

with no loss, or a comparatively small loss, of life,—say one in twenty-seven instead of two out of five. That is to say, British Famine administration might become as good as the Indian. Take the famine of 1877-78. The cost to the supreme government in those two years on account of relief was £7,440,000. Remissions of revenue had to be made, amounting to £3,610,000, thus made up,—

Province.	Amount.
North-Western Provinces .. .. .	£400,000
Punjab . . . . .	60,000
Madras, 1877 .. . . .	1,250,300
„ 1878 .. . . .	1,500,000
Bombay, 1878 . . . . .	400,000
Total .. . . .	<u>£3,610,300</u>

If these remissions had been made at the beginning of the famine, if taxes had not been collected when it was seen the crops must fail, and if the people had been allowed to keep this money in hand,—in Madras say £2,750,000—the writer of these lines, for one, has little doubt that an additional expenditure of two millions sterling would have met all needs, and, what is more, the awful scenes of suffering would have been fewer if not wholly non-existent, while at least two out of the four millions who died might have been saved. More than this : money being in hand while the health of the people was still good, wells by the hundred could have been digged.

(It would be easy to ‘condescend to detail,’ and by an examination of the financial and agricultural position

of any British district, say, of Chingleput, of Salem, or of Coimbatore, in the Madras Presidency, work out the manner in which, as it is here argued, remissions made in time would have for consequences—(1) little or no abnormal loss of life in distressful times, (2) little or no present or eventual loss of revenue, and (3), astonishing as the remark may seem, the country prove to be in a better position at the end of the period of distress than at its beginning. These are points upon which we might have hoped for sound counsel in the Report of the Famine Commission. One examines that Report for anything of the kind in vain. It is able to the last degree—considering the clever men who constituted the Commission the deliverance could not fail to be able—but the ability is confined within narrow limits, and the Report misses, or (as in paragraphs 165 to 169) inadequately considers, some of the most essential points as regards Prevention. The Commissioners look to Public Works and European supervision as one important means of relieving distress when a famine is in possession. Were it not well to look in another direction? Would it not be better to take famine by the forelock, save all or nearly all the expenditure incident upon costly European supervision, and secure far more valuable and important ends than the efforts made in mitigation only could possibly effect? To indicate, however, in as satisfactory a manner as could be wished exactly what is meant, and to make the argument clear to English readers, the objector would need to hold in his hand the statistics relating to a particular district, running over

a series of years. These are nowhere to be found in this country save in the India Office ; indeed, it is not absolutely certain that they are to be found there.)

The remarks made above, before the writer was tempted into the bye-path of parenthesis, holds good proportionally of Mysore. It is not probable, if either of the Indian statesmen mentioned in a preceding paragraph had been at the helm of affairs in Madras and Mysore, with such freedom of action as they would possess as Ministers in independent States, they would have permitted things to drift to such a pass that a hideous mortality, several times greater than has marked the most bloody war of this century, became unavoidable. It may be remarked that it is easy to be wise after the event. Such a remark, however, has no force in this instance. There was experience enough in recent Indian history to ensure wisdom before the event had there been prescience enough in the Foreign rulers of the country and had they possessed the wit to make use of that experience. This prescience is to be looked for in vain. In the nature of the case we may not expect it to be exercised, save on rare occasions,—exceptions proving the rule. The English people would not expect similar prescience in the conduct of their affairs if the administration of Great Britain,—first in the person of their monarch, that monarch being a despot, and next in the persons of subordinate governors of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland respectively,—was undertaken by a Chinese Prince changed every five years or less, and by Chinese Mandarins, acting under

the influence of the Imperial Court at Peking, and with their hearts set upon a speedy return to the Flowery Land. In like manner it is unreasonable to hope that Englishmen can possibly govern India so well as the Indians can govern themselves. In the second part of this book an endeavour will be made to show that success has been obtained by an Indian statesman in one particular State, in a generation of time, which is far beyond what we have accomplished or can hope to accomplish. This, too, while we have had all things in our favour and the Indian Minister had well-nigh everything against him. More, however, yet remains to be said on the branch of the subject now under consideration.



## CHAPTER VI.

Nor the least important feature in a consideration of the relative merits of British and Indian Government is the excessive costliness of the former as compared with the latter, and the fact that all the good appointments are held by foreigners. How great an evil this is may be inferred from the statement made by a late Controller-General of Indian Accounts (Mr. E. F. Harrison) before the Select Committee of 1872. 'The average salary,' said he, 'of a native engaged in the Land Revenue Department is £20 a year and the average salary of a European is £1,200 a year.' This holds good throughout the whole official realm.

From a Parliamentary return moved for by Mr. John Bright, which has not yet been published though it has been laid upon the table of the House of Commons, the following facts relating to the number, and salaries, pensions, and other allowances to persons in the employ of the Government of India, who are resident and non-resident in India, are taken:—

RESIDENT.									
Number.	Salaries or Otherwise.						Amount.		
							£	s	d.
17,093	Salaries	..	..	..	..	..	6,811,422	15	0
1,725	Pensions	..	..	..	..	..	679,074	16	0
430	Gratuities and Absentee Allowances	..	..	..	..	..	149,670	8	3
	Total	..	..	..	..	..	£7,640,172	19	3
NON-RESIDENT.									
Number.	Salaries or Otherwise.						Amount.		
							£	s	d.
7,660	Annuities, Furlough Pay, &c.	..	..	..	..	..	3,069,565	0	0
865	Home Establishment and Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	..	403,800	0	0
	Total	..	..	..	..	..	£3,473,365	0	0

Combined Totals, £11,013,537 19s. 3d. ; nearly the whole of which is paid to Europeans and Eurasians, and only a small portion to natives of India.

For salaries and soldiers in British India nearly three-fifths of the net revenue is appropriated. Of that amount about one-fifth only is spent in the country: the remainder enriches an already wealthy land. On page 102 of Part II. of the Report of the Famine Commission, the following particulars (with others) are given in a table showing the strength and cost of Administration in each Province:—

Province.				Administration.	Per £100 of Revenue.	
				£	£	s.
Punjab	..	..	..	694,000	..	29 6
North-Western Provinces and Oudh				1,200,000	..	19 13
Bengal	..	..	..	1,629,000	..	29 16
Central Provinces			..	273,000	..	31 19
Berar	..	..	.	—	..	—
Bombay and Sindh			..	1,197 000	..	30 15
Madras	..	..	..	1,142,000	..	25 13
Assam	..	..	..	172,000	..	29 11

In the Nizam's Dominions the ratio of cost works out as follows.—Including payments to His Highness the Nizam the amount is less than twenty-five per cent., being about seventy-two lakhs, all of which is spent in the Hyderabad State and none of which comes to England. If the ratio had been double still the advantage would have been with the Indian State. Home-raised the money is home-spent. Apart from the amount expended on the Court the ratio is only a little over ten per cent.

It will be noted by the careful reader that no figures are given in respect to Berar. The question might be asked in the House of Commons whether common rumour in India is right when it alleges that the reason or the omission is owing to the authorities at the India Office being conscience-stricken at what was laid before them, and unwilling to sanction the publication of the statement that the administration of these 'Provinces held on trust' amounts to *fifty-five per cent.* of the gross revenue collected? This is the way in which those acquainted with the administration of Berar fill in the blanks.

To maintain our costly and unsympathetic rule we scruple not to adopt the most rigorous and cruel methods of raising revenue. Here are two sets of instances. The first set emanates from a Ratepayers' Association in Tinnevely, and has reference to the license-tax imposed by the Municipality on trades and professions. The particulars are as follow :—

A is a vakeel (solicitor) practising in the Court of the sub-magistrate within the municipal limits. He appeared before the sub-magistrate only in two cases during the official year. The fee he received in remuneration for his labour was Rs 7 (14s.) according to his account book. He was taxed Rs. 12 (24s.) in Class IV.

B is an authorised vakeel in the District Munsiff's Court. He had not appeared in a single case during the official year. He, too, was taxed in Class IV.

C is a widow earning one anna (three half-pence) a week by spinning cotton. She is a 'sweeper' in the house of Z. Her earnings are hardly sufficient for her daily maintenance. She was taxed one rupee (2s.) in Class VII. Not being able to pay her tax her spindle is sold and she lives by begging.

D is the wife of a cultivator. During her leisure she cards wool and gets a monthly income of one rupee. This amount is emerged in the family expenditure, thus leaving her or the family no surplus income. She was taxed one rupee in Class VIII as a manufacturer !

E is a snuff-seller. Having no physical strength to attend to any other trade, he daily buys four annas (sixpenny) worth of tobacco, makes snuff out of it and sells the snuff for five annas. There is, according to his account, an income of three half-pence a day. He was assessed one rupee in Class VII. He had no other income or trade.

F is a native doctor (Vithian) practising as a physician. His monthly income is not more than four rupees, which is hardly sufficient for his maintenance. He was taxed Rs 3 in Class VI. Being unable to pay he was thrown into gaol.

G sells matches from street to street and earns two annas [? per day] as an itinerant dealer. He is taxed one rupee in Class VIII. Not being able to pay, and the distress warrant of the Bench magistrate being unable to release the dues to the Municipality, he is thrown into gaol ?

