LORD CURZON'S ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA

WHAT HE PROMISED; WHAT HE PERFORMED.

By

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BOMBAY:

PRINTED AT THE TIMES PRESS,

1905.

PREFACE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I feel great diffidence in asking Your Excellency to accept this little book, which attempts a very imperfect review (by a Mahomedan) of the administration of the last seven years; but when I recently saw an accusation made in some Bengal and Lucknow newspapers, that Your Excellency was wanting in *sympathy* for the people, I felt myself compelled to publish what I believe to be the feelings of the great majority of the people of India, and, most emphatically of those with whom I have been associated.

In the belief that what is said in the following pages represents a sincere though perhaps inadequate appreciation of Your Excellency's administration, and in the hope that Your Excellency will not leave India under the impression that the great majority of the Indian peoples, and Mahomedans especially, are guilty of ingratitude.

I subscribe myself,

with great respect,

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

SYED SIRDAR ALI KHAN.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

A hundred years ago a great Governor-General left India under circumstances somewhat similar to those under which another, even greater Viceroy and Governor-General, is now leaving. I use the comparative degree, because the conquests of the Marquess of Wellesley were those of War, whilst the victories achieved by Lord Curzon have been those of Peace. The first five years of the great Marquess' term of office were distinguished by a series of brilliant victories which filled the whole of India with admiration and fear. A further extension of office was granted to him in order that he might finish what he had so gloriously commenced, but at its very commencement there occurred a temporary check, which so filled the Directors in England with alarm that they suddenly recalled the man who had been the first to consolidate the scattered portions of the British Empire in India, and to bring them, as it were,

into a ring-fence. In a similar way the first years of Lord Curzon's office produced a series of brilliant peaceful triumphs, in spite of such potent enemies as Plague and Famine. To use his own words, almost every department in India was placed on the anvil and there tested, and, wherever a flaw was discovered, a remedy was applied. To the memory of the beloved Empress, who had passed to her well-earned rest, he commenced the erection of a monument which, when finished, will rank with the stately edifices not only of India but of the world; and to commemorate the accession of her revered son, our present Emperor, he held one of the most gorgeous pageants that even this country, accustomed as it had been to the magnificence of its rulers, has ever seen. To Lord Curzon was also given an extension to enable him to complete what he had so brilliantly commenced, and then, only a few short months after his return, a crisis occurred which compelled him to lay down his office, his task still uncompleted, rather than be the instrument of carrying out a policy which he deemed to be unconstitutional and opposed to the true interests of the country. In other words, he sacrificed himself and his ambitions on the altar of duty.

It would be absurd for me to say that Lord Curzon leaves India a popular man. It is impossible that a reformer of his stamp could be popular. I believe it was Lord Beaconsfield who once said: "Show me a popular Viceroy and I will show you a weak one." But, popular or unpopular, I think that I am merely voicing the opinion of the whole of India, of his friends as well as of his enemies, when I say that he leaves amidst a general feeling of sympathy for a career so suddenly cut short, of approval for his having maintained his self-respect even at the sacrifice of office, and of admiration of the brilliant talents he has displayed and of the devotion he has shown to work. Shall I be deemed impertinent if I venture to hint that in these respects Lord Curzon's conduct shows a very marked contrast to that of the Home Government which has been the direct cause of his return?

It is not my wish to enter into the arena of controversy, but in giving a short summary of Lord Curzon's administration, I wish to point out how far he has fulfilled the promises that he held out at the commencement of his term of office and for what special acts he deserves to be remembered

with gratitude by the Indian community in general and by the Mahomedans in particular.

1. *Lord Curzon's personality.*—There is, I think, no instance on record of an Indian Viceroy having shown such a desire to bring himself into personal contact with every branch of the administration, with every province, and with every race and denomination of the three hundred millions over whom he has held supreme control. He has visited every portion of this large Peninsula and made the personal acquaintance of almost every Prince and Chief. Plague or famine, heat or rain, have not kept him back, and wherever he has gone he has shown to the people the personal interest which he takes in their affairs and in their welfare. In one of his earlier speeches he said that he wished, as far as possible, to associate the Chiefs of the different States with himself in the government of the country, and this he has most certainly done. It may safely be said that in every independent State that he has visited, Lord Curzon has left behind him a devoted adherent and an attached friend. In every town that he has halted at, he has left the impress of his individuality, some word or some action for which he will be remembered in

