. After such a crisis as had been passed through,

and with much suffering still to come, arising from the want of water, the least that might have been expected would be that when rain did fall it would not be permitted to run to waste. Yet, on the day the rains ceased, and for many days after, lamentations were upon almost every lip as millions of gallons of water were seen to flow away entirely unused, much of which might, and ought, to have been stored against a dry and sunny day—the oriental equivalent for the proverbial 'rainy day' of England, which needs providing against. As an instance of the frightful waste of waters which occurred, the case of the Adyar river may be taken. Nothing was done to conserve the water in its channel. For three days the river, 250 yards wide at the Marmalong bridge, flowed full from bank to bank. In the middle of the stream, for the width of one hundred yards at the least, the current was moving at the rate of two miles an hour: the depth of water was four feet on an average. It may be that there was not tank accommodation available for the storage of more water. But, even from the tanks, the waste was enormous. The Marmalong tank at Saidapett (a suburb of Madras) may be taken as an indication of the waste permitted. This tank, when it was seen by the writer a few days after the rain, was discharging over its waste weir a volume of water six yards wide and one yard deep, flowing at the rate of five miles per hour. The reason given for this outflow was that, if the water were retained, some of the banks of the tank might give way. Yet the level of the water in the tank was below what

it frequently had been, and no disaster followed. The truth was this: the budget for petty repairs of tanks was so cut down at the beginning of the revenue year, that funds were not available for carrying out such precautionary works as were absolutely needful. The system by which works are done is so unsatisfactory that engineers, though they see the necessity for saving water, are unwilling to take the responsibility of keeping the water in the tanks, in the absence of that protection to the banks which they feel is required. They choose, therefore, the lesser of two evils, and, rather than risk a breach of the banks, with consequent flooding of the country around, and much damage, they consider it wise to let the water run to waste, and keep the level in the tank very low. Nine months previously, when Lord Lytton issued his minute about the necessity of economy everywhere, and called upon the local Governments to report what savings could be effected upon their budget estimates, the Madras Board of Revenue reported that a considerable saving could be made on 'estimates for the annual petty repairs to tanks, channels, &c.' The consequences ought to have been obvious. What they were in a single case has been shown, and that was but one instance out of many. Tanks are the prime pre-requisites for cultivation in many parts of India, and, when economy is required, they are the very last things which should be tampered with. When they are neglected, the result is a flow to the sea of a precious fluid which represents in passing away unused a sacrifice of human lives.

Experience counts for less in India than anywhere. As a matter of fact there is no experience worth speaking of. The experience acquired is in England, at Bayswater, at Cheltenham, and elsewhere, enjoying a pension. Such an instance as has just been recorded of the unwisdom of cutting-down sanctioned estimates might have been supposed to serve as a beacon for ten years at least. So far, however, from this being the case, in the latter part of the following year, under the influence of a scare in the Finance Minister's Department, an order was promulgated to 'save' on the estimates sanctioned and being expended for public works. The saving was to be carried out in characteristic fashion;—that is to say, taking a portion of the Madras Presidency only, from one to two hundred thousand labourers, earning sixpence a day, were 'locked out,' while the costly European supervising staff was maintained intact: in that no reduction was made. This evil was great; the greater evil, perhaps, was the neglect to keep in good repair the tanks and other works connected with irrigation, upon which successful cultivation depended.*

These illustrations are simply indications of what is happening everywhere and at all times under our rule

* By way of explanation some remarks may be quoted here which were made by the present writer at the time in protesting against the adoption of this course, and which were commented upon by Miss Florence Nightingale in the *Illustrated London News*. The remarks are these —

'To estimate the sad and disastrous effect of this measure if it be put into force, we may observe what the expenditure on public works is in this Presidency in a normal year. In the Appendix (pp 111-117) to the Madras Administration Report for 1875 76 we find certain facts which may be summarised as follows —

in India. With the best intentions in the world we cannot do as well for the people as they can do for themselves, and as their countrymen in the Indian States are actually doing for them; if we would but recognize this fact there would be some hope of our doing better in the future. But the one thing we will not see is our own utter failure to rule India in and for the best interests of its people.