H is a poor man bringing fire wood every other day from his village outside the municipal limit. He gets two annas a time, which is hardly sufficient to keep body and soul together. He is assessed one rupee in Class VIII and having failed to pay the tax is prosecuted.

*Ex uno disce omnes.* Who, at all acquainted with the *minutia* of Indian administration, does not find similar instances spring unbidden in the mind ? The writer, when serving as a Town Councillor in Madras during the last few months of his stay in India, saw a part of the compound in which the Municipal Offices stood, largely strewn with doors, shutters, &c., removed from the huts of those who had not the wherewithal to pay the rate-collector's demands, and who had nothing of any value for seizure but portions of their houses.

Sir William Wedderburn (as quoted by the *Indian Spectator* of Sept. 3, 1882) shall furnish the companion instances from the action of the officials of the Bombay Government. The land-tax, instead of being a fair assessment upon the land, is, owing to certain 'artificial and arbitrary rules, often at variance with actual facts,' declared to be 'for the most part paid out of the wages of labour, and operating thus as a poll-tax upon the poorest classes of the agricultural community. The journalist asks if there is any doubt. 'If so,' he proceeds, 'it might be as well to cite an illustration of the manner in which land rent has been collected in the village of Nepti, near Ahmednuggur, quoted by the distinguished judge. The village contains "a fair amount of garden land." The gross produce is worth Rs. 12,001, while income from other sources gives Rs. 3,731. *Per contra* bare family maintenance amounts to Rs. 11,345, the cash expenses of cultivation to Rs. 3,007, and the assessment to Rs. 2,392, giving a grand total of Rs. 16,744. What do these figures reveal? That against an annual gross produce of Rs. 12,001 the wretched villagers had to expend for their "bare family maintenance" Rs. 11,345. Now it must be admitted that these Rs. 11,345 represent the money value of their wages of labour in the field during the part of the year when they were at work there. What sum is then left on which an assessment could be demanded? Only Rs. 656. According to Sir Charles Wood's despatch only half of this could be taken as the Governmental demand. But what had the poor villagers to pay? Why, Rs. 2,392? It may be

asked whence they obtained the money to meet this Governmental demand? We answer, partly from the money-lenders and partly from moneys earned during the time not devoted to cultivation. But besides meeting this *cash payment* the villagers had to spend Rs. 3,007 for the cultivation of the fields of their village which eventually brought in produce valued at Rs. 12,001. This could not have been paid out of any savings or capital. For Sir W. Wedderburn states that the village has a total debt of Rs. 33,132 on which there is an estimated charge of interest to the extent of Rs. 7,000 to Rs. 8,000. It is plain, then, that the cash expended to get the produce of Rs. 12,001 must have been borrowed either from extra wages earned elsewhere, or from the intermediary capitalists, or both. Is it necessary to go further into the monetary details of this wretched village? The moral is so painful that it is best to pass it over in silence. It is simply this: that the *total crop was insufficient to pay the cost of cultivation*. And yet, the "paternal" Government was inexorable in its demand to extract from the villagers, "barely" able to maintain themselves, an assessment of Rs. 2,392! But this case of the village of Nepti is no solitary instance. Sir W. Wedderburn states that the vast majority of holdings in the Deccan belong to this class, namely, of villages where the total crop is insufficient to pay the cost of cultivation. One has only to refer to official administration reports to be convinced of the accuracy of this statement. It is also worth remembering that the Bombay Presidency is not the only one where such

a state of matters has existed for years past. There the province of Oude. In his pamphlet called 'The Garden of India,' Mr. Irwin gives similar examples of two villages, and states that 'the only way the peasant makes both ends meet is by stinting himself in food and eating less than is necessary for health.'

'Turn to what quarter we will the testimony is the same. Sir William Wedderburn and Mr. Irwin, in what they described, had the Deccan and Oudh in their view. From Southern India the same cry is heard. 'I enquired, frequently,' says Mr. W. R. Robertson, head of the Agricultural Department in Madras, 'from the ryots why, if the cotton crop paid so badly, they occupied their good soils with it to such a large extent; their general reply was, that they grew cotton in order that with it they might pay the assessment on their land. I asked why they could not grow grain, which would give a larger money return on land of the quality required by cotton. In reply, they said that if they grew nothing but grain *they would have nothing wherewith to pay Government rent, as they and their families could and would consume the whole produce of the land, they having to content themselves at present with only two meals of food per day instead of three; that as they could not eat cotton it was therefore available with which to raise money for paying the rent.*' The italics are Mr. Robertson's.

One example will suffice to indicate that when a transaction takes place between the British Home Government and the Indian Authorities, in which the

interests of the people of India are at stake, it is generally on the principle that, whatever happens, the superior party gets all the advantage. The chorus of praise which was chanted in the English press and in the Imperial Parliament respecting Mr. Gladstone's determination that the British Treasury should pay five millions sterling towards the cost of the Salisbury-Lytton Afghan aggression is still present in our minds. We have only to close our ears for a moment to what is passing around us and the familiar strains are heard. So seductive were those strains, and so high the pitch of national self-exaltation attained, that the country's pulse is still throbbing and the nation's heart still palpitating with the effort. It did not appear to some people that we had done anything strikingly magnanimous, even if we did part with five millions of British gold in regard to a war, costing nearly thirty millions sterling, undertaken for British and not for Indian ends. This transaction, however, was not the only one which passed between the two countries at that time. Something else was undertaken almost simultaneously, and this is how the two transactions look when the balance is struck and all the incidents are regarded in a comparative light:—

England's gift to India on	India's forced sacrifice
account of the Afghan	(forced by the House of
war—a war, it must not	Commons) of revenue,
be forgotten, which was	by abolition of all Cus-
fought for Imperial, and	tom's Duties on English



not for Indian, reasons,—  
     £5,000,000  
 payable by instalments.

Cottons, while part of  
 the Indian revenues are  
 maintained by poisoning  
 a large number of  
 Chinese, and another  
 part is raised from a  
 starving people,

    £1,100,000

*per annum.*

No one, who will divest his mind of the prejudice that, in dealing with India, we can do no wrong, can look at these contrasted statements without shame. The facts stated, however, do not cover all the ground: they relate only to the Indian Budget for 1882-3. To be quite accurate, on the *contra* side of the account ought to be added £200,000 per annum sacrificed by Lord Lytton and Sir John Strachey, in the worst of the famine years. This is the way in which the transaction was regarded at the time by the *Indian Mirror*, a daily newspaper published in Calcutta, owned, managed and edited entirely by Indian gentlemen. 'It would,' said that paper, 'have been far more just and righteous to the poor of India if the duty on salt, which cannot be too cheapened in price to them, had been altogether relinquished than that the same course should have been followed with respect to the import duties on cotton goods, which they have scarcely ever felt, and have never complained of. But Lancashire knows the value of its votes, for which both Liberal and Conservative parties are bidding high; and, under the plea of intro-

ducing Free Trade, Great Britain has been privileged to send British manufactures, exempt from Customs duties, into India, while the products of India, such as rice, sugar, and tea, continue liable to the same duties in British ports. It is of no use attempting to disguise the melancholy fact that the enormous sum of £1,108,000, representing the Customs' 'Duties on British manufactures, has been absolutely taken from the half-starved people of India, and given away to the British nation which is rolling in wealth.'

The enquiries in which we are now engaged may be carried, perhaps profitably, a little farther. An examination of the annual accounts of Great Britain and of India reveal significant lapses from duty, and show great zeal for Free Trade abroad and little concern for the same doctrine at home. The English revenue from Customs is exactly ten times as large as the Indian receipts from the same source. We, of course, always act on principle. An impost on Lancashire Cottons existed in India; in removing the impost we were actuated solely by a desire to pay homage to Richard Cobden's memory, and to make our Eastern Empire thoroughly orthodox, even as we ourselves are unimpeachably orthodox! Alas! no, *not as we are*, for, India being weak and helpless, her people dumb, with not even the shadow of a Representative Assembly in all her borders, we insisted on greater piety from India than it is agreeable for us to exhibit ourselves, while the times of our Colonists' ignorance in these matters we winked at, and continue to wink at. The Colonists

are strong; India is helpless. Before insisting upon the abolition of certain Customs' duties—a mere nothing—in the East we should have taken the beam out of our own eye in the shape of abolishing the taxes on chicory, chocolate, cocoa, coffee, fruit, tea and tobacco, and have remitted revenue to the amount of £13,000,000. Were that done the English Customs' List would then be in the position of the Indian tariff,—viz., the only articles left for excise attention would be intoxicating drinks, drugs, and the like. Great Britain could far better afford to lose thirteen millions of revenue from Customs in a single year and readjust modes of taxation to meet the deficiency than India could afford to lose the million and a half she had to sacrifice by command. This great wrong was done to India, and, save here and there in a provincial newspaper, no voice was lifted up to point out the wrong. Even the late Mr. Fawcett was dumb, and every one else in Parliament appeared to be both blind and dumb.