after years. But this stamp of an individuality has been left not only upon persons but upon affairs. Dr. Johnson's epitaph on Goldsmith, when translated, runs: "There is nothing that he touched that he did not adorn." Of Lord Curzon it might well be said: "He touched everything and upon everything he left his mark." Upon every question he formed an independent judgment of his own, and no one could complain that the supreme ruler of the State had not given his affairs full and ample consideration. And this is the kind of ruler best suited to an oriental people. We natives of India are loyal at heart to the decisions of our rulers. What we want to be sure of is that our case has been fully gone into and has been decided upon its merits. Of course, I am aware that there are many now-a-days who will not take "no" for an answer, and, disregarding all reason and all argument, will insist that their view is the right one. No doubt the number of these persons is yearly increasing, but they do not represent the vast body of Indians, whether Hindus, Mahomedans or Parsis. What, in my opinion, has tended most to enlist the sympathies of most men towards Lord Curzon's administration is that for whatever he did he always gave good reasons. Every argument

was noticed and answered. Not always favourably, that of course it is impossible to expect, but during the last seven years we have all been witnesses of the fact that our Viceroy condescended to argue with us even on questions of the very highest policy. I will take one instance from many others that could be cited. In December 1900 a number of retired Government officials, all of whom had held high and honourable positions in the Government services, addressed a memorial to the Viceroy through the Secretary of State regarding the relation of famines to the incidence of revenue upon the ryots. In this memorial assertions were made and suggestions offered which seemed reasonable. Lord Curzon at once met the memorial in the proper way. He referred it to every Provincial Government for report. Less he might have done; more he could not do. On the exhaustive reports that followed, he gave a final decision in which he showed conclusively that loss from famine had nothing whatsoever to do with the incidence of taxation, that the unanimous reports from the various Governments showed that the recommendation of the memorialists had already been anticipated, and finally laid down specific and liberal rules for future settlements, which left

no possible doubt as to what the wishes of the Government of India were. With the subsequent discussion, in which Mr. Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E., has been a prominent mover, I have nothing to do. I am not an expert, nor am I personally interested in agricultural questions. The point I wish to make is that on receipt of a memorial from private individuals, putting forward an ostensible grievance, Lord Curzon at once made it a subject of official enquiry, and upon receipt of the different reports himself drew up the reply. Every sentence of that long and dignified answer bears the mark of the Viceroy's personality, and it was altogether of so crushing a nature that the memorialists, with one exception, that of Mr. R. C. Dutt, have not ventured to re-open the attack. Lord Curzon showed conclusively that the incidence of taxation is not the cause of famine; that the permanent settlement in Bengal is not the cause of that Province's comparative immunity; that the tendency of the Government has been towards the reduction and not towards the increase of taxation; that most of the suggestions made by the memorialists had already been anticipated, and finally laid down such broad and liberal principles for future settlements as can leave no possible

room for complaints of this kind in time to come. Into the merits of this controversy I do not propose to enter, and I have only alluded to it in order to show how ready Lord Curzon has shown himself to meet his opponents on their own ground and to make their grievances the subject of a searching enquiry. Nor am I alone in this estimate of Lord Curzon's accessibility. I take this opportunity of quoting from a speech of one of the most enlightened of our Hindu princes. "We have never had a Viceroy so anxious to learn the real wishes of the children of the soil, so scrupulous in giving a patient hearing to their grievances, so full of schemes, for the development of the Empire, so firmly resolved to leave India, at the conclusion of his term of office, a better, more contented, and a more prosperous country than he found it." If other proof were needed of the appreciation of the people of Lord Curzon's interest in their welfare, it would be found in the hundreds of telegrams that have poured in upon him from all quarters since the news of his retirement has been published. Cynics may perhaps sneer at these messages of sympathy as being merely evidence of an Oriental desire to please and to find favour in the eyes of a great man. I

have little doubt that I too may be made the subject of such a reproach, but I would point out that this homage has been paid not to the rising, but to the setting, sun, from which no future marks of favour can be expected. No! these expressions of sympathy are spontaneous and sincere, and are a proof of how deeply the departing Viceroy has left the impress of his individuality upon the great mass of the people he has ruled for the last seven years.