	Rs.
Total annual expenditure on public works in round numbers ..	90,00,000
Deduct establishment charges, cost of tools, &c., roughly	8,00,000
Balance for expenditure ..	82,00,000
Deduct from this for materials, &c (a liberal estimate, seeing that the greater portion of the expenditure is for irrigation works for which no materials need be purchased)	34,00,000
Balance available as pay of labourers	48,00,000

That is to say, out of the total appropriation for Public Works four lakhs of rupees monthly are spent in payment of labourers' hire. The working season in many parts of the country is not more than six or eight months in duration, and the work afforded is not continuous. Such as it is, however, it means all the difference in the world to a vast number of people between just enough to maintain life upon and not enough for the purpose.' Taking everything into account, and striking an average for the whole year, the probable monthly earnings per each workman is not more than Rs. 4. Divide this sum amongst the four lakhs mentioned, and we get 100,000 workmen employed continuously. Each of them will support a wife and some children, and probably an aged relative, say, at the least four souls. Thus we have half-a-million of people maintained every month by the public works in this Presidency in a normal year. Most of this half-million souls will lack their daily support at the close of the works.'—*Madras Times*, Dec, 21, 1878.

CHAPTER V.

IT is sometimes urged, as an argument in favour of our not only keeping under our control the Provinces we already possess, but of the absorption of the existing independent States, that the taxation in our territories is lower than elsewhere. Now and then the India Office is responsible for some fearful and wonderful statistics in proof of such a statement as this. For example, in Appendix I. to the Report of the Famine Commission appear some Miscellaneous Papers bearing upon the condition of the country and people of India, At the end of a Paper on agricultural statistics, in which the facts relating to twelve independent States are set forth, a comparison of the incidence of land taxation per head of population, is made as follows :—

Native States	Incidence of land revenue per head of population.			British provinces adjoining	Incidence of land revenue per head of population		
Rajputana—	Rs	A	P.		Rs	A.	P.
Udaipur .. .	1	1	4				
Alwar .	2	6	5	Punjab .. .	1	2	2
Bhartpur .. .	2	13	2				
Dholpur .. .	2	15	8	N W P. Including wate rate .	1	7	0
Bundi	3	13	3	Excluding water-rate .	1	5	1
Central India—							
Gwalior	3	8	7	Oudh .. .	1	0	5
Rewah	3	0	1				
Karpurthala .. .	3	5	8				
Bombay States—							
Kolhapur	1	1	6	Bombay.. ..	1	11	6
Mudhol	3	0	0				
Nizam's Territories ..	3	3	11	Madras— Including water-rate ..	1	0	7
Travancore	0	11	7	Excluding water-rate .	1	0	0

Three years ago, when the Appendix reached the writer, he made the following note, on the above figures, at the bottom of the page on which they appear:—'I distrust these figures. Before accepting them I should like to see the data on which they are founded, and know whether the conditions are the same in each case. Accepting them, however, as correct, I wonder the India Office should publish them, for they condemn most strongly the system of rule for which that Office is responsible. At the same time the testimony in favour of Indian rule is remarkable. It is shown that, in the Nizam's Dominions, more than three times as much can be obtained in the way of taxation from that sheet-anchor of Indian finance, the land, than in Madras, the inhabitants in His Highness's country being prosperous, contented, and loyal, while in Madras there is ever-increasing poverty and daily-growing discontent. Accepting these official statements as trustworthy, the argument in favour of more Indian, and less British, administration becomes irresistible.' It turns out, however, as was suspected, the facts are not exactly as stated. The calculation was made on the supposition that the Nizam had less than six million subjects; he has nearly ten millions, and the heavy rate becomes lessened, though it still appears to be higher than in Madras. Probably it is higher. One reason why it is so is the useless and burdensome expenditure upon the Contingent, of which the reader will hear something. But, although higher, it is less hard to bear than the lower Madras rate. Life, for the son of the soil

is easier, happier, and better in an independent State, where the money obtained by taxation is spent in the country, circulates among the various traders, than in a Province which is drained of its necessities to pay high salaries to aliens who send as much as they possibly can of the money they receive on the monthly pay-day out of the country.