It is, however, when we come to deal with the Expenditure side of the Indian account, that there is occasion for serious searching of heart as to the waste and extravagance of British Indian expenditure. If the British army (already by far the costliest army in Europe) were maintained on the same scale of expenditure as are our forces in India, the annual cost would be not—as now—fifteen and a half millions but twenty-five millions! In like manner Law and Justice would involve an expenditure of five millions against half a million; what in this country are called the

Miscellaneous Civil Services, and cost seventeen millions and a half, would cost thirty-four millions and a half; Administration, which here requires half a million a year, in India is held to require five times as much; only in regard to Customs charges is there, on a comparison, any advantage in India. The sums thus wastefully expended are raised from a population of sixty-seven millions of adult males, whereof no less than 67 per cent. are tillers of the soil, having an average income of only £1 16 per head annually.\*

During the past forty years the Indian revenue has grown nearly fifty per cent.; the English revenue has increased by nearly the same amount. The latter increase has grown out of the marvellous wealth of England; the former has been wrung out of the direst necessities of India, and at the price of rapidly-approaching exhaustion. Proof of this is seen in the circumstance that during the past fifty years there has been, in England, a gross remission of taxation amounting to nearly seventy-five millions; in India, save in Customs (at the bidding of England), and slightly in salt, with various experiments in direct taxation which proved there was no wealth which could bear the imposition of a special tax, there have been no remissions of taxation worthy of mention. On the contrary, year by year, both imperially and locally, the charges of the tax collector have increased. The painful character of Indian finance may be gathered from

the following statement of surplus and deficit ranging over a period of forty-two years, viz:—

Year.	Surplus. £	Deficit. £	Year.	Surplus. £	Deficit. £
1840 .....	—	2,080,000	1863 .....	1,820,000	—
1841 .....	—	1,690,000	1864 .....	80,000	—
1842 .....	—	1,690,000	1865 .....	—	190,000
1843 .....	—	1,270,000	1866 .....	2,770,000	—
1844 .....	—	1,340,000	1867 .....	—	2,520,000
1845 .....	—	630,000	1868 .....	—	1,010,000
1846 .....	—	1,390,000	1869 .....	—	2,770,000
1847 ..	—	830,000	1870 .....	120,000	—
1848 .....	—	1,840,000	1871 .....	1,480,000	—
1849 .....	—	1,370,000	1872 .....	3,120,000	—
1850 .....	560,000	—	1873 .....	1,770,000	—
1851 .....	610,000	—	1874 .....	—	1,810,000
1852 .....	730,000	—	1875 .....	320,000	—
1853 .....	630,000	—	1876 .....	1,670,000	—
1854 .....	—	1,960,000	1877 .....	—	2,180,000
1855 .....	—	1,820,000	1878 .....	—	3,540,000
1856 .....	—	1,040,000	1879 ..	2,040,000	—
1857 .....	—	470,000	1880 .....	—	1,180,000
1858 .....	—	7,860,000	1881 .....	—	4,040,000
1859 .....	—	13,580,000	1882 .....	1,660,000	—
1860 .....	—	10,770,000			
1861 ..	—	4,020,000			
1862 .....	—	50,000			
			Total.	£19,390,000	£74,940,000
Net Deficit.....			£55,550,000		

During these years the debt of the country has increased from £34,684,997 in 1840 to £157,388,879 in 1881.

A year's expenditure in England on account of India is instructive. The figures for 1881 will serve for illustration. The summary is as follow:—

Expenditure for Public Works, Interest on	
Debts, Stores, &c. ....	14,420,525
Administration .....	229,645
Civil Furlough and Absentee Allowances ....	217,747
Superannuation, Retired, and Compassionate Allowances .....	1,071,287
Army: Non-effectives .....	2,208,316
£18,142,520	

The above, however, represents only a portion of the

resources of India expended in England. The pay of the English troops in India—officers and men—is, part of it, sent ‘home;’ the pay of civilians is similarly dealt with,—to how large an extent may be judged from the fact that a Member of Council receiving £6,000 per annum has been known to live at an hotel on less than £1,000 a year, sending the remainder to England: then, there are profits of trade, say 15 per cent. on the total trade of 1882, viz., £9,000,000; to this must be added remittances of unofficals in all kinds of professions and trades, and various other items, making, probably, to take a moderate estimate, five millions more; or a total expenditure in England of profits and receipts of all kinds, per year, of more than THIRTY MILLIONS STERLING.\* That is, nearly every rupee of net taxation is taken from India in each of the twelve months in which the taxes are collected by its foreign rulers.

During the past ten years, on official account alone, nearly £140,000,000† of money obtained in India have been paid in this country. On non-official account at least another hundred millions (more likely one hundred and

\* Mr A. J. Wilson says —‘In one form or another we draw fully £30,000,000 a year from that unhappy country [India], and there the average wages of the natives is about £5 per annum—i.e. rather than more in many parts. Our Indian tribute, therefore, represents the entire earnings of upwards of six million heads of families—say of 30,000,000 of the people. It means the abstraction of more than one-tenth of the entire sustenance of India every year — A. W. Wilson PAWEE.’ *Tonight’s Review*, March, 1884.

† £37,122,625 is the exact amount stated in the Statistical Abstract for 1882-83 pp. 54, 55.

fifty millions) have been remitted. The combined totals, if they could be accurately obtained, would be found to be not much, if any, less than three hundred millions sterling. This, in a sense, is the subsidy India pays for its connection with England. It is true, in return, she has received railways and a few canals, not to mention barracks, (in some of which the risk was nearly as great as crossing the Bayouda desert), and is receiving the services of a great host of British officials. But, most of the railways were made for strategic purposes, in the interest, of the foreign rulers and not by desire of the governed, or to serve their ends, while, as for the officials, they are expensive at the price, seeing, that all they accomplish could be better done by Indians themselves. Furthermore, the luxury is too costly for the means of the people ruled. Although India has received something in return for all this expenditure and therefore the word 'tribute' which is employed above may seem out of place it yet holds good. There is also this very important consideration, that, by the acquisition and retention of India a field was provided for English enterprise and industry, and many men found employment who otherwise would have been thrust upon the overcrowded marts of England. If we were as solicitous for the good of the people we rule as we profess to be reforms might, at this moment, be in progress in India which would ensure at least half the sum mentioned as coming to England year by year circulating among the people who provide it.

to the infinite relief of trade and the increased prosperity of the people everywhere.

The poverty of the inhabitants of British Provinces is almost beyond the realisation of English imagination as it is certainly outside the realm of English experience. There was nothing like it in the worst parts of Ireland save during the famine of 1848. There is nothing to compare with it in any part of Great Britain. One-fifth of the people in British India, *i.e.*, FORTY MILLIONS, go through life on insufficient food. This is an official estimate, and errs in under-statement. Under our rule the condition of the people is getting worse year by year. From special returns prepared by the Madras Board of Revenue for the Famine Commission, it would seem that, since 1814, taking in each case the average of five years from that date, and comparing the first quinquennial period with the last, *viz.*, 1815-1819 with 1870-1874, the cost of second-sort rice has doubled, save and except in the irrigated districts. That is *while in England the process of the law has had the effect of reducing the price of the staple article of food, and making it cheap and plentiful for every one, the exactly opposite principle has prevailed in India.* This statement is as true of the 'dry-grain' food—*i.e.*, millet, and the like, as of the 'wet'—*i.e.*, rice. Ragi—a species of dry grain—during the period mentioned, has doubled in price, the number of seers per rupee being, in some cases, 52·6 in 1819-1823 against 35·4 in 1870-1874 while the fluctuations have been from 65·5 in 1814 to 16·0 in 1866; and much less than sixteen in the famine



years of 1876 and 1877. Again, testing this by an English standard, it is as though the 4-lb. loaf in England had gone up from sixpence to two shillings on exceptional occasions, and had permanently increased to one shilling, without corresponding advantages to the purchaser in the way of larger means of earning money. Indeed, when the prices have been at their highest range the opportunities for earning money have been the fewest. Cumboo and Cholum, 'dry' grains largely used by the people, show the same change to a steadily-increasing and permanently-increased price, with the difference, as regards Cholum, that the five years from 1861 to 1865 were the worst in the returns referred to above. The returns for the period from 1875 to 1880 are available; they show that period to have been the most severe for a century.\* While the

\* Confirmatory evidence is to be found in a valuable statement by Mr. Norman R. Pogson, C.I.E., F.R.G.S., Imperial Astronomer for India: the statement was prepared for the Famine Commission. Mr. Pogson's figures cover a large number of years, two brief periods are here taken for contrast, viz., from 1811 to 1838, and from 1851 to 1878, as follows:—

Mean price of Paddy per garce. Year. Rupees.	Mean price of Paddy per garce. Year. Rupees.	Mean price of Paddy per garce. Year. Rupees.	Mean price of Paddy per garce. Year. Rupees.
1811 103'0	1818 85'7	1825 148'1	1832 121'0
1812 158'5	1819 86'0	1826 102'3	1833 147'5
1813 142'0	1820 82'3	1827 80'0	1834 104'3
1814 112'5	1821 102'0	1828 88'5	1835 91'3
1815 92'5	1822 106'0	1829 101'3	1836 95'3
1816 88'0	1823 176'5	1830 101'5	1837 95'7
1817 97'3	1824 205'7	1831 77'5	1838 106'7

  