CHAPTER II.

LORD CURZON'S PREPARATION.

FEW Viceroys have gone through so thorough a preparation for the high post as Lord Curzon. First of all at Eton, and afterwards at Balliol, he stood in the front rank of the new generation. He was not satisfied with taking a high degree, but he was a double prize-man and eventually a Fellow of All Souls. He was one of the most prominent members of the Union Debating Club, of which, in course of time, he became President. After leaving the University he commenced a long series of travels in the East, visiting Central Asia, Persia, Afghanistan, the Pamirs, Siam, Indo-China and Korea. Here he acquired a knowledge of Eastern countries and people, which has been possessed by no previous Viceroy. At the age of 29 he published his first book, "Russia in Central Asia," which met with such success that the *London Times* sent him in the same year as its correspondent to Persia. The book, which

was the result of this journey and which was published three years later, has now become a classic. It was at this time that he studied the conditions of the Persian Gulf and of the various questions which are so intimately connected with India and so vitally affect her future. He became personally acquainted with the Shah of Persia, and afterwards with the late Amir of Afghanistan, Abdul Rahman Khan. The latter Prince gives an interesting sketch of the future Viceroy in his autobiography and appears to have been greatly struck by "the very genial, hard-working, well-informed, experienced, and ambitious young man." In this one sentence the Amir has put his finger upon the predominant points of Lord Curzon's character, and it shows what a shrewd observant man the late Amir was. The visit was, of course, an unofficial one, but Amir Abdul Rahman Khan says that he discussed with his guest all the important affairs of his Government and especially the north-west frontier of Afghanistan and his successor to the throne. It was the experience gained from so important an authority that induced Lord Curzon to afterwards form the new frontier Province and to send the Dane Mission to Amir Abdul Rahman's successor. In the meantime Lord

Curzon had entered Parliament, where, as in every other position, he at once made his mark. His first appointment was that of Assistant Private Secretary to Lord Salisbury, after which he became Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He thus gained an experience not only of Indian questions but of the complicated politics of Europe and of the world generally. I have now arrived at the time when Lord Curzon was appointed Viceroy of India. He had for 12 years been a member of Parliament, and brilliant though his career had been, this appointment took every one by surprise. But the then Premier of England was a keen judge of men. He had been in a position to recognise the qualifications of his former Private Secretary, and in spite of his comparative youth, or perhaps rather because of it, he saw in him a fit representative of the Empress of India, and one possessed of the ability, the youth and the energy to promote the imperialistic ideas which have formed the distinguishing mark of the great party that has been at the Head of the British Government for the last 10 years. The British public was not slow to recognise the wisdom of this choice. The ruling spirits of the politics of the day were mostly young men and

this was especially the case in India. Of these young men Lord Curzon had undoubtedly the most brilliant reputation, and what more fitting man could be found to sway the destinies of the great Indian Empire? Probably few Viceroys have left England amidst so universal a chorus of congratulations. At a dinner given to him before he left London by his old Etonian school-fellows he quoted the words of Carlyle, which applied with singular felicity to himself: "I have sometimes thought what a thing it would be could the Queen in Council pick out some gallant-minded, stout cadet, and say to him, 'Young fellow, if these do lie in your potentialities of governing, of gradually guiding, leading and coercing to a noble goal, how sad it is they should be all lost. See I have scores on scores of colonies. One of these you shall have as Vice-king. Go you and buckle with it in the name of Heaven, and let us see what you will build it to.'"* In this same speech Lord Curzon gave to his hearers his conception of what a Viceroy should be and at the same time sketched out a programme of the work he had set himself to accomplish.

* I am indebted to Mr. Lipsett's appreciative little book on Lord Curzon for this quotation, and take this opportunity of expressing the obligation I am under.

