The following further remarks on the recently introduced land revenue settlement appeared in the *Pioneer Mail* of July 1, 1880:—

The revenue settlement of the province is being made on the same system which has been tried and failed in Bombay. Judging by some facts buried away in the body of the report and unnoticed in the summary, this system appears unsuited for Mysore. In the surveyed taluks over 106,000 acres net—i. e. after deducting lands newly taken up from the quantity relinquished—were relinquished as against 30,000 acres in the unsurveyed taluks. No explanation is offered as to why, in those taluks where the revenue system is supposed to be perfect, more than three times the net quantity of land has been thrown up as compared with that in those taluks where the old system is still in force. Again, the area of land rented out under a tenure of a division of crop between the Government and the cultivator was considerably increased. This was avowedly done in order to promote the cultivation of abandoned lands which were rented out on terms unusually favourable to the cultivator. The result of this was that, although this tenure is directly opposed in principle to the system we are introducing, more land was taken up, and more money was obtained per acre from the land. The wet land let on the division of crops tenure brought in Rs. 6-3 per acre, while the new wet land taken upon the Bombay system of assessment was not only less in quantity, but only gave Rs ·96 per acre, less than one rupee per acre. These figures show a very serious state of affairs. Putting aside the direct loss to the State—a loss it can ill afford after the late famine—the figures of increased area cultivated prove that the tenure of a division of crops is more suited to the genius of the Mysore people than the system we are now forcing upon them. Is it wise to continue a rigid system of assessment which is pecuniarily bad for the State and prejudicial to the interests of its people? Not one-half the number of taluks have yet been settled, and, judging by the past rate of working, it will take fifteen years more before the province is completed.

No better instance than that of Mysore could be found to exhibit the disastrous results of a large and highly paid European staff, carrying out with ruthless

energy its so-called administrative and economical improvements, irrespective of the price to be paid for them. Mr. B. Elliot, 'the Mysore planter,' in a book published some time ago, went so far as to prophesy a famine if the resources of the country are drained for extravagant public works. His prophecy has been fulfilled. It appears from the Famine Report that Mysore had many a time been on the verge of famine, but the stores of grain had staved it off. The recent catastrophe seems to have been in a large measure due to the exhaustion of resources which, as I have pointed out in the text, is admitted in the official report. This fact is very much slurred over in the Famine Commission's Blue Book.

It may not be possible just at present to cut down the number of Europeans in the British Provinces, but a few well-paid officers, with more independence of action and more freedom from office work, would, no doubt, with the aid of native subordinates, lessen the cost of administration.

It is usually said that, although natives are good for judicial work, they are not fitted for executive. But it must be remembered that as pleaders and petty judges they have been able to get more experience in the first line than in the second. They would certainly require to be men of influence and position, as Lord Lytton lately pointed out, not merely Calcutta B.A.'s, but if they were placed under good supervision, there seems no reason to suppose that they would not do excellent work.

According to some figures given me by a friend, there are in the North-West Provinces and Oudh 857 Europeans altogether, drawing 577,471 rupees a month, their salaries ranging from 3,750 to 50 rupees, while there are 853 natives, altogether drawing 165,880

rupees a month, their salaries ranging from 800 to 50 rupees. All the natives drawing lower pay are omitted: they form a large number. Although it could not be expected that Englishmen would serve under natives, yet, as Col. Chesney recently suggested in the *Fortnightly*, there is still plenty of room for natives in the lower grades of the service. It would obviously be very unfair to Englishmen, who have had certain prospects held out to them, to find natives promoted or brought in over their heads, as was recently the case with a judicial appointment in Oudh under pressure from Lord Lytton. It is not advisable to irritate a whole service, on whose willing work everything depends.

It may not be wholly irrelevant to add my testimony to that of Professor Monier Williams to one of India's great dangers, namely, over-centralisation. I have pointed out in another appendix what a complete delusion the decentralisation scheme has hitherto proved, but, even if that scheme were made a reality, it is as well to recognise that its principle, at least in administrative matters, requires to be still further extended.