Mean price of Paddy per garce. Year. Rupees.	Mean price of Paddy per garce. Year. Rupees.	Mean price of Paddy per garce. Year. Rupees.	Mean price of Paddy per garce. Year. Rupees.
1851 70'0	1858 148'5	1865 191'5	1872 121'7
1852 63'7	1859 122'5	1866 230'0	1873 143'5
1853 107'5	1860 149'0	1867 201'0	1874 143'3
1854 134'7	1861 170'0	1868 217'0	1875 153'7
1855 140'7	1862 169'5	1869 191'5	1876 245'5
1856 111'5	1863 163'5	1870 130'5	1877 280'3
1857 139'3	1864 171'5	1871 113'7	1878 281'5

price of food has enormously increased wages have not risen. In a most valuable body of evidence on the contemporary condition of Southern India, furnished by the officials of the Madras Presidency to the Famine Commission, again and again is the report of district officials after this wise—‘The hired labourer is not able to subsist upon the earnings of labour, and he is frequently forced to borrow.’ The value of this labour is threepence a day and under. Elsewhere in India, as has already been abundantly shown, the same rule holds good. There has been no proportionate increase between the wages paid and a higher price for food. Save in the towns the wages of labour are largely paid in grain, and less grain is supplied for a given amount of work than was formerly the case. But, let it not for a moment be forgotten, these remarks apply not to India as a whole, but only to the British Provinces, respecting which ninety-nine out of every hundred descriptions which are published in this country are of a highly flattering and eulogistic character. The men who pen the descriptions are the men who are responsible for what is described: not one mother in ten thousand is prepared to admit want of beauty in her children,—if they have demerits she fails to see them, or, if she discerns them, is ready to declare it is not her business to acknowledge them, that in fact, when all is said, the demerits are not demerits but marks of perfectness.

## CHAPTER VII.

A GATHERING up of the threads already stretched upon the loom will show, readily enough, how the pattern, insensibly almost, makes itself, and why there need be little wonder that the people of India are more anxious for self-rule than for a continuance of foreign control. Life, in the Indian State, is more varied, less under an unsympathizing constraint. Besides, it is *their* life, not the life and practices of foreigners, which the people enjoy. Sir John Malcolm said, many years ago, that 'the people of India must, by a recurring sense of benefits, have amends made them for the degradation of continuing subject to foreign masters.' As a matter of fact the 'benefits' are no longer apparent,—it is doubtful if they ever existed to any great extent,—while the degradation is daily more keenly felt. British Indian subjects do not find their position one whit better than that of their compatriots under purely Indian government. Eighteen years ago, a high official\* in one of the British Provinces was, in common with his brethren, called upon to bless our rule in contrast with native-Indian rule. Balaam-like, he found himself unable to tune his voice in harmony

Hon. A. A. Roberts, C.B., C.S.I., Judicial Commissioner, Punjab, 'Correspondence regarding British and Native Administration in India,' p. 112.

with the text supplied by Under-Secretary-to-Government-in-the-Foreign-Department Wyllie, viz.,—‘that the masses of the people are incontestibly more prosperous, and (*su asi bona norint*) far more happy in British territory than they are under Native rulers. For good and sufficient reasons given Mr. Roberts (the official in question) doubted whether the people at large thought themselves, or really were, more prosperous and happy under our rule than they were under Native governments. ‘Certain sections of the people,’ he writes, ‘as the smaller landed proprietors or a portion of them, and also some of the trading classes, are perhaps better off than they were; but the masses,—the tenants, and farm-labourers, artisans, domestic servants, and others,—earn, no more in British territory than elsewhere, aught but a bare subsistence for themselves and their families. The price of food and of all the necessaries of life has risen so enormously within the last few years, that I doubt, although there has in some parts been a proportionate rise in wages, whether the masses are so prosperous as they were before the mutiny, or as they used to be under the Native Governments. An intelligent Native observed to me the other day that it was the general remark that famine prices had prevailed for several years. I have certainly observed that for the last six or seven years, the average price of wheat-flour in the North-Western Provinces and in the Punjab has not exceeded 18 or 20 seers for the rupee, while the price of rice in Bengal has been rather dearer. These rates are to the masses

famine prices, and the people feel and say that these prices are one result of British rule. Another remark which the same individual made to me was that the idea was very prevalent that sickness had greatly increased under our rule; that people were not so robust as they used to be, and that they rarely now-a-days attained to an old age.' 'I have,' he continues, 'long been under the impression that the mortality among natives is excessive, and the census of the North-Western Provinces, which was taken in 1865, and which shows a decrease of upwards of a quarter of a million on the population of 1853, tends to confirm this view. It is unreasonable to attribute this diminution, either entirely, or in any great measure, to the mutiny. A decade has since passed, and there has been ample time for an increase of population. The people talk of these things and attribute them partly, if not entirely, to a visitation of God, consequent upon the introduction of British rule, and draw an inference unfavourable to it.'

The occasion for the expression of this opinion was provided nearly eighteen years ago by the Marquis of Salisbury (then Lord Cranborne, M.P.) In a debate on the Mysore Succession, which arose in the House of Commons in May, 1867, Lord Cranborne instituted a comparison between the British and Indian systems of government in India, and pointed out certain defects inherent in the former. The Officiating Commissioner of Central India (Mr. R. H. Davies) fairly summed up the argument thus,—

A number of small well-governed States in India, would be more conducive to the political and moral advancement of the people than the present British Government, because—

- (1) The rudeness and simplicity of Native administration, though intolerable in Europe, have a rough and ready efficiency well calculated for dealing with great emergencies, such as famine ;
- (2) And have a fitness and geniality in the eyes of the people which compensate for any material evil which may co-exist ;
- (3) Migrations of Natives from Native States to British territory are unheard of, while the contrary case is common ; and
- (4) Owing to listlessness, heavy heedlessness, and extreme centralization, the British Government is, in a considerable degree, inefficient, and occasionally productive of terrible misery, as, for instance, the Orissa Famine.

Such a charge put the Governor-General on his defence and, through the late Mr. J. W. S. Wyllie, his Excellency called upon the chief officials of the Empire to take up Lord Cranborne's statement and answer it. Letters, Observations, Memoranda, and Notes were received from more than thirty leading officials, who were not left much choice as to the opinion they were to express. The Viceroy informed his subordinates what his own view was, viz., that the people were now more prosperous and far happier than they were

before we came to play the part of an earthly Providence to them. And, he added, that he considered 'the present would be a good opportunity for proving this belief.' The case was thus prejudged before it was heard, and any opinions to the contrary found their way to the front rather against the wish than with the concurrence of the Governor-General. All but one of the answers received were strongly in favour of British as against Indian rule; one, to be noted directly, could not forbear to bless in a minor degree. The complete exception was the Hon. A. A. Roberts, whose striking testimony has been cited. It is obvious that not one of the officials, save Mr. Roberts, a Judicial Commissioner, was in a position to give a fair and unbiassed answer on a matter which involved, according to the judgment recorded, either praise or censure of one's own work and the work of one's friends: all were actively engaged, in a more or less responsible degree, in administrative duties, and were, therefore, asked to be judges in a cause to which they were parties. To make this State Paper of any real value, the views and opinions of a similar number of Indian Statesmen, presently or recently engaged in administration in Indian States or in British Provinces, guaranteed against displeasure if their verdict were unfavourable to the foreign Raj and induced to speak fearlessly, should have been obtained, and a consideration based upon the whole. As it is, the evidence is entirely one-sided. Only the defence is heard; the plaintiffs have no opportunity given them to produce

their case Nor are the witnesses on the stand cross-examined. Indeed their statements are recorded as judgments. Amid the pæans of praise, pitched in a high key, a note of discord was raised: in the mass of opinions printed it seems but a feeble note,—nevertheless, as time goes on and rapid exhaustion of the soil accompanied with frequent enhancements of rent are proving by the irresistible logic of facts that our ‘benevolent despotism’ is working woe and causing mischief everywhere, this note is sounding higher, and ever higher, while the other notes are becoming fainter and fainter, and will ultimately die away in the clear air of undisputable facts. Sir Richard Temple, in 1867, was Resident at Hyderabad, and had the good fortune to be in frequent communication with Sir Salar Jung. The beneficent influence of that wise statesman on the strikingly ingenuous mind of Sir Richard is apparent in the communication he forwarded to head quarters in reply to Mr. Wyllie’s circular. Of course Sir Richard Temple went with the stream,—never, in all his Indian history, did he fail in this respect: consistent in inconsistency,—and concluded with the assertion that ‘British rule in India is demonstrably superior to Native rule.’ Nevertheless, in the same paper, he had previously made the following significant and remarkable statements, which somewhat weaken the *ex cathedra* remark just quoted:—

- (1) ‘In 1850, I was employed in the Allahabad district, on the frontier of the Rajah of Rewah. In that tract, at that time on



*rule was not more popular than that of the Rajah.'*

- (2) 'From 1854 to 1860 I had particular knowledge of the protected Sikh States, Cis-Sutlej. These are intertwined and interlaced among British districts supposed to be administered in our very best method. Yet I never knew any immigration from those States to our districts. *The villages of the Puttiala and Jheend States especially were among the finest and happiest I have ever known, and seemed to be on a par with the choicest pieces of British territory.'*
- (3) 'From 1863 to 1867 I have been acquainted with the British districts on the frontiers of the Native States of Bundelcund, of Sindhia, and Bhopal; and have never observed that the people preferred our management over that of the Native States. *Indeed several tracts in that quarter had been unsuccessfully managed by the British.'*
- (4) 'I have recently observed evidence in the old Hyderabad records, that, after 1819, when

The same thing was said of the Rajpoot States forty years before. An eye-witness, quoted in White's State of British India, 1822, says,—'I have beheld small independent States governed by Indian Rajahs, where the cultivation appeared superior to that of the Company's Provinces, and where the independent aid of the peasantry announced a greater security of rights.' Again 'In passing through the Rampore territory, we could not fail to notice the high state of cultivation to which it has attained compared with the surrounding country, scarcely a spot of land is neglected, and, although the season was by no means favourable, the whole district seems to be covered with an abundant harvest.'