If proof is wanted that the position of the average cultivator is better in a Native-Indian State than in a British Province, official documents issued from the India Office will furnish that proof. In the publication from which the preceding illustration is cited, may be found a 'Note on the Economic Condition of the Agricultural Population of India,' by Mr. J. B. Peile, of the Bombay Civil Service. Mr. Peile gives certain evidence, on the results of Indian farming, which is of a startling character,—that is, startling, considering the source whence it comes. To give some idea of the scale of an ordinary agriculturist's transactions during the year the following particulars are set forth :—

	Area of Farm	No. of Family.	Gross Receipts	Expenses				Balance.
				Cost of Hired Labour and other Outlay	Rent or Revenue.	Domestic Expenses	Total Expenses.	Credit.
	Acres		Rs A	Rs A	Rs A	Rs A.	Rs A	Rs. A
North Western Provinces								
Landowner - -	52	3	316 0	28 0	87 0	162 0	277 0	41 0
Occupancy Tenant -	22	5	298 0	40 0	71 0	127 0	238 0	60 0
Central Provinces								
Occupancy Tenant -	44	7	345 0	20 0	51 0	215 0	286 0	59 0
Do. -	25½	6	178 0	9 12	26 0	129 6	165 2	12 14
Hyderabad.								
Occupancy Tenant -	50	5	552 8	96 0	50 0	180 8	326 8	226 0

To those who hold the views contained in this little w
the importance of the foregoing statements cannot
overrated. They more than concede all that is con
tended for. In Hyderabad, as compared with th
North-Western Provinces, it would appear that a farm
of fifty acres produces two-fifths more of crop; the
tenant in the Indian State pays three times and a hal
as much for hired labour and other outlay, the tax on
his land is thirty-seven per cent. less, on domestic
expenses he spends nearly twenty rupees more, and, at
the end of the year, has Rs. 226 in hand against Rs. 41,
that is, *five hundred and fifty per cent more!*

Another count in favour of the home ruled States is
be found in the circumstance that while British India
s increased its debt five hundred per cent. in forty
they have no debt at all worth speaking of. A
deal of credit for this may be given to the British
rities. That there is no desire to deny. The
ent, as it is intended to be expressed, and as it is
will be understood, recognizes to the full that,
resent and for a period to come which cannot
dicated, Great Britain, as the paramount power
as a useful work to do. With that she ought
ent, and should leave each Presidency,
d State to be administered according to the
of its respective races, as, to quote t
and those extreme ones, is r
Cashmere. The

that great loss of life occurred there recently during
ime of famine. That is a retort which will come
ith bad grace from any person connected with British
dian rule. Whatever responsibility may attach to the
aharajah of Cashmere for what he may have done or
ave failed to do, it cannot, by any possibility, be so
reat as that which clings to Sir Richard Temple for
is acts in Southern India in the early part of 1877, or
to Sir George Couper for what he did and for what he
left undone in the North-Western Provinces in 1878.
Further, the whole question of Famine administration
is the very last upon which we ought to use the words
of censure and taunt respecting the neglect—real o
imaginary—of others. There is nothing in the who
range of Indian administration in which we have be
so completely and so discreditably worsted as i
Famine Campaigns. Once only did we fight success
and in a manner creditable to us as a nation.*
Northbrook was Commander-in-Chief during the
paign. This was in 1874. Before that year our
was a melancholy one; after that year the record
not less melancholy but infinitely more disgra
we had light whereby to walk rightly had we
do so. We did not so choose, and the guilt
millions of deaths lies at our door.

The sketch which faces this page is an in
" the lessons it teaches, well

study. It indicates roughly the respective areas of the greatest famines of this century. All the serious scarcities and famines are not there recorded. To show them would require not eight maps, but more than twice eight. On page 23, Report of the Indian Famine Commission, is to be found an elaborate table, embracing the period from 1769 to 1878, or 109 years, and showing (1) the years in which famines and scarcities have occurred in the chief Provinces of India, (2) the degree of intensity and duration of each, (3) the intervals of time between their occurrence, and (4) the resulting averages as regards each Province and the whole of India. Thus, of severe famines there have been four in Bengal, nine in the North-Western Provinces and Punjab, eight in Rajputana and Central India, nine in Bombay, and eight in Madras. Taking the whole of India, once in every four years there is a scarcity or a famine, in some part or other and in certain parts more than in others.