"It is his duty first and foremost to represent the authority of the Queen-Empress, whose name, revered more than the name of any other living Sovereign by all races and classes from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, is in India both a bond of union and the symbol of power; and to associate with the personal attributes that cling about that name the conviction that the justice of her Government is inflexible, that its honor is stainless, and that its mercy is in proportion to its strength. Secondly, he should try to remember that all those people are not the sons of our own race, or creed or clime, and that it is only by regard to their feeling, by respect for their prejudices—I will even go so far as to say by deference to their scruples—that we can obtain the acquiescence as well as the submission of the governed. Thirdly, his duty is to recognise that, though relatively far advanced in the scale of civilisation compared with the time of Lord Wellesley, or even Lord Canning, India is still but ill-equipped with the national and industrial resources which are so necessary to her career, and so to work that she may by slow but sure degrees expand to the full measure of her growth. And lastly it is to preserve intact and secure either from internal convulsion, or external inroad the bound-

aries of that great and Imperial dominion." This therefore was the first outline of Lord Curzon's policy, and I shall show further on how it developed.

Here in Bombay Lord Curzon together with the beautiful and gracious lady, who accompanied him, were received with a universal acclamation of joy and of hope. Here again I will venture to reproduce some of the remarks which the new Viceroy made in reply to the address presented to him by the Corporation. After stating that it would be premature to give a detailed forecast of the policy he intended to follow, he quoted the saying of another great Englishman sent out on a mission of importance "that he went to hold the scales even" and then went on to say such might be no contemptible motto for a Viceroy of India. "For with what a mosaic of nationalities and interests he is confronted, with his own country men, few in number and scattered far and wide under a trying climate in a foreign land and with the manifold races and beliefs, so composite and yet so divergent, of the indigenous population in its swarming and ever multiplying millions. To hold the scales even under such conditions is a

task that calls indeed for supple fingers and for nerves of steel."

Further on as regards the future he said :—

"No one could be more conscious than myself that the verdict to be passed upon my administration depends not upon glittering promise or fair prophecy now, but upon actual performance later on. The time for rejoicing is not when a man putteth on his armour, but when he taketh it off. I thank you for your friendly greeting, because no man can be insensible to the encouragement of a generous welcome. But I shall be tenfold better pleased, if when I weigh anchor from these shores and when all eyes are turned towards my successor, any of you who are now present can come forward truthfully to testify that during my time I have done something if it even be but little, for this land, which next to my own country is nearest to my heart."

In a few days' time we shall assemble, after a period not of five years but of seven has elapsed, in order to bid him farewell, and I may therefore be pardoned if I take this opportunity of passing in review the principal subjects which have been

dealt with during his time of office. I propose first of all to quote his own words of promise and then to deal with his performance so as to remind my countrymen on the eve of his departure of the words which he addressed to them seven years ago on his arrival.

It took some time before Lord Curzon could personally satisfy himself as to the subjects which required to be taken in hand, and this time was occupied in travelling about the country and in consultation with his different Lieutenants.

Already in his first Budget speech, two years previously, Lord Curzon had said that there were twelve subjects which he intended to take in hand, but had not particularised them. There had been some speculation as to what they were, and in 1901 he enumerated them. They were as follows :—

1. A stable frontier policy.
2. Creation of a new frontier province.
3. A reform of the transfer and leave rules in the Indian Civil Service.
4. A diminution of report writing.
5. A stable rate of exchange in the currency system.

6. Encouragement of irrigation.
7. Increase of railways.
8. A cure for agricultural indebtedness.
9. Reduction of the telegraph rate between India and Europe.
10. Preservation of archæological remains.
11. Educational reform.
12. Police reform.

I may perhaps be allowed to make a few remarks about this Budget speech which excited a considerable amount of interest at the time. It was the first occasion on which it had been possible to announce a substantial surplus. The almost nominal surplus which had been provided for by Sir Edward Law's predecessor had been turned into the very satisfactory one of nearly $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions sterling. Lord Curzon without venturing to prophecy as regards the future, spoke of the position as hopeful and said that without "dogmatising," "I think that if we examine our main sources of revenue and note their steady increase, we may feel some confidence that barring the recurrence of disasters, which are beyond our foresight or control, India has already begun to tread upon a brighter

and happier path way." That he was fully justified in this confidence has been proved by the results of the years that have since passed, each one constituting, in fact, a record that has broken the previous ones.