An Indian province is a very wide world; that of the North-West Provinces and Oudh covers more than 100,000 square miles, with a population of over 40 millions, and all its varied needs are not necessarily measured by the minds of a few secretaries. However powerful their calibre may be, their experience may be small, and yet they are continually justifying their position by worrying the lives of district officers with their pertinacious obtrusiveness. 'Half the time of a collector,' writes Professor Monier Williams with literal truth, 'is now occupied in replying to the inquiries of inquisitive under-secretaries. Every post brings piles of official documents and demands for reports and written

statistics on every conceivable subject, while, in return, piles of foolscap find their way from the collector's cutchery into the pigeon-holes of the under-secretary's office. There the precious bundles of foolscap are forthwith entombed, and from these graves there is seldom any resurrection to the light of day.' The best way to get rid of all this writing would be to exact a heavy fine from each secretary who spent over a certain sum on stationery, &c. The amount of waste in administration reports is frightful. They bristle with fatuous figures. The last North-West Province and Oudh Administration Report has 500 pages of all conceivable statistics. In fact, the Indian Government is rapidly becoming a paper despotism, with a Press-Commissioner as the presiding genius, working through the medium of the post and telegraph. He is the last sweet baby of the bureaucracy, and his babblings are so sacred that criticism is regarded as blasphemous.

APPENDIX V.

The returns for State Irrigation Works presented to the Parliamentary Committee on Public Works are as follows :—

	Capital Expenditure	Receipts	Working Expenses	Interest
	£	£	£	£
Bengal	4,072,742	23,043	52,949	182,237
North-Western Province	4,939,527	375,659	145,015	222,279
Punjab	3,335,503	288,360	136,214	150,097
Scinde	667,938	161,368	—	30,047
Bombay	665,938	6,090	—	29,967
Madras	1,881,241	376,473	62,572	84,656
	15,562,655	1,228,993	396,750	700,319

According to these figures there is an excess revenue over and above the working expenses of £131,924.* But from this, as the Committee points out, must be deducted £46,453 for the Madras Irrigation Company's works, which were bought up by the State.

Moreover, it is admitted that the returns are incomplete, that there is no allowance for old native works, that the separation of the accounts for irrigation works from those of ordinary public works has only been effected very recently, and that a share in the total cost (£2,369,999) of establishments and furlough allowances in the Public Works Department has not been assigned. Anyone who takes the trouble to examine the back budgets in the *Gazettes of India* will find great reason for doubting whether the cost of repairs in the past has been included, and whether the capital expenditure is not greater than that given above; certainly the interest on capital outlay, before the works paid at all, has been left out of the account. The above figures, therefore, which, at first sight, appear very favourable, cannot be taken as wholly reliable.

A closer examination of the returns shows great variety in the results obtained; while some works, such as those on the Cauvery (a restored native work), the Godavery, and Krishna in the Madras Presidency, and the Jumna Canals, in Northern India, have been very remunerative, there are others, like the Bengal Canals, that have only paid a little more than their working expenses.

On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that, apart from their direct returns in the shape of water rates

* The returns this year are better by transfer of land revenue attributed to irrigation works.

and increased land revenue, they have preserved an enormous area of crops in years of drought. In the famine of 1860–61 the West Jumna Canal is calculated to have preserved half a million acres, and in the famine of 1877–8 the Ganges Canal performed yeoman service.

Moreover, the capital laid out on canal construction, unlike that laid out on railways, has been to a great extent spent in the country, and its benefits are much more appreciated by the natives; and if their engineering talent, of which the most experienced Anglo-Indian engineers have spoken in the highest terms, were to be further utilised, the, at present, heavy establishment charges might be greatly curtailed.

Lord Lytton's best work has been the initiation of retrenchment under this head, but the axe has still to be laid at the root of the tree—Cooper's Hill College—which was, in 1874, declared by Lieut.-Col. Tyrrell, an officer of fifteen years' experience as an executive engineer in various parts of India, to be 'a disgraceful imposition on India.'

Mr. Sowerby, who was examined before the Committee on Public Works, and who has had a large amount of experience in India as an engineer, said, 'The natives of India have a better knowledge of the application of water for purposes of irrigation than gentlemen or engineers sent out from this country. Irrigation is, as it were, indigenous to the country.'

According to the candid admission of Sir A. Cotton and others, the most successful English irrigation works have been those that have been carried out on native lines. What the Indian Government appears to have lost sight of is the different requirements of different parts of India. The battle of productive works has been waged

by the advocates of railways and canals, while sufficient attention has not been paid to other methods of irrigation, familiar to natives and not requiring any scientific knowledge or costly establishments.