*the Peshwah's Dominions in the Deccan were brought under British rule, our revenue settlements were in some districts not successful, and did not compare favourably with some of the Nizam's districts.'*

- (5) 'In 1864 I passed through the Baroda territory and the Gaekwar's Dominions; *certainly that district, the valley of the Mhye, is in external prosperity hardly surpassed by any British district that I have ever seen at least.*'
- (6) 'In the Deccan, of late years, *the constitution, system, and principles of the Nizam's civil Government are really excellent*; this much is certain. That the result must be more or less beneficial to the country is hardly to be doubted. Whether full effect is given to the intentions of His Highness's Government throughout the Deccan, I cannot yet say; but independent testimony is constantly reaching me to the effect of great improvement being perceptible.'
- (7) 'Judging from the published reports, I should suppose that *the Native administration of Travancore must be excellent.*'
- (8) 'I believe, too, that the administration of the Gwalior country, when under the Minister Dinkur Rao, afforded a fair example of what Native rule can accomplish, and that *it still continues good under the Maharajah Sindhia.*'
- (9) 'I have, on the whole, a favourable opinion of

the administration of the Nagpore country by the Mahratta sovereigns of the Bhonsia house. There were many excellent points about their rule.'

- (10) 'Further, in justice to Native rule, it should be said that, within the century of our supremacy, there have not only been good sovereigns, who are too well known to require mention here, but also good Ministers, really capital administrators, who have adorned the service to which they belong; such as are Purneah of Mysore and Tantia Tope of Indore in the past, and Sir Salar Jung of Hyderabad, Sir Dinkur Rao of Gwalior, Sir T. Madava Rao of Travancore, in the present.'

- (11) 'There are Native States, though of limited sphere, where the practical result comes out nearly as well as in the best British districts.'

These statements have been spoken of, in advance, as remarkable, by which it is not meant that they are unexpected. On the contrary they are exactly what one, at all acquainted with the facts, would look for. But they are remarkable in a geographical sense. Let the reader, who is not sufficiently acquainted with the various countries of India to be able, by a mental effort, to locate a district or State when its name comes before him in reading, turn to any map of India and mark with a cross the various places mentioned in Sir

Richard Temple's statements, No. 1 to 9. If he does this, he will find that from the far North to the extreme South there is scarcely a part of India which is not praised as being governed with wisdom, firmness, discretion and, as a consequence, with success from the point of view alike of the ruler and the ruled. The races comprised in this testimony are as diverse as it is possible to conceive of. There is not a greater difference between the Russian and the Spaniard (to take two European types) than there is between the Sikh and the Travancorean. The Sikh villages were 'among the finest and happiest' Sir Richard Temple had ever known, 'and seemed to be on a par with the choicest pieces of British territory,' while, in Travancore, the native administration is declared to be 'excellent.' These States are extremes each in its way, yet the verdict is one and the same. Take all which lie between: 'really excellent' is the comment that alone can be used.

There is little need, however, to trust alone to the 'ancient history' of Sir Richard Temple's views expressed eighteen years ago. In the Moral and Material Progress Report respecting India, issued in 1883, we have the following statements regarding Travancore and Cochin:—

'The financial condition of Travancore is highly satisfactory though the revenue shews a falling off of £27,888 on the previous year (£592,496 against £620,384). On the other hand the expenditure has decreased in spite of heavy charges on the Maharajah's account and a large outlay on Public Works. The great measure of reform during the year was the re-

organization of the Judicial and Police Establishments, and it is in contemplation also to revise the Revenue Establishments. The total export trade aggregated £759,022 and the imports £543,121; 95 per cent. of the whole trade was with British India and Ceylon. The principal articles of commerce were copra, or cocoa-nut oil (exports), and tobacco (imports).'

'The Cochin State appears to be in a very satisfactory condition, financially and otherwise. The revenue was £147,883 against £144,928 in 1880-1, the expenditure £141,029, and there was a balance of 32 lacs. £25,613 were spent on public works, and great progress is shewn in the advancement of education, the administration of justice, and the extension of forest conservancy.'

Again, of Pudukotai, it is said:—'The Sirkele proposes to obtain money for the creation of a village Police Agency (by the appointment of village headmen and taliaries) from the enfranchisement of Inam lands held by the militia and other *quasi* military tenures. This is a very delicate task.' Delicate, indeed, and practically impossible for a British administrator, but not beyond the skill of Mr. Seshiah Sastri, whose statesmanlike skill has been exercised wisely and well in larger spheres than Pudukotai can afford. The official report proceeds, 'There was a steady improvement in the working of the different courts and the introduction of the Court Fees Act has had a beneficial effect. The abolition of the amani system (sharing of produce) and the substitution of a money assessment for a grain rent is nearly completed.'

For the purposes of the argument, which does not dispute the advantage accruing from over-lordship on

the part of the British Raj, which, on the contrary, looks forward to a continuance of that supreme control for many a year to come, more emphatic testimony than that cited above could not be desired. Given a continuance of British supremacy in India side by side with wide freedom to Indian States and Home Rule for British Provinces there is no reason why every historian should not be able, ungrudgingly, to utter similar praise to that expressed by Sir Richard Temple, in 1867, and by the official writer in 1883, of every part of our great Empire. Later, in these pages, will be found a humble attempt to show how this may be accomplished without harm to either Indian or British interests and with great gain of the highest and noblest kind to both.

In a 'Report from Commissioners upon the North-West Provinces, 1808,' of the State of Rampore, it is asserted by British officials that cultivation was in a prosperous condition. They add :—

'As we have no reason to conclude from the description we had received of the present Regent, that this state of prosperity had been produced by any personal exertions on his part, we were solicitous to trace its source, and to discover whether, in the nature of the tenures, the mode of arrangement or otherwise, there were any peculiar circumstances which it might be useful for us to advert to in the course of executing the duty entrusted to us. The management of the Nawaub Fyz-oolah Khan is celebrated throughout the country. It was the management of an enlightened and liberal landlord, who devoted his time and attention, and employed his own capital, in promoting the prosperity of his country. When works of magnitude were

required, which could not be accomplished by the efforts of the individual, the means of undertaking them were supplied by his bounty. Water courses were constructed, the rivulets were sometimes made to overflow and fertilize the adjacent districts, and the paternal care of a popular chief was constantly exerted to afford protection to his subjects, to stimulate their exertions, to direct their labours to useful objects, and to promote by every means the success of the undertaking.

‘If the comparison for the same territory be made between the management of the Rohillas and that of our own government, *it is painful to think that the balance of advantage is clearly in favour of the former.* After seven years’ possession of the country, it appears by the report that the revenue has increased only by two lacs of rupees, or £20,000. The papers laid before Parliament shew that in twenty years which have since elapsed, the collective revenues of Rohilkund, and the other districts forming the ceded provinces of Oude, had actually declined £200,000 per annum.

‘We could not fail, however, to observe the singular difference which the application of greater capital and greater industry is capable of producing in the state of contiguous lands. While the surrounding country seemed to have been visited by a desolating calamity, the lands of the Rajahs Diaram and Bugwaut Sing, under every disadvantage of season, were covered with crops produced by a better husbandry, or by greater labour. It should here be explained, that the neighbouring lands alluded to in the report *consisted of British territory, already five years in our occupation.*’

What Indian statesmen have accomplished in the past their successors to-day and in the days to come can also achieve, *if we will let them.*

Sir Richard Temple supplements his remarks of 1867, by devoting a part of the evidence given by him before the Famine Commission to land revenue systems in the

independent States and their effect upon the people. Sir Richard 'says Indian statesmen have profited by the example of British administrators. Admitted, to the hilt. The present writer is ready to acclaim this fact to the full. It in no way conflicts with his contention. But, if the point were pursued to its logical conclusion, the praise would be found to be based upon circumstances of a humiliating character to honourable and modest Britons. Sir Richard further says, that, though he will not 'say the superiority is very great,' yet the condition of the peasantry in British territory is superior. He adds:—'Let the area and population of any given State be compared with any similar area and population in British territory, and it will be found that the Native State levies from the people a much greater amount of land revenue than does the British Government.' Sir Richard is answered, and answered most completely, by his quondam colleague in Bombay, Mr. J. B. Peile, whose remarkable facts appear on page 64. It having been shown above that there is no desire on the part of the writer of these lines to misrepresent Sir Richard Temple's attitude, let note be taken of the following admissions:—

In most cases, the Native States either follow the model of British administration, or else allow customs and prescriptions to grow up which have virtually much the same effect; and to this rule the exceptions are happily becoming fewer and fewer. In some Native States, such as Kolhápúr, in the Southern Marátha Country, there are land revenue settlements being made,



including cash assessments, just as good as those in British territory. In other cases, such as the Sikh protected States in the Cis-sutlej territory, the land revenue assessment is scarcely, in its results, inferior to that of the Punjab. In many Native States systems of settlement prevail which, though nominally different from ours, tend to virtually much the same result. And in some Native States, such as those in Káthiáwár, where collection in kind still prevails, the division of the crops is so considerably conducted that the system is preferred by all concerned to any other system that might be devised. In the Nizam's territory, the land revenue administration is not quite so advanced as in British territory; but nevertheless there again we see a considerable observance of the British model, and, considering the difficulties against which the Nizam's Government has had to contend, there is perhaps no portion of the continent of India which has exhibited so much improvement within the living generation.'