The reader cannot fail to observe, on glancing at the sketch, that the greater proportion of the famines has occurred in the British Provinces, and that those in the British Provinces (amongst which must be placed Mysore in 1876-77) were more severe and were marked by a greater attendant mortality than famines in the Indian States. There is something more than accident in this circumstance. It is not asserted that, in the literal sense of the expression, 'the very land is cursed' because it is administered by the foreigner and largely for the benefit of the foreigner. But there is a sense in which this expression may be accurately and soberly

employed. Nor is it contended that the rain—(which, eighteen centuries ago, we were told, falls alike upon the just and the unjust, and that it is the worst kind of Pharisaism to interpret Divine displeasure by the occurrence of events which are common to all men),—ceased to fall in British Provinces because of British misrule.* Nevertheless there remains a solid substratum of fact for consideration, as to whether (1) there would not have been fewer famines in India if we had not busied ourselves in annexing State after State and Province after Province, and administering them after our own fashion, and (2) when the famines did come in the cycle of seasons they would not have been less disastrous. In view of the remarkably good opinion which prevails amongst ourselves as to our unparalleled skill and ability, and our marvellous philanthropy, these may seem hard sayings,—nay, to some they may appear astounding propositions.† The facts, un-

* An experienced Anglo-Indian, to whom, in conversation recently, I mentioned this statement, remarked, 'In the main, no doubt, you are correct In my opinion frequent or non-frequent famines arising from drought is a question of trees or no trees. Our Provinces have been disafforested, in the Native States, where the old customs still prevail, the people, it may be only from habit, take care to plant as many trees as they can.' I asked 'Is not this a condemnation of our rule?' 'Yes,' was the response, 'Nevertheless, I cannot agree with you (it is true I have not yet seen your arguments) that India would have been better off without us than she is with us. I grant you the balance of advantage or otherwise does not incline much either way, but such inclination as there is goes to the credit of the British' Perhaps this is the best that can be said It only lacks one thing—accuracy

† The facts regarding Famines being as described in this chapter, an extent of the misunderstanding generally prevailing may be gathered from the circumstance that *The Times*, of Feb. 2, 1885, defending in a leading article, British Administration in India says that our Government has given 'fair assurance of subsistence for the chronic recurrence of famine.' Exactly the opposite state of things is the consequence of Anglo-Indian rule.

fortunately, show them to be marked by an almost scientific accuracy of description. Here are the facts as to geographical distribution and loss of life:—

FAMINES DURING THE YEARS 1802-1878.

	Locality.	Year.	British or Indian Territory Affected	Loss of Life.
1	Bombay and small part of Nizam's Dominions	1802 3	British Indian slightly	Not stated
2.	North-Western Provinces	1804	Indian .	Do.
3	Madras	1807	British .	Do.
4.	Bombay ..	1812 13	Do ..	Do.
5.	Bombay, Madras N W Province	1823 25	Do. ..	Do.
6.	Madras	1833	Do Indian slightly	200,000 out of 500,000
7.	N -W Provinces	1837	Do Do. .	1,000,000
8.	Madras and Hyderabad	1854	Do Do	
9.	N -W Provinces and Rajputana .	1860	Do Do	
10.	Madras ..	1866 67	Do ..	
11.	Orissa	1866	Do . ..	5,000,000
12	Behar and N Bengal	1866	Do	
13	Western and N -W India	1868 69	Mainly British .	
14.	Rajputana and Central India ..	1869	Mainly Indian .	
15	Behar	1873 74	British .	None.
16	Southern India & Bombay	1876 78	Do .	5,250,000
17	N W Provinces	1877 78	Do . .	1,250 000
				12,700,000

The figures given show a total loss of life of 12,700,000. For five famines the life-loss is not stated. A careful examination of pages 6, 20, and 21 of Parliamentary Paper 4,061, 1884, will show that the last totals are largely under-stated. Judging by the experience of the later disasters, respecting which tolerably accurate figures are available, an estimate of life-loss of 1,300,000 for the five famines, details of which are not available, is not unreasonable; on the

contrary, it might be doubled and then be within the mark. The more moderate estimate gives a total loss of 14,000,000. It is not easy, by the mere statement, to measure the significance of these figures. A standard must be found. Fortunately one, easy to apprehend, is at hand.