A vast continent like India necessarily varies in its physical conditions. Canals may suit one part, tanks another, wells another. According to the best authorities there are hundreds of tanks in Southern India out of repair, while in the North-West Provinces and Oudh a well-system is considered by district officers to be most suitable. The teaching of centuries has not been so utterly lost on the native mind that engineers, primed with Western science but wanting in Eastern experience, must be imported to irrigate the country. Instead of killing native intelligence and thwarting the play of self-interest the Government ought to give every kind of encouragement by offering careers in its service and helping private individuals in protecting their lands against drought. Settlement regulations seem at present to have the very opposite tendency.

No one can doubt that water is India's great necessity, railways are at most a luxury. The produce of the land must be increased before improved communications are required to circulate it.

The Famine Commissioners calculate the annual surplus yield at five million tons of food, but Messrs. Caird and Sullivan say that they are unable to place confidence in this estimate. 'The average annual export of rice and grain from all India,' the two latter write, 'is one million tons, which should thus leave four million tons to be laid by, a quantity sufficient to feed twenty-four millions of people; as famine comes but once in twelve years, there should in that period be an accumulation surplus suffi-

cient to feed nearly 300 millions; and yet when famine does come, and then affecting at its worst not more than a tenth of that number, it is only by immense pressure on other parts of India, and at a quadrupled price, that the barest sufficiency of supplies can be obtained. This seems clear proof that the alleged surplus must be greatly over-estimated. . . . . Population is increasing, the price of food is rising, the production of it, as shown by exports, scarcely advances, whilst, as the number of the landless class who depend on wages is constantly growing, the supply of labour in the absence of industries other than agriculture must soon exceed the demand. . . . . The food of two-thirds of the people of India is grain, and of one-third rice The annual surplus of rice, as shown by the export, is so great that a sufficient supply from the current crop can be always relied on to meet a partial rice famine. But the export of food grain, other than rice, from India, during each of the last ten years, has been less than one day's consumption of the grain-eating population. There would thus appear to be no sufficient annual surplus within the country to meet the demand of a severe grain famine, without drawing part of their ordinary food from the unaffected districts, thereby diminishing their supply, raising the price, and thus extending the area and general pressure of the famine. This has been the uniform effect of drawing supplies suddenly to the famine districts from other parts of India.'

The question is, How is money to be got for those larger works which Government alone can undertake, and which may not prove directly remunerative? The Famine Commissioners propose special local rates for protective works, and there seems no reason to doubt that if money

so raised were to be locally expended, as was originally proposed under the Famine Insurance Scheme, there would be less objection to such rates. But some distinct safeguards ought to be established against their misappropriation. The breach of faith, of which the Government has lately been guilty, has largely contributed towards discouraging the efforts of the Local Governments in protecting the land from drought. A trust fund, managed by a provincial body, largely composed of district officers and native gentlemen, might secure the proper application of famine insurance taxes.

APPENDIX VI.

'It (Political Economy) has often been put forward, not as a theory of the principal causes affecting wealth in *certain* societies, but as the theory of the principal, sometimes even of all, the causes affecting wealth in *every* society; and this has occasioned many and strong doubts about it. Travellers fresh from the sight, and historians fresh from the study of peculiar and various states of society, look with dislike and disbelief on a single set of abstract propositions which claim, as they think, to be applicable to all such societies, and to explain a most important part of most of them. I cannot here pause to say how far particular English economists have justified this accusation; I only say that, taking the whole body of them, there is much ground for it, and that in almost every one of them there is some ground. No doubt almost every one—every one of importance—has admitted that there is a 'friction' in society which counteracts the effects of

the causes treated of. But in general they leave their readers with the idea that, after all, this friction is but subordinate; that probably in the course of years it may be neglected; and, at any rate, that the causes assigned in the science of Political Economy, as they treat it, are the main and principal ones. Now, I hold that these causes are only the main ones in a single kind of society —a society of grown-up competitive commerce, such as we have in England; that it is only in such societies that the other and counteracting forces can be set together under the minor head of 'friction'; but that in other societies these other causes—in some cases one, and in some another—are the most effective ones, and that the greatest confusion arises if you try to fit on *un*economical societies the theories only true of, and only proved as to, economical ones. In my judgment, we need—not that the authority of our Political Economy should be impugned, but that it should be *minimised*; that we should realise distinctly where it is established and where not; that its sovereignty should be upheld, but its frontiers marked. And until this is done I am sure that there will remain the same doubt and hesitation in many minds about the science that there is now.'—'Economic Studies,' p. 16–17.