The Earl of Northbrook, while Viceroy of India, had excellent opportunities of judging Indian Princes, Indian Statesmen, and Indian States. A few years after his return from India he gave an address in Birmingham. In that address he declared that the feeling of the princes and chiefs in Rajpootana and Central India was thoroughly loyal towards the British Government, and in no part of India did he find the feeling of the people for the British Government more cordial than in these independent States. From a report of the address which appeared in *The Times*, the following passages may be cited :—

(1) The Rajpoot princes of the present day retain many of the high qualities of their race. He would

give them as the type of a Rajpoot prince some account of the late Maharajah of Jeypore, who died within the last few months. This prince governed his country well. He established an excellent college, which was affiliated to the Calcutta University, and a school for the education of the sons of his nobles. Female education was not neglected, and some progress had been made in inducing the daughters of the higher castes to attend his girl schools. A school of art had been for some time in existence, and some of the art products of Jeypore, notably the enamel, were of great merit. The gaol was in good order. The Maharajah had established hospitals and dispensaries. Public gardens adorned the city of Jeypore, which, lighted with gas and well supplied with water, was one of the finest in India. There were many works of irrigation in the Jeypore State, and the Maharajah always promoted any public works likely to benefit his people. A few years ago the Customs tariff was revised and the internal transit duties were abolished. When he was at Jeypore he assisted the Maharajah in inaugurating a monument to his predecessor, Lord Mayo, and in opening a public hospital built in his honour. Although it was then three years since his assassination, the Maharajah could not speak of Lord Mayo without tears in his eyes—one of the many instances of the affection which was deservedly felt for him by the princes of India. The Maharajah during the Mutiny placed the whole of his forces at the disposal of the British Government, and he exerted himself in the most praiseworthy manner for the relief,

of the terrible distress which was caused by a famine which devastated Rajpootana in 1868. When he was Viceroy the Maharajah was a member of the Legislative Council of India, and on several occasions he (Lord Northbrook) was greatly indebted to him for advice and assistance.

(2) The time was rapidly approaching when the native princes, both in Rajpootana and in other parts of India, would be acquainted with the English language. When Lord Mayo was at Ajmeer, in 1870, he suggested to the princes and chiefs the foundation of a college where their sons might receive a good education. The suggestion was warmly taken up, and £60,000 was almost immediately subscribed for the purpose. He (Lord Northbrook) had the satisfaction of seeing this institution—which bore the appropriate name of the Mayo College—opened, and several of the young princes and chiefs of Rajpootana among the pupils.

(3) It must not be supposed that the native princes of other races and religions were not worthy of equal praise. The late Rao of Cutch zealously seconded Sir Bartle Frere's efforts to suppress the slave trade in Zanzibar, where many of his subjects resided.

(4) The great Mahratta States of Gwalior and Indore were now governed upon enlightened principles.

(5) The internal administration of the Nizam's territory by Sir Salar Jung had been highly successful.

(6) The small Mussulman States of Central India and the Sikh principalities of the Punjab were not

behindhand either in their material progress or in their loyalty to the British Government.

(7) The late Rajah of Travancore was a most enlightened ruler, and he was ably assisted by native statesmen, especially by Sir Madava Rao, a native of Madras, who, after having been for some time the Minister of the Maharajah of Indore, was chosen by him (Lord Northbrook) to administer the State of Baroda during the minority of the young Prince, and had amply justified the selection by the success of his administration during the last five years.

(8) Other native statesmen had done signal service in the improvement of the administration of the different native States. He might mention Sir Dinkur Rao, in Gwalior; the Khan Sahib, in Jowra; Shahamut Ali, in Rutlam; I'undit Mumphool, in Ulwur; and Nawab Faiz Ali Khan, in Kotah.

Sir George Campbell, K.C.S.I., M.P., in one of his official reports as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, says:—‘The result of Mr. Kemble’s inquiries on the Nepaul frontier is discouraging, in that, after very fairly weighing the respective advantages and disadvantages of both, he comes to the conclusion that the condition of the Nepaul ryot is on the whole better than that of the British ryot. Although the smaller rent taken from the former by the Nepaulese Government is supplemented by forced labour and the purveyance system, on the other hand the illegal cesses and exactions of zemindars,

middlemen, &c., and other vexations, turn the scale against the British cultivator.

Little more needs to be said as to the reasons why the inhabitant of India should, like the native of Ireland, or the native of England for that matter, desire Home Rule. Indian rule, tempered and controlled by some of the finer aspects of British administration, is better suited to the Indian man and woman than British administration untempered and uncontrolled. A combination of oriental flexibility with English inflexibility produces an almost ideal condition of government. In the Second Part of this little work, it will be shown how this has already been realised, and that if we want a large and sufficient experiment made before extending the practice we already possess it. Sir Salar Jung told Sir Richard Temple, in 1867, that he had heard every one of the following objections to British, as compared with Indian, rule, urged again and again, viz., — *a.* severe or strict enquiry into revenue-free privileges (Inams, &c.); *b.* sale of estates in default of payment of land revenue; *c.* the enforcement of a fixed demand even in bad seasons, on the ground that there was no enhancement of demand in good seasons; *d.* the imprisonment of civil debtors; *e.* the sale of real property under decrees of Court; *f.* the non-recognition of castes or class privileges in matters of law and justice; *g.* the imposition of legal penalties, incurred as much in careless-

ness and thoughtlessness as from any intention to offend the law; *g.* the impartial unbending, sometimes almost frigid and unsympathetic demeanour, observed alike to all, rich and poor, gentle and simple; *h.* the prevention or prohibition of petty nuisances, measures which may be necessary enough for public health and order, but which many people regard as vexatious; and *i.* the withdrawal from all attempts to amuse the senses or stimulate the imagination of the public. Sir Richard is willing to admit that some of the things thus complained of 'are really faults which we should strive to amend.'

## CHAPTER VIII.

THERE are, moreover, many grievances among well-to-do Indians in the British Provinces which do not exist in the Indian States. The Native-Indian Press, in 1867, formulated these grievances under two heads, with both of which all who are in any degree acquainted with present-day Indian politics are acquainted. Those grievances were thus formulated:—First, That the British Government does not sufficiently associate in its administrative system the Native gentry and the more respectable classes; Second, That the British Government does not allot to Natives an adequate share of public patronage, and does not promote them sufficiently to lucrative offices in their own country. „ These complaints, in spite of all the remedial legislation of the intervening years, in spite of Lord Ripon's noble efforts in a like direction, are, if anything, more true and more evil in influence in 1885 than they were in 1867. If it be the fact that a few Indians occupy positions of trust in the Civil Service and on the bench it is much more

the fact that, where, by education and training there were ten fit for office eighteen years ago, there are one hundred now.

"No sweeter is their cup,  
Nor less their lot of ill;  
'Twas weary waiting years gone by,  
'Tis weary waiting still."

We cannot, on the one hand, make it our boast among the peoples of Europe and America, that we are not afraid to educate our Indian fellow-subjects but nurture them upon our most freedom-teaching classics, and, on the other, expect that they, who drink at the same fount of knowledge as we ourselves,

'who speak the tongue  
That Shakespeare spake,'

will be content with servitude and rest satisfied that sufferance should, through the ages, continue to be the badge of all their tribe. . . .