Mr. Mulhall, the statistician, has estimated that the loss of life by war in the civilized States of the world from 1793 to 1877 to be 4,470,000. In this estimate all the countries of Europe and the two Americas are included. Since we have been supreme in India we have maintained a general peace on that continent. When there has been fighting we have done it; fighting has been tolerably frequent and the loss of life has been large, though not excessive. See, then, it will be remarked, how great a boon we have secured to the people of India. They have not been subject to periodical slaughter by war as have others. We have, indeed, been 'as God' to the Indian races. Have we? It is true we have preserved them from the Moloch of War, but it is only that they may be trodden down by the Pale Horse of Starvation. Note the comparison:

Loss of life by War in all civilized States, 1793-1877 - - - 4,500,000	Loss of life by Famine in India, 1802-1879 14,000,000

Truly a record to note with pride! We do, indeed, order these things better in India than do the miserable rulers of Europe. How often have we claimed credit for the countless blessings which have resulted from our stoppage of war? In face of the facts which the

Famine Commission has, almost unwittingly, revealed, one is compelled to say: Better, better far, had it been for our fellow-subjects in Hindostan that they should have continued subject to the raids of the Mahrattas through a couple of centuries than that they should have been under Beneficent British Rule for three generations. Their suffering, would, in such case, have been far less than they have been under our governance, and as they are continuing to be year in and year out. It will not do for supporters of British authority to retort that, but for our rule in India the state of things, bad as they are shown to be, would have been much worse, *i. e.*, a Famine loss of 14,000,000 plus a War loss of say, two or three millions more. It is of the essence of the argument of the present writer that England is largely responsible for the famines which have occurred in India during this century. Mr. Raghunath Rao, late Prime Minister at the Court of Indore, in a Memorandum on Famines in India, says:—'In the fourteenth century there was only one famine. In the fifteenth century it was the same. In the seventeenth century there were two famines. In the eighteenth there were eight famines. In the seventy-seven years of the nineteenth there were more than twelve famines;—I am told there have been eighteen.' The list on a previous page, compiled—be it never forgotten—from the Famine Commissioners' Report gives thirteen famines as having occurred during the century, while the Commissioners also prove that once in every four years there is a scarcity or famine somewhere or other in India.

An examination of the startling statement, that we, the British, are largely responsible, directly and indirectly responsible, for the increased frequency of Famine in India may be made.

The respective populations in the British Provinces and in the Indian States are, according to the census of 1881, as follows.—

British India . ..	198 790 853
Indian States	55,150 456
Total	253 941 309

These proportions of four to one have, no doubt, prevailed throughout the century. The British Peace has worked excellently extra territorially as well as in British India. Taking the cases on both sides only where we have the figures, and, leaving out of consideration all instances where the death-loss is not stated, it would appear that the Indian States have lost about one and a-half millions against twelve and-a-half millions in the various Presidencies. If the details are pursued farther we find such awful results as the following.—

District	Population		Deaths	Proportio	
	1833				
Guntoor	500 000	..	200 000	or 1 in	2½
	1866				
Orissa ..	3 700 000	..	1 000,000	or 1 in	3¾
	1868 69				
Rajputana .. .	14 700 000	.	1 200,000	or 1 in	12¼
	1876 77-78 79				
Mysore ..	5 000,000	.	1 100 000	or 1 in	4½
Madras	19,400 000	.	3,000 000	or 1 in	6½
Bombay ..	10 000 000	..	1 100,000	or 1 in	9
N W. Provinces ..	18 400,000	..	1,250,000	or 1 in	14¾
Hyderabad	1 900 000		70,000	or 1 in	27