The easy transferability of labour and capital is pointed out, as underlying the reasonings of English economists. This condition is not present in all countries.

According to the Bluebook on Moral and Material Progress of India, for 1878–79, there are 30,000 natives working in the Bombay mills. There may be 10,000 more in other parts of India. There are also 134,000 working on the railways.

The above report says that year by year a large

number of cotton weavers is thrown on the land. The Indian Famine Commissioners write as follows (par. 103): "A main cause of the disastrous consequences of Indian famines, and one of the greatest difficulties in the way of providing relief in an effectual shape, is to be found in the fact that the great mass of the population directly depends on agriculture, and there is no other industry from which any considerable part of the community derives its support. The failure of the usual rain thus deprives the labouring class, as a whole, not only of the ordinary supplies of food obtainable at prices within their reach, but also of the sole employment by which they can earn the means of procuring it The complete remedy for this condition of things will be found only in the development of industries other than agriculture, and independent of the fluctuations of the seasons. With a population so dense as that of India, these considerations are of the greatest weight, and they are rendered still more serious by the fact that numbers who have no other employment than agriculture, are in large parts of the country greatly in excess of what is really required for the thorough cultivation of the land. So far as this is the case the result must be, that the part of the population which is in excess of the requirements of agriculture eats up the profits that would otherwise spring from the industry of the community. How many thousands of native weavers have been thrown on the land by Lancashire competition it is difficult to say; but there is no doubt that their number is yearly increasing, and the community has to support them in time of famine in return for cheaper cotton goods. Is this economy? If the natives were willing to migrate or emigrate, then free trade would be beneficial, but it has been thrust on the country irrespec-

tive of native ways, and of the difficulty of starting new industries. A dull monotony, varied by periodical famines, is becoming more and more the chief feature of India's economic life.' Our administration presupposes an ever-active intelligence, while we are destroying that variety of industry which nourishes it.

APPENDIX VII.

According to the last report on Indian railways the capital spent on guaranteed lines up to March 1879 is £96,725,679, and that on state lines up to October 1878 is £21,291,076. Of the former £43,874,346 have been withdrawn in England, £51,556,517 in India; of the latter £5,227,132 in England, and £16,063,944 in India. The gross receipts of the guaranteed railways during the last year were £9,503,721, their working expenses £4,501,693, and interest on capital, raised for the most part at 5 per cent., £4,708,134. There remained as surplus profits £293,894 to be divided between the State and the Companies.

Only three railways, the East Indian, the Great Indian Peninsula, and the Eastern Bengal, paid over their 5 per cent. interest; but their excess returns made up the deficiencies of the rest, so that now for two consecutive years the state has not had to pay any interest out of its ordinary revenues. But it must be remembered that war has aided the railways during the last year, as famine did in the previous one. The interest advanced by the State up to 1878 reached the enormous sum of £26,586,039. If this is added to the capital originally

borrowed, and 4½ per cent. is charged on it, there still remains an annual deficit of nearly one million sterling. The state railways, commenced in 1869, the capital for which has been raised at 4½ per cent., have never yet paid their interest. Their gross receipts are £901,032, working expenses £705,245, and net receipts £195,787,* to meet interest of between £800,000 and £900,000. The loss in interest up to 1878 was £2,221,343. Some of these railways are not yet completed, and it is hoped that they will in the future pay better; but at present they are very far from being a commercial success. It must, moreover, be pointed out that as the capital for guaranteed and state railways has for the most part been raised in gold, and the state has to pay in silver, when the rate of exchange is as low as it was a year ago, i.e. a rupee = 1*s.* 7¾*d.*, there is a loss of about 1 million sterling on the remittances for interest. In the present uncertainty of the silver market it is as well to remember this fact, which materially affects the success of railways.

A careful examination of the whole railway system of India shows that although the earliest lines are beginning to pay, yet the later ones are likely to be a heavy burden on the state for some time to come, if not for an indefinite period. The trade of the country does not give any signs of such a large expansion as would justify any further extension of the railway system. Since 1860 the trade of India has hardly doubled, while the miles of railway have increased from 626 to about 8,500. Although the passenger traffic is steadily in-

* This deficiency is this year nearly met by increased receipts from railways on account of war and purchase of East Indian Railway, but the latter entails outlay of £630,000.

creasing, thirty-eight and a half millions being conveyed in 1878, the goods traffic is uncertain from year to year.