As regards the several subjects which on this occasion Lord Curzon announced would "be placed on the anvil" and tested, I shall deal with them in detail, but it seems necessary that I should here point out the extreme caution and deliberation with which Lord Curzon has approached each of the problems he has endeavoured to solve. Two years previously he had announced generally that there were twelve subjects he intended to take in hand. He allowed two years to elapse before he actually did so, or nearly half the appointed period of his Viceroyalty, and only then, when he had fully acquainted himself with the necessity of the work, did he set the machinery in motion which was to carry it out. These two years formed the time of preparation, and it cannot therefore be said that any of his great reforms has been introduced hastily. This however was only the first step, there were still others to be taken before a reform could be

introduced or even outlined. The two years that had passed since his arrival in India had been occupied in preparing the ground.

The direction which each enquiry should take had thus been settled, and the plan of campaign had been marked out. In order that the investigation might be as complete and exhaustive as possible, the co-operation of skilled officials, and in many cases of unofficials, was obtained, and Commissions were sent to travel throughout India to collect information from every possible source. The widest publicity was given to these investigations and every one pretending to any knowledge regarding the different subjects was invited to give evidence. When this evidence had been collected, the Commission proceeded to draft its report. These reports again were submitted to the various local Governments for their suggestions, and it was only after receipt of these that the final resolution was drawn up. It can scarcely be said that a more exhaustive process of collecting opinion could have been devised in a country where there is no such thing as a Parliamentary Government. Every possible precaution appears to have been taken to arrive at the truth and to consult the interests,

and as far as possible the feelings of the country generally; and the various resolutions have been arrived at after hearing every side of the different questions raised. Where so many drastic reforms were required, and the sequel will show how drastic some of them had to be, it was not to be supposed that every body would be pleased. Such malcontents have not been wanting, and when raising their angry protests have not hesitated to impute unworthy motives and ulterior designs, but we others, who are prepared to give him credit for honesty of purpose and have been witnesses of the thoroughness of his research, are willing to believe that what has been resolved upon in the best interests of the country and of the people, will ultimately conduce to their well-being.

CHAPTER III.

INDIA'S PLACE IN THE EMPIRE.

In his speach at the Guildhall in July of last year Lord Curzon himself sketched the position which India fills in the British Empire, and the part which she has to play in the relations of the Empire to other countries. I cannot therefore do better than reproduce his own words on that occasion as showing the task that he had set before him to perform before I say a few words regarding the manner in which it has been accomplished.

"If you want to save your Colony of Natal from being overrun by a formidable enemy, you ask India for help, and she gives it; if you want to rescue the white men's legations from massacre at Peking, and the need is urgent, you request the Government of India to despatch an expedition, and they despatch it; if you are fighting the mad Mullah in Somaliland, you soon discover that

Indian troops and an Indian General are best qualified for the task, and you ask the Government of India to send them; if you desire to defend any of your extreme outposts or coaling stations of the Empire, Aden, Mauritius, Singapore, Hong-kong, even Tien-tsin or Shan-hai-kwan, it is to the Indian Army that you turn; if you want to build a railway to Uganda or in the Soudan, you apply for Indian labour. When the late Mr. Rhodes was engaged in developing your recent acquisition of Rhodesia, he came to me for assistance. It is with Indian coolie labour that you exploit the plantations equally of Demerara and Natal; with Indian trained officers that you irrigate Egypt and dam the Nile; with Indian Forest Officers that you tap the resources of Central Africa and Siam; with Indian Surveyors that you explore all the hidden places of the earth."

In addition to the foregoing the Viceroy also alluded to "the perpetual and harrassing anxiety of a land frontier 5,700 miles in length, peopled by hundreds of different tribes, most of them inured to religious fanaticism and hereditary rapine." It is the safe-guarding of this frontier that is one of the Indian Viceroy's chief duties. We, here, in the

midst of India, living in security under the protection of British rule, have learned during the last hundred years to forget the anarchy and desolation which swept over the country in the tracks of the marauding armies of Indian Princes. Because, here, around us reigns the Pax Britannica there has arisen a party which exclaims: 'Why spend millions upon an army which is not required? Reduce the military expenditure and relieve the overtaxed ryot.' But they forget that beyond that frontier wall, extending over 5,700 miles and vulnerable by land and by sea, there are rival nations, great powers who have long been jealous of England's possession of this great Empire, and who would only too gladly take her place. The great military forces of India are no longer required for internal defence. One State has not to be protected against the other. Where a hundred years ago a regiment was required, all that is now wanted is a small body of policemen. The danger is no longer in the interior but on the frontier, and as each year the prosperity of the country goes on increasing, so does that danger increase, and the bait become more tempting. One of the most important of the Viceroy's duties is, therefore, the regulation of her frontier defence. As