The above facts, confessedly incomplete, yet as accurate as can be ascertained, are not comforting to the panegyrist of British rule, especially when he takes, as he always does, for the text of his panegyric the assertion that our sole aim and our accomplished end in India are the advantage of the people, and that this is secured by us as it could not be even hoped for in any other way. Thus, it was in a British Province (*viz.*, in a Madras District) that two-fifths of the population were swept away in time of famine; it was in Orissa and in Mysore (under British control) that one fourth of the people died; it was in Madras that a mortality of one in six (it was one in four in some of the affected districts) occurred; it was in Bombay that a loss roughly stated at one in nine was recorded (in Kaladgi it was one in four); while it was in Rajputana, where a severe famine admittedly existed, that the average rose to one in thirteen; and in the Nizam's Dominions that the lowest mortality, viz., one in twenty-seven, was reported. And yet the affected districts in the last-named State were surrounded on three sides by the worst-affected districts in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies,—that is to say, between Bellary in the one Presidency and Kaladgi in the other. Yet, farther, the Nizam's officials had to make provision for many thousands of refugees from the British Provinces.

Even if the figures given on the foregoing page had shown that in the Indian States mortality had been as great as in the British Provinces that would hardly have improved matters. If we, in a time of wide-spread

calamity, cannot do better than the Indian rulers, we, who have railways where they have but metalled roads and not too many of these, or only a small railroad mileage, where is our boast? When reference is made to the great mortality by famine in 1877-78 in Southern India the remark is sometimes heard, 'Yes, that was very bad. But, see how much worse famine was over a hundred years ago,—in Warren Hastings' time!' In addition to the obvious answer that two wrongs do not make one right, there is the further reply that we have facilities for dealing with widespread distress which Indian monarchs never dreamed of, which were not available to the British a century ago, and, therefore we ought to do better. The stock illustration used by the objectors alluded to is the famine in Lower Bengal —(a British Province, by the way)—in 1770. Warren Hastings declared that 'one-third of the population perished' of hunger. One may take leave to doubt that so great a mortality occurred. Accurate statistics were then unknown, there was not even the corrective afforded by newspapers and contemporary historians to reduce word-of-mouth exaggerations to some test, however rough. But the principal reason for doubting that the mortality was so great is,—as usual,—to be found in official records. The Governor-General informed 'the Court of Directors that, in spite of the terrible loss of life, there was, in the following year, *no diminution of revenue.*' At the present day, with a desire no less keen than that Warren Hastings cherished, to collect every penny of revenue possible, there was a loss in two years

in Southern India (1878-79) of nearly four millions sterling. It is clear that the famine of 1770, if no falling-off of revenue followed, could not possibly have been so severe as was that of 1877-78.

The average Indian ryot has not yet taken to the study of Blue Books and Government Records, and, therefore, has not reasoned out for himself the above conclusions on the data cited. Notwithstanding, there can be little doubt that, on the borderland of the respective countries the broad fact is known and appreciated with a force and thoroughness which come only from an actual experience of the pinching shoe. Little wonder need be felt, therefore, that to the ordinary Indian there should be that decided preference for Indian over British rule which the closest observers of the cultivators and those best acquainted with their minds tell us exists.

The first of the two propositions set forth remains to be considered,—namely, that there would have been fewer famines in India if we had not busied ourselves in annexing State after State and Province after Province, and administering them after our own fashion. To say this is not to assert that a single shower of rain would have fallen over the face of the country which did not fall. But it is to say that we, because we are foreigners who hate the land and the life it necessitates, because we regard the people with scorn and contumely, and because our sojourn is brief, do not possess and at no time have possessed the aptitude to govern India thoroughly and well. With a knowledge only of a

few of its factors we have endeavoured to solve the problem; we have failed, and our failure has been disastrous. Even where a good and wise man has rightly apprehended a portion of the facts, the knowledge has been peculiar to him and with his departure or his death the advantages gained have been lost. Such a calamity as famine does not occur as a consequence of the policy carried out, as a matter of course and habitually, in England, or in Germany, or in any European State, or in the United States of America, for the sufficient reason that the policy of those States is conducted by natives thereof, who are to the manner born, and who can secure the continuity of an approved course of action. Aptitude for wise government is to the more thoughtful and statesmanlike among them a part of their existence. The people and the land, to the foreigner, are, in most cases, a sealed book and in all cases an imperfectly-understood one. Further, the native of any country understands his country-folk, shares their feelings, is one with them in their joys, their fears, their sorrows, looks at the present and the future with the same eyes they gaze with, and is, therefore, not less skilful in apprehending the real points of a given situation than he is careful to avoid making a blunder the effects of which would fall heavily upon them. Thus it is, in general terms, that famine is less frequent in an Indian State than in British Indian Provinces.