The chairman of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, in his address on the half-yearly report in last June, said: 'Notwithstanding the opening up of the country by light railways and roads, and the increased facilities for bringing produce to market, I do not see in what particular direction we can look for any great increase to our exports; opium, rice, cotton, indigo, and jute seem to me to have attained their highest limit. Tea has decreased in total value and seeds cannot be relied on. Wheat, it was thought at one time, might become a large factor in the case; but I am afraid India cannot now compete with America in this article. Altogether the item in the budget of loss by exchange will, I fear, always be a serious one, and unless some strenuous effort is made to lessen the amount of the Secretary of State's drawings, it may well be that it will land the country eventually in a state of hopeless bankruptcy.' With such a prospect it would appear prudent to discontinue building any more railways, except perhaps those of a very light nature, for which local loans might be raised.

Of course it may be said that for strategical and famine purposes railways are invaluable. No one can deny the use of the four main lines, the East Indian, the Great Indian Peninsula, the Scinde, Punjab, and Delhi, and the Indus Valley, for the conveyance of troops and stores; but they seem quite sufficient for this object. And as regards the use of railways in times of famine, it must not be forgotten that they have had to be paid for out of taxation which has drained the country's resources, and that by the opening of markets the growth

of non-edible crops has been encouraged and the amount of grain produce has become less. In a time of dearth the railways may bring food; but the State gives the money. The question arises how far the latter has first helped to deplete the local stores, and whether the custom of storing grain in a country which is periodically visited by drought, is not on the whole the most economical way of providing against famine. Railways have equalised prices throughout India, but it is by levelling them up. The great rise in 20 years is chiefly due to the influx of silver for construction of railways. The logical result of our economic principles as applied to India is the starvation of the agricultural labourer and artisan. He finds prices rising out of proportion to his wages, which are kept down by excessive competition. It is absolutely ruinous for the State to spend £15,000,000 every ten years on famine relief, and yet this is what railways are bringing about under the pressure of public opinion in England. It would certainly seem cheaper for the Indian Government to begin at the other end, not the relief but the prevention of famine, and to pay a little more attention to what is done in the best-governed native states, as regards land revenue matters, the prevention of the indebtedness of the agriculturist, and the encouragement of well-building, &c. Less heroic and expensive methods are required. More ought to be done by the people and less for them, if we are not to demoralise the whole country. Prudential checks on population are discouraged by a haphazard revenue system.

APPENDIX VIII.

The Deccan Ryots Relief Bill, according to the summary given by Mr. Hope, secures—

(1) Precautions against fraud.

(2) The interposition of friendly conciliation between disputants previous to litigation.

(3) The approximation of courts to homes of the people.

(4) Simplification of procedure and diminution of expenses and technicalities.

(5) Equitable jurisdiction.

(6) Finality of judicial decisions.

(7) Prompt enforcement of decrees.

(8) Discharge of the debtor.

As cheap and easy justice has often been put forward as one of the advantages of English rule, it is well to listen to the opinion of the Deccan Riots Commission on this point:—'There is another cause which requires mention here as tending to make the action of the courts oppressive to debtors, namely, the high costs of suits. The costs of suits fall upon the debtors, and so long as they do not exceed the actual cost of the litigation of which the debtors are the cause, the charge is fair. But the income from the 88 subordinate courts last year was Rs. 16.89.744; while the expenditure on the courts, including the salaries of judges and all officers attached to the courts, was only Rs. 6.90.717. These courts thus yielded a net revenue of nearly ten lakhs of rupees. It is impossible to ascertain precisely how much of this surplus is absorbed in the support of the Appellate Courts. But we need not say that the object of courts

is not to yield a revenue, and it is plainly proper that any surplus that may be derived from them should be devoted to improving the administration of justice in them, and not to any other object. There appears reason to think that some of the miscellaneous court charges—such as fees for copying, costs in execution and attachment processes and the like—are unduly burdensome, and if this is the case they should be reduced.'

The Bombay High Court must have a very easy time, considering the number of its judges. The Punjab, with a population of seventeen millions, has only a Judicial Commissioner to constitute a High Court of Appeal; Bombay, with sixteen millions, has eight judges. Allowance being made for Bombay itself, it is difficult to see how there can be work for so many. As a fact, I found on inquiry at the court that off-days are very numerous. The Calcutta High Court has only eleven judges, and yet the population of Bengal and Assam is between sixty and seventy millions. Now that the Deccan Ryots Relief Bill has cut down some of the appellate work, there is still more reason for retrenchment in the outlay on the High Court.