This, however, is not all. Man, especially Oriental man, does not live by official position alone. He likes —no man in the world more so—to be decorated, to receive honours and emoluments, at the hand of the monarch or the monarch's representative. This is a feeling shared by all races and all ranks and conditions of men. What have we done to meet this not dishonourable, but often very praiseworthy, craving? Three Orders have been created,—(1) The Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, with three grades; (2) The Order of the Indian Empire, with two grades; and (3) The Crown of India,



solely for Ladies. How are these honours appropriated?  
The following statement will show :—

## STAR OF INDIA.

GRADL.	EUROPEANS.				INDIANS.
G. C. S. I. .. ..	20	..	17		
K. C. S. I. .. ..	52	..	19		
C. S. I. .. ..	111	..	32		

## INDIAN EMPIRE.

C. I. E. ( <i>ex-officio</i> ) .. ..	30	..	6
C. I. E. .. ..	99	..	59

## CROWN OF INDIA.

C. I. .. ..	39	..	9
TOTALS .. ..	<u>351</u>		<u>142</u>

That is to say, among the hundred and ten thousand English folk, exclusive of the rank and file of the British forces, connected with or in India three hundred and fifty decorations, have been awarded, while among the two hundred and fifty million Indians, including sovereigns (of Independent States) and statesmen and men of light and leading, only one hundred and forty-two have been distributed. In Madras, among the thirty-two millions of Indian inhabitants of that Presidency, only three are decorated, viz., the Hon. Venbakum Ramiengar, C.S.I., the Hon. Seshiah Sastri, C.S.I., and the Hon. T. Muttusami Aiyar, C.I.E. This is as if (leaving the Knights of the Garter, the Knights

of St. Patrick, the Knights and Companions of St. Michael and St. George, out of consideration) there were only two Knights of the Bath and one Companion of that honourable Order among all the people of Great Britain and Ireland.\*

There are other distinctions in India, it is true, such as the Order of British India, established for distribution in the Native-Indian Army, and the titles of Maharajah, Rajah, Rai Bahadur, Bahadur, &c., but these are most sparsely distributed among the two hundred million subjects of the Queen-Empress in the British Presidencies and Provinces. (The details in respect to these minor distinctions are, so far as is known, not available in print, and it would be idle for a non-official to ask for them from the India Office.) Sir Salar Jung told Sir Richard Temple that he considered complaints on this account of the greatest importance. 'I have known them,' he said, 'repeated in a variety of forms and shapes, and especially heard them often discussed in the trouble period of 1857.' Sir Salar, as reported by the Resident of Hyderabad in 1867, specified 'some of the honours and emoluments to which Natives

\* It is a singular commentary on the above facts that I should find the *Madras Weekly Mail*, of Dec. 3, 1884, remarking, on the Honours Question, as follows:—'Every Queen's Birthday or January *Gazette* contains some such announcement as "AHMED KHAN, Talookdar, to be C.S.I." or "CHATERJEE JEEJHEBOV, merchant, to be C.I.E.," though in the Madras Presidency honours even to natives are awarded with a grudging hand. . . . . The policy adopted in India seems to be to exclude Europeans almost entirely.' In view of the figures given it would rather seem as if the policy were to exclude Indians almost entirely from Indian Orders. With the main contention of the *Mail's* article, that both Europeans and Indians in Madras are overlooked when honours are granted, I am not indisposed to agree. I think Madras is cavalierly treated by the supreme authorities in this as in a great many other respects.

may attain under their own rule, but from which they are debarred under British rule.'\*

If, under all these circumstances, and in view of all that has been stated, the native Indian should prefer to be governed by men born in his own country, subject to the same hopes and influences as he is himself, and actuated by a belief in India and its future, rather than by cold, unsympathetic and (it must, in candour, be stated) greedy foreigners, who, wittingly or unwittingly, are draining his country of its bare necessities, and who have no care or ambition for its future, that future being to them a thing apart, is he so greatly misguided? Were England subject to a foreigner would not an Englishman of this character be considered a noble patriot, whose conduct we should admire and hold up for imitation the more frequently as he the more thoroughly laboured for the freedom of himself and his countrymen? Surely, sturdy British patriots will, once they realise the facts, be not backward in admiring, more than that even, will be active in promoting, true patriotism in their Indian fellow-subject, though the ultimate consequence be a little less wealth for enjoyment in England, and a great deal more money for distribution in India.

\* Sir Richard Temple added, 'He (Sir Salar Jung) used to hear it asked, how it was that such foreign rulers as Aurungzebe, far more violent and troublesome than the British ever were who did wrongs such as the latter had never ventured to do, did not excite such animosity as seemed to rage against the British in some quarters. He thought that the answer might partly be found in this, namely, that none of our predecessors ever were so utterly foreign to the country as we are, that, with all their faults, they settled among, and amalgamated themselves with, the people, which we, with all our virtues, can never do. This, he seems to think, is the most insuperable of all objections against our rule

PART II.

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THIRTY YEARS' ADMINISTRATION  
IN AN INDIAN STATE

## PART II.

# THIRTY YEARS' ADMINISTRATION IN AN INDIAN STATE.

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## CHAPTER I.

Facts are chiels that winna ding,  
But must aye be respeckit.'

—*Scotch Proverb.*

HITHERTO, the evidence of the superiority of Native Indian rule, under the protecting influence of British supremacy and by the adaptation of what is good in British methods of administration, has been of a fragmentary character,—partly affirmatory, partly of negatives proved by contrast. This is satisfactory for rebutting purposes, but it does not afford sufficient basis upon which to erect a structure. It may be well to proceed to establish the foundation of the contention by inviting consideration of what has been accomplished

by an Indian statesman in the short period of thirty years. Naught shall be excluded from this record with a view of giving a more favourable view of the entire history than the circumstances warrant. All that, in return, is asked is that no prejudices against an Indian because he is an Indian shall be allowed to warp the mind of the reader and prevent him giving credit where credit is due.

The history of the largest Indian State in the Empire is taken, partly because the administrator who worked such beneficial changes as will be indicated has passed where 'beyond these voices there is peace,' and one can, therefore, comment with more unreserve than otherwise would be the case; and partly for the reason that if Indian self-government in its fullest form and force is possible in the Nizam's Dominions it is possible anywhere between Jummoo in Cashmere and Tuticorin in Tinnevely. Nowhere in all the realm have there been greater difficulties to combat than the late Sir Salar Jung encountered in the State of Hyderabad; nowhere could a Minister be more harassed and thwarted through a great portion of his period of rule by an over-lord than was Sir Salar Jung by the Foreign Office of Calcutta and Simla, Lord Lytton, the speaker of most gracious words at Delhi, acting in the most ungracious manner throughout the greater part of his vice-royalty. To have achieved success under such circumstances required qualities of the highest order, while the triumphs recorded merit ungrudging recognition.

## (1) THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS IN 1853.

It is impossible, by means of any parallel to be drawn from a European source to describe the condition of the Nizam's Dominions in 1853, when Sir Salar Jung became His Highness's Minister and undertook the conduct of the State's affairs. Impossible, because in no circumstances such as have existed in Europe for centuries have there been such relations constituted between one Power and another as would permit of one country treating another country, however powerful and however weak they were respectively, as the great Mussulman State was treated by the British authorities. In 1853 'the Nizam came into our power by a process which has been often and successfully repeated in our Indian annals. There is a curious phenomenon in the insect world where an egg is deposited in the body of a living creature, which nourishes itself upon the substance of its unwilling nurse, gradually taking up all the fat, flesh, and tissues of the victim, till it dies, or drags on a futile existence. Our Government in India has frequently laid such an egg, in the shape of "a Contingent," within the confines of friendly States. Oudh, Gwalior, and the territories of Scindia, were thus treated, and by no other means were the dominions of the Nizam brought within the grasp of Lord Dalhousie.' In these words does Mr. Edwin Arnold, C.S.I., Editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, commence a narrative of Lord Dalhousie's dealings with the Hyderabad State. During the course of those

dealings the Governor-General of a body of merchants, whom accident had made supreme rulers in Hindostan, through the Nizam's incapacity for accounts and book-keeping by double entry, perpetrated a gross act of injustice. The Viceroy compelled the Nizam to 'assign' his most valuable Provinces as security for a debt which, it is doubtful, really existed. This act is only kept in countenance by the strange perversity which apparently refuses, even at this day and with Earl Kimberley at the India Office, with Mr. Gladstone in power, with Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke as his lieutenants, to undo the wrong. It is not possible, however, (at least for the present writer) to believe that any one of the statesmen just mentioned is really and fully acquainted with the Berars Question. For this reason : knowledge could not be possessed by them or one of them without justice being done; in this instance it is easy to be just. Let those who have seen references in the English newspapers to General Sir Orfeur Cavanagh's praise of English rule in India, delivered in Exeter Hall in November, 1884, read the eighteenth chapter of Mr. Arnold's work, entitled 'The Marquis of Dalhousie's Administration of British India.' It is calculated to cause the most serious misgivings in an Englishman's mind as to what goes on in our Eastern Empire, unknown and unsuspected in the home country. It is not intended here to tell in any detail the story of the annexation of the Berars, the most prosperous Provinces in the Nizam's Dominions. Most, if not all, Members of



Parliament have been placed in possession of the facts to adequately set forth the whole circumstances of the case would require a pamphlet in itself. That British legislators have not by the information which has been placed at their disposal been moved to harass the India Office until justice be done is, it must be confessed, a matter of no little surprise. The average Englishman, strong in his belief as to the honesty of British administrators, would scarcely believe, unless chapter and verse were given, and hardly even then, that such things could be done as were done when the Berars were acquired by Lord Dalhousie or that any English Ministry could permit the wrong to remain unredressed one single hour after it once became acquainted with all that happened. Yet, the wrong *was* done; the wrong is *still* unredressed.