A number of minor but highly important considerations combine in an Indian State to bring about this result, and to reduce what, in a British Province is a

famine-period, to a time of scarcity and pinching. Some of them may be indicated.

1. The more widespread prosperity, the more general well-to-do character of the people, which enable them to tide over their difficulties without falling into absolute ruin. In a British Province, thanks to a variety of causes, so narrow is the margin of profit remaining to the cultivator after the land-tax is paid that existence, in good times, is barely tolerable, and in bad times is impossible. Nothing in times of fair harvests has been laid aside for bad harvests because there has been nothing to lay aside. The grain-pits which, a century ago, were in constant use, instead of being filled with grain and kept as a reserve are empty, probably have become blocked up and their locality forgotten. Further, the whole social and business economy of the State as compared with the Province is richer and more diversified. In the State the money raised by taxation from the inhabitants is spent among them;—the clothes the people wear are, to a large extent, woven on looms owned and worked by natives, and so with regard to all household furniture and cooking utensils. In the Province, on the contrary, all the big salaries are drawn by foreigners, who, in some cases, are content to live on one-sixth of what they receive, and send five-sixths to Asia Minor, Bayswater, W., where The Universal Provider daily swells to greater proportions while the Indian tradesman as certainly day by day grows thinner and finally disappears. In the same way the cultivator, who would prefer to give the weaver in his own village so

many rupees' worth of grain at harvest-time for the family's clothes is compelled to turn that grain (often at a loss) into money, and pay for Manchester cottons which may or may not be as good as he would get at home. This, however, is not all. Hand-weaving being driven out of existence by the Lancashire looms, the weaver either sinks into a position of beggary and his family become beggars with him, requiring support from the alms of the village, or he strives to obtain a holding, gets some inferior land, and drags out a miserable existance, during which, whatever goes unpaid, the Government tax is paid. As in this one instance so in all the varied departments of the complex Indian life. England fattens on British India's helplessness and poverty.

2. The Indian statesman, because he is an Indian, is quick to perceive the coming danger, whether it be in the shape of physical causes leading to famine or social and political discontent resulting in mutiny. When the last great famine was coming with giant strides upon Southern India, had indeed already gained a footing there, and ought to have been recognized for the danger it was by every one in authority, the Governor of the Presidency of Madras was on a pleasure trip in the Bay of Bengal, rusticating in the Nicobars, and making calls upon the Governor of Ceylon at Colombo. It is not possible to imagine Sir Madhava Rao, Sir Salar Jung, Mr. Raghunatha Rao, Mr. Seshiah Sastri or any other experienced Indian administrator absent from his post when such peril was in the air. An

adequate grasp of the situation in the autumn of 1876, followed by prudent and energetic measures, would have saved to Southern India at least two millions out of the four millions who perished for want of food, and from the diseases which privation produced. It is true the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, who was Governor of Madras at the time, had no wish to run away from duty, had no desire to shirk any effort,—indeed, in 1877 he displayed praiseworthy energy, was instant in season and out of season, but the famine was then at its height. The worst that can be said is that a want of foresight characterised gubernatorial counsels at a time when foresight meant human lives. But, alas! to say this is to admit the whole case so far as the inferiority of our rule is concerned. Some links in our chain of administration may be good, but its holding power depends upon the weakest link. The strength as a whole must be estimated by that weakest link.

3. Following upon the point just raised comes this,—that the want of foresight makes the expenditure which has inevitably to be met much greater than need otherwise be incurred, while hosts of lives are lost which would in other case be preserved. One secret of the success whereby the great famine was overcome in the Nizam's Dominions was the promptitude with which the trouble was grappled with, and the rapidity with which the remissions of revenue were made. By care and skill in the latter respect a Famine Campaign may be fought with no greater money expenditure than under the system now in vogue, and