APPENDIX IX.

'Speaking very broadly, it may be said that we found in Hindu law two leading principles, by no means easy to reconcile, but which the Hindus seem in practice to have reconciled: one, family or hereditary responsibility for debt; the other, the inalienability of family property, especially of land; in other words (again speaking broadly, for of course the Hindu law of inheritance and

the English law of entail have nothing but a result in common), a general law of entail. Our courts—not apt at reconciling opposed principles, and guided by English notions of justice—have in effect fully carried out the first of these principles and have superseded the second, and Hindu estates in land are therefore exposed to the dangers of the one and have lost the safeguard of the other.

'It may, of course, be said that this result was to be desired; that in England it has now been decided that the freest possible transfer of land is beneficial. But India is not England. In England a constant interchange of classes is going on. Partly from the love of the country, and of rural pursuits, which seems to be innate in the people; partly from the social consideration and political influence which the ownership of land gives; the ambition of the successful man of business is to found and to reside on an estate, and his energy, wealth, and intelligence often make him a better landlord than the man from whom he acquires it; while there are many trades and professions to which the family of the ruined landowner can betake themselves for support, and with fair prospects of success. In India it is not so. The landowner who has lost his estate sinks into abject poverty, embittered by the memory of the position he has lost, and, if a man of energy or influence, becomes politically dangerous. We know what discontent transfer of the rights of landowners to their tenants caused in Hindustan; how much greater is discontent likely to be where the change of ownership injures instead of benefiting the cultivator? The money-lender, on the other hand, who acquires the estate, though he likes the possession of land well enough, has no idea beyond that of getting all he can out of it, and would shrink with horror from the

notion of leaving the town life, the society of his caste-fellows, the business habits, and the round of petty gains to which he is accustomed in order to reside in solitary dignity in a remote village. Money-grubbing is the life of these people; to drive sharp bargains is their pleasure and glory; public opinion—except that of their own class, which is that to make money any how is creditable and that the mode in which it is made is amply atoned for by some act of showy liberality—has no influence over them; and they treat their tenants without scruple or remorse as they treat their debtors, as persons whom Providence and the *Sarkar* have delivered into their hands.

'As regards the peasant proprietors of Bombay, there are other noteworthy considerations.

'Speaking generally, when British rule succeeded to that of the Mahrattas in the Bombay Presidency, the land was the property of the State; the cultivators were tenants of Government, and very generally tenants-at-will. The British Government has deliberately divested itself of the ownership of the soil, and has transferred it to its tenants, in order to raise the status of the great and important cultivating class; to improve by the 'magic of property' the wretched Indian husbandry; to confer on the country generally the advantages which economists believe to attend the system of peasant proprietorship.* It is surely intolerable that this measure—one, I believe, of the wisest and most successful ever carried out by an Indian Government—should be rendered nugatory by the diversion to another class, totally unconnected with the

* The Bombay ryot with an erratic land tax is not at all a peasant proprietor. A permanent settlement *made with the cultivators* has yet to be tried in India.

soil, of the gift which Government made to the cultivators, and that the latter, instead of being, as they were meant to be, owners of their holding, subject to a moderate and fixed assessment, or, as they were, tenants of a Government who at least endeavoured to act towards them with justice and liberality, should become cottier tenants-at-will, or something lower, of hard and grasping landlords.

'For it cannot be too clearly understood that only in the dream of a visionary will the English agricultural system of large landlords, capitalists, farmers of large farms, and peasant labourers for wage, ever be substituted for the *petite culture* of India. Happen what will, each ryot will till his petty holding, but he may be, as we have made him in Bombay, its proprietor; he may be, as in the North-West, a member of a proprietary cultivating community; he may be, as in Rajputana, the customary tenant of an hereditary lord; or he may be, as I fear he is becoming, the predial serf of a money-lender. That the operations of the civil courts are now assisting this result may be judged of by the fact that there were in 1872 over 18,000 sales of immoveable property (lands and houses) in execution of decrees in the Regulation Districts of Bombay against less than 6,000 of moveable property.'

Quoted by the Deccan Commission from a pamphlet by Mr. Pedder, late of the Bombay Civil Service, and now Secretary of the Revenue Department in the India Office.

APPENDIX X.