The reader is simply asked to note that, from whatever cause and as the consequence of whatever duplicity, when Salar Jung entered office in 1853 as Dewan, or Minister, to the Nizam, the condition of the State of Hyderabad was as bad as it well could be, so far as finances and general good government were concerned, while from the patriot's point of view the situation was like unto that of France immediately after Alsace and Lorraine were annexed by Germany. With this difference, however, France lost her Provinces after hard fighting, fighting which she herself provoked; the Nizam lost his territory in quite another way. Turbulence and disorder, in spite (rather in consequence) of the large forces, regular and irregular, which the supreme authority, *i.e.*, the British

authority, decreed, prevailed throughout the land. The revenue was in a most distressing condition. The returns for 1853 show the revenue was low, the treasury empty, the Nizam in debt. Worse than that, and to make matters deplorably bad, the Berars, yielding Rs. 43,47,933 per annum, had been assigned to the Government of India. There was not even the wherewithal to pay official salaries. Prior to this time the monarch's jewels had been mortgaged for seven lakhs of rupees. The total debt of the State was Rs. 2,70,00,000 (£2,700,000), over two years' revenue. His Highness's Dominions were never in a worse condition, nor could they, short of absolute bankruptcy, well be worse. Let not the charge be made that this was owing to Native-Indian incapacity for administration. Such a charge would be falsified by what happened in the State and by what will be described in the pages immediately following. What may be charged is this,—that *our* policy towards the Indian States, our greed and rapacity,\* our control and influence were alone responsible. No hand but that of a wise and resolute Indian could change the condition of affairs. Things were, as has been said, at their worst. The Man was ready to grapple with them, a man, too, belonging to a race which (Sir Lepel Griffin tells his credulous countrymen) † has 'no genius for government;' he belonged to a people who, the same disinterested and

\* As job followed job and superfluous offices were made, it became a proverbial expression current in Hyderabad, 'Poor Nizzy pays for all,' —*Calcutta Review*, vol. xl, art. 'The Nizam's Contingent'

† *Fortnightly Review*, Oct., 1883, p. 495

wholly unbiassed advocate declares 'have failed to realize the first principles of government, and whose practice is founded upon all that is mendacious and short-sighted, and unstatesmanlike and unjust.' It is, by the way, a curious comment on such an expression as this, to note the readiness with which, before the United States of America were ripe for such a course, Salar Jung abolished slavery in the Nizam's Dominions. This he did in 1856, within three years of his entering office. In the decree respecting the abolition the Minister declared that both seller and purchaser would be punished were the traffic in human flesh continued.

(2) REFORMS NEEDED ; REFORMS UNDERTAKEN ; REFORMS ACCOMPLISHED.

In view of the abuses which existed on every hand if Salar Jung, who was only twenty-five years of age when he became Minister, had contented himself with their removal he would have accomplished great things. But, he recognised that while he had to pay off arrears, to liquidate debts, to clear away mortgages, and to resume districts which had been pledged for comparatively small loans, he had also to devise means for augmenting the revenue. He needed revenue for the following, among other purposes, viz., for,—

1. The creation of Civil and Criminal Courts in Taluks and Districts, and for their proper supervision at head-quarters ;

2. The establishment of costly machinery, consisting of highly-paid officials, to carry out the revenue administration ;
3. The creation of a Department charged with the collection of revenue derived from other sources than land ;
4. The inauguration and maintenance of a Revenue Survey and Assessment ;
5. The organization of an efficient Police Force ;
6. The institution of a Public Works Department, to look after the means of irrigation and communication, upon which agricultural prosperity largely depended ;
7. The spread of Education by provision of schools, colleges, etc. ;
8. The opening of Hospitals and Dispensaries in every important centre of population ;
9. The introduction of sanitary arrangements in the capital and chief towns ;
10. The improvement of postal communication ; &c.

All these reforms were undertaken ; without exception they were accomplished. The land revenue, as the mainstay of an Oriental exchequer, was first taken in hand. Here the results achieved were of a thorough character. Salar Jung, by the energy and tact which he exhibited, restored the confidence of the people not only in the Government but in himself as the Executive authority of the Government. His predecessor could not have borrowed ten thousand rupees from the Hyderabad bankers without difficulty ; before Salar Jung

had been long in office it was remarked that the leading bankers would have limited their loans by his demands alone, in the implicit reliance that he would not borrow money which he could not repay. The anecdote respecting the confidence reposed in Lord Durham by the House of Commons fifty years ago has passed into the commonplaces of history. Lord Durham,—a dull speaker and an honest man,—was, one evening, expounding the national finances and desired to prove a certain point by the production of figures which he had prepared for the occasion. His notes were in confusion; he could not find what he wanted, and at length he said, ‘I can assure the House I have worked the matter out and find the result is as I have stated; I trust the House will accept my statement.’ The statement was accepted, and the incident is often used to point a moral as to the confidence which English statesmen, as men of integrity, inspire in their contemporaries. In the case of Salar Jung the belief in his integrity reached a far higher plane and was more flattering to the Minister than was the incident in the British House of Commons to Lord Durham.

The Minister’s wise and firm administration of the land revenue cannot be better laid before the reader than in his own words. He appeared, in 1879, before the Famine Commission, and gave evidence. Sir Salar thus described the course he took:—

When I first took charge of the administration of

the country 25 years ago, I found the *batai*\* system prevailing in Telingana as regarded wet crops, and for dry crops there was a fixed money assessment. In Mahrattwari the assessment was fixed in money. In Telingana the Government share under tanks was either 10 or 12 parts in 20, under wells 8 in 20. The amount on each village or cultivator was fixed in Mahrattwari by Shekdars answering to Mahsuldars, and Mokaddams and Moharrirs answering to the Patels and Patwarries, who in conjunction with Mahsuldars performed the same duty in Telingana. In Telingana whole taluks of Rs. 60,000 or Rs. 70,000 were farmed out to Zemindars. In Mahrattwari, talukdars received large tracts on fixed payments. Sometimes, after two or three years, the talukdars would withhold payment when the State was in need of funds, and cause a default of some thousands of rupees of revenue. The jaghirs were large; the personal ones were nominally about 40 lakhs, including Berar and Tankha jaghirs, about 35 lakhs (1263 F.). But this was not the actual revenue, but what was called the kamill or full possible payment, which always was in excess of the real payments in Telingana, and still more so in Mahrattwari. I gradually introduced changes; I brought in cash payments, commuting the crop-rents into cash at the average value of 10 years. The Tankha jaghirs were resumed by degrees, as well as some personal jaghirs. The Tankha jaghirs were on every opportunity commuted into cash payments by judicious treaty with the jaghirdars, and personal

The 'batai system' it may be explained was an ancient custom, upon which a European reformer would hardly have dared to lay his hands. It was a division of produce, and something more. The share of grain that fell to the State was converted to money on the spot, by compelling well-to-do artisans, cultivators, or village money-lenders to take it off the hands of revenue officials at about Rs 5 per *khand* over and above the bazaar rate of the time. 'Any quantity which could not thus be disposed of was sold by open competition . . . . The officials, who were supposed to watch over the large heaps of grain in the interests of government, very often helped themselves without the slightest scruple. The cultivator, under this system, had no inducement to improve his holding so as to bring in a large return.'

jaghirs were resumed when the incumbents died, or it was found that they had no good title. Now only 12 lakhs of Takha jaghirs remain, including sebundy and contingencies, and ten lakhs of Tankha pure and simple, and even these are in the possession only of the old nobility, or as such as were given from the Dewani Elaka as Tankha jaghirs and were subsequently incorporated with the Sarfkhas districts. Personal jaghirs are nearly untouched.'

This may be supplemented by a brief comparison, showing the increase of land revenue in the Indian State and in British India respectively. Later on, will be seen the object which is had in view in instituting this comparison.

## GROSS LAND REVENUE COLLECTED.

<i>The Nizam's Dominions.</i>			<i>The British Indian Empire.</i>		
		Rs.			£
Collected in 1853	..	64,85,098	Collected in 1853	..	16,190,000
" in 1881	..	1,83,40,861	" in 1881	..	21,860,000
Increase	..	Rs. 1,25,14,098	Increase	..	£5,650,000
Per centage of increase 260 per cent.			Per centage of increase, less than 25 per cent.		

The ability of the Minister who could achieve such a result, who could abolish the farming of revenue, resume grants of land, increase taxation, and yet leave the people better off than they were before, and more prosperous than corresponding classes in British territory, is beyond all praise. Of the total demand nearly the whole is collected, the exact per centage being 98.55. A comparison may be instituted:—

<i>The Nizam's Dominions.</i>		<i>Presidency of Bombay.</i>	
Per centage of Collection on Demand	.. 98.55	Per centage of Collection on Demand	.. 97.52

The Presidency, too, has this advantage over the State that the whole of its Districts have been brought under the operations of the Revenue Survey and Settlement. When a like condition of things has been obtained in His Highness's Dominions, the superiority of wholly Indian administration will, it is safe to say, be shown in a collection of over 99 per cent. Short of perfection in administration more cannot be done. This is a sample of fact of which Mr. J. K. Cross, M.P., in view of his declaration at St. Bees, should take special note, *and act accordingly*.

The increase in land revenue, however, cannot be expected to continue. The Nawab Yar Jung, a member of the Board of Revenue, in a Report on a Tour of Inspection made in the Southern Division, says, very appositely :—

‘I must here observe that in future I do not anticipate any appreciable increase in the land revenue, nor do I desire it. From the statements appended to the administration reports, compiled in the life time of H. E. the late Minister, it appears that during the last 30 years the land revenue has increased enormously. In return for the security of life and property, a benefit which the administration of the late Minister conferred on the raiats, Government has received a fair reward in the shape of an extended area under cultivation, and consequently an increased land revenue. The late Minister had taken over charge of his office at a time when anarchy prevailed every where throughout the country. . . . Now, however, the conditions are quite different. Agriculture has almost reached its highest limit, and is stationary and it will remain so unless Government itself supply means of improvement