During Sir H. Maine's tenure of office (1862–69) the chief Bills were those relating to 'Works of Public Utility by Private Companies, Articles of War (native), Breaches of Trust, a number of Bills for the control of High Courts in the Presidency and other towns, Municipal Assessment, the Law of Divorce, Treaties, Imprisonment of Convicts, Civil Justice in various parts, Stamp Duties, Oudh Claims, Bank Receipts, Bill relating to Foreigners, Coolie Emigration, French Bank Bill, Tolls and Port Dues; Customs, a Whipping Bill, Official Trustees, Military Cantonments, Municipal Bills, Small Cause Courts, Magistrates' Courts, Registration of Assurances, Remarriage of Native Converts, Oaths of Justice, &c., Akbar Acts, Civil Procedure, Criminal Jurisdiction, Civil Code, Ceded Lands, &c., Government Forests, Administration of Estates, the Succession and Inheritance of Parsees, Partnership, Indian Companies, Pleaders' Bill, Summary Proceedings on Bills of Exchange, Recorders' Bill, on the Manufacture and Sale of Arms, Assam Tea Company, Execution of Process, Religious Endowments, Mortgagees and Trustees' Property, Removal of Prisoners, Horse-racing, Public Gambling, Escaped Convicts, Presidency Gaols, Murderous Outrages, Madras Salt, Oudh Rent, European Vagrancy, Contagious Diseases, Principal Sudr Amins and Munsifs (Judges), Oudh Talookdars, Native Marriages not Christian, Punjab Tenancy, Lock Hospitals, and others.' This list I have taken from Mr. J. Routledge's *English Rule and Native Opinion in India.*

Some of these Bills, especially those relating to

divorce and marriage, excited great alarm in the native mind.

Sir James Stephen's (1869–1872) chief measures were the Amended Penal Code, the Limitation Act, the Evidence Act, the Contract Act, the Criminal Procedure Code, Acts relating to the Civil Courts of Bengal, Oudh, and Burmah, the Punjab Code, the Punjab Drainage and Canal Act, the Land Acquisition Act, the Hindoo Wills Act, the Native Marriage Act, besides the consolidation of many previously existing Regulations, and various political Acts, such as those for Local cesses and Income Tax. This list is taken chiefly from Mr. Hunter's *Life of Lord Mayo.*

APPENDIX XI.

The various changes made in direct taxation during the last twenty years may be seen in the following list:—

1860. Income-tax of 3 per cent.
1861. License-tax.
1863. Income-tax reduced.
1866. The previous Acts came to an end.
1867–8. License-tax for all India (1) on incomes as low as 200 rupees, (2) on minimum of 500.
1869. Income-tax of 1–2½ per cent.
1870. New Income-tax of 3 per cent.
1871. Further changes made in its assessment.
1872. The minimum was raised.
1873. It expired.
1877. A license-tax.

1879. Changes made in Bengal.

1880. The minimum raised to 500 rupees.

When it is remembered that all these changes have been made within twenty years, and every method tried to get at fair assessments, it is not surprising that natives are very shy of showing any signs of wealth. They are not likely to invest in State loans or spend any money on agricultural improvements, such as wells, when they know that the Government official has his eye on them. The agriculturist has, under the License-tax Act, been taxed as a grain-dealer. He has also the land-cess to pay.

'The primitive notion of taxation is, that when a Government sees much money, it should take some of it, and if it sees more money it should take more of it.' This remark of W. Bagehot is fully substantiated by the policy of the Indian Government. If, under native rule, the trader was to be taxed, the custom was to levy a lump sum on each bazaar and let the tradesmen settle it among themselves. But we are above sending the hat round.

APPENDIX XII.

On the 4th of October, 1877, the Government of the North-West Provinces and Oudh reported as follows to the Government of India, 'on the condition and agricultural prospects' of the provinces under its administration: 'Since the latter date (September 11) there has been no rain anywhere, and the whole of the provinces has been devastated by a hot dry wind. . . . The consequences of this disastrous failure of the usual rains are most deplorable for man and beast. The full effect cannot yet

be determined; but it is now certain that in Meerut, Agra, Rohilkhund, Sitapur, and Lucknow divisions, and in parts of the Allahabad, Jhansi, Rae-Bareli, and Fyzabad divisions the unirrigated crops are entirely destroyed. In Benares and greater part of Allahabad and Fyzabad it was hoped, after the rain of the 10th and 11th, that from five to eight annas (i.e a third to one-half) would be saved; but these hopes it is now known cannot be realised. The hot wind that has raged since the 11th has irretrievably damaged much that survived, and threatens to destroy all. A speedy fall of rain would save some; and in part of the Jhansi division there is also a little which is not yet utterly ruined. . . . The general result is as stated above, that, except in parts of Benares, Fyzabad, and Allahabad, the outturn of the unirrigated *Kharif* (i.e. cold-weather crop) will be *nil*. Unfortunately, the area of irrigated *Kharif* is very small. . . . Food grains and fodder are generally grown on lands that depend on the periodical rainfall, and at the sowing season the cultivators could not foresee the terrible drought that was to prevail, and did not avail themselves of canal water for this class of crop. . . One of the most deplorable consequences of the failure of the *Kharif* is the inevitable great mortality among cattle for want of fodder, and that too at a time when the need for well irrigation is most pressing. . . . Loss of cattle from starvation has been reported, and there is no means of providing sustenance for them. . . . It has been with some certainty ascertained that what grain there is in the provinces is chiefly in the hands of dealers, and that the stocks held by cultivators and others are low. . . . Prices are now in the worst places more than double what they were three months ago. They verge on famine rates.'

A week later the Local Government made the following appeal to the Government of India: 'The Lieutenant-Governor is well aware of the straits to which the Government of India is put at the present time for money, and it is with the utmost reluctance that he makes a report which must necessarily temporarily add to their burdens. But he sees no other course to adopt. If the village communities who form the great mass of our revenue-payers be pressed now, they will simply be ruined, whereas, if we allow temporary suspension there is every reason to believe that by the end of the agricultural year we shall recover all that we forego now, from the proceeds of the additional area which the people will be able to bring under cultivation in consequence of the *Kharif* not having been sown, and the land being available for the spring sowings. But, if we press for immediate payment, the people will not have the means of doing this, and they will be reduced to such a state that the rabi (i.e. the spring) instalments themselves will only be realised with difficulty.' These statements are taken from an article written by Col. R. D. Osborn in the *Contemporary Review* of February, 1880. The extracts from official documents have not been disputed.

According to the Indian Famine Commission's Report, 'about a quarter of the land revenue (or 46 lakhs of rupees) was suspended at the end of 1877, but when the spring harvest turned out a good one, the Government ordered the arrears to be got in as far as possible, and by the time the autumn crop was ripe the collection was deficient by about 12 lakhs only' (46 lakhs are not $\frac{1}{4}$, but $\frac{1}{6}$th of 280 lakhs). The excess number of deaths is calculated at 1,250,000. 'Small-pox, fever, and bowel diseases were the chief registered causes, and these epi-

demics were extremely virulent, but doubtless a large portion of the deaths was due to the pressure of want.'

I have shown in the text that the Government of these Provinces admits in its report that the suspensions were not sufficient, and it is obvious from the Commission's report that arrears were very soon collected. Colonel Osborn further quotes from Auckland Colvin, late Collector of Bijnour, and now in the service of the Khedive of Egypt, as saying that in spite of the relief afforded by the suspension of half the demand in his district, 'money had to be borrowed on a large scale at a high rate of interest, and much jewellery was sold or pawned. Registered deeds show a very heavy increase, and so do transfers of property. A calamity such as that of 1877–78, partial though it was, guts a district, embarrasments have been renewed or created, which will never be cleared off.'

When I was in these Provinces, I certainly found it to be the general opinion that there had been great distress caused by the collection of land-revenue.

The famine was not really over till the autumn, and yet arrears were collected after the spring harvest. 'The spring harvest,' write the Famine Commissioners, 'again offered employment in March 1878, and the people left the relief works in large crowds *to return again in May, and to increase in numbers and despondency*, as the rains again showed signs of holding off in June and July. In August, however, there was a plentiful downfall, which secured the (i.e. autumn) harvest. . . . . The highest number on relief works was in August, 126,800, and in the same month the number in the poor-houses also reached its maximum of 26,350.' It is also stated (para. 60), the calamitous season of 1877 was accom-

panied by an extremely high range of prices over all India, due partly to the deficient harvest, and partly to the reduction of the food stock through export from the Northern Provinces to the South and to Europe."

The railways paid splendidly with all this traffic in grain, first southwards and then northwards, but the people died. There are two lines of railway running through the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, so that more railways would not appear to meet the difficulty.

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