regards the frontier by land it is often urged that India possesses a natural and almost impregnable boundary of huge mountains, and that as long as her army remains quietly behind this barrier, it would be impossible for any foreign foe to attack her. On the other hand the advocates of the so-called Forward Policy maintain that we should push our front line beyond these mountains, for fear that the Power whose approach is gradual but ceaseless, should absorb the States which now form a buffer between India and herself, and thus making her frontier conterminous with our own, should be in a position to excite the restless and turbulent hill tribes against us, and, with their aid, should march through the few passes and establish herself on this side, so that with her communications in the rear left open she would be continually receiving reinforcements and be able to establish herself in a position from which it would be difficult, if not impossible, to expel her. For the last fifty years our relations with these hill tribes had been a constant source of trouble. Scarcely a year passed without a punitive expedition being sent against one or the other of them, and it was in following out a too aggressive forward policy that on more than one occasion India

has become involved in war with Afghanistan, the State of all others which, if friendly to us, would form a most effectual buffer to any Russian advance. The policy adopted by Lord Curzon has none of the defects of either system. Refraining from any meddlesome interference with the Ruler of Afghanistan, he formed with the late Amir, and has since renewed with his son and successor, a friendly alliance; and, so as to conciliate the border tribes, he has detached all that portion which they inhabit, and has formed it into a separate province, the head of which is in direct communication with the Viceroy himself, and whose subordinates are men especially selected for their knowledge of the languages and customs of the tribes. Instead of overawing them by detached outposts and threatening garrisons, they have been induced to form themselves into a militia officered and disciplined by Europeans. Thus their fighting instincts have been made use of for the maintenance of peace and security. For more than thirty years the proposal to create a separate frontier province has been under discussion, but has always been shelved. It has remained for Lord Curzon to take the decisive step, and, as far as can be judged after the lapse of four years, with the

happiest results. The period since the introduction of this change has been one of peace and quiet, and these restless tribes are gradually being accustomed to the habits of civilization, and are being trained to become a line of defence instead of, as heretofore, an element of danger and aggression.

In the meantime, under the military organiser, Lord Kitchener, the whole of the interior defence arrangements are being revolutionized. Instead of a number of comparatively small and scattered garrisons, they are being concentrated and moved up towards the frontier, with every point of which they will be placed in touch by means of the strategical railways, so that long before a hostile army could reach one of the vulnerable portions of the frontier barrier there will be an overwhelming force at hand to meet it. For many hundreds of years India has been the goal which other nations have sought to reach. It was in the search of the easiest way to reach India that almost all of the hitherto unknown parts of the world have been discovered, and it is not to be expected that with the increase of prosperity she should become less

desirable. Now that Russia has been cut off from the outlet in the Far East, it is more than probable that she will cast her eyes towards some port from which India would be accessible, and the natural object of her striving will be the Persian Gulf. But in this direction the result of Lord Curzon's policy has been to show her, and other European nations, that India is determined that British influence in the Persian Gulf shall be predominant. So much for the North and North-Western Frontier. Towards the North-East it became necessary to teach Monk-ridden Thibet a lesson. It was Thibet, that nineteen years ago took the offensive, and made a raid into British territory, and since then it has been Thibet, that has neglected to observe her treaty engagements, and whilst refusing to hold any communication with India, or even to receive letters from the representative of the Emperor of India, entered into relations with another Great Power, situated at a great distance, and whose steady advance towards our frontier has been a constant source of alarm. Lord Curzon said at the Guildhall last year, in reference to this subject,—"I was sent to India, amongst other objects, to guard the frontier of India and I have done it. I was not sent there to

let a hostile danger and menace grow up just beyond our gates, and I have done my best to prevent it. There are people at home so full of knowledge that they assure us that all these fears were illusory, and that we could with dignity and prudence have gone on turning our other cheek to the Thibetan Smiter. These fears were not illusory. The danger was imminent and real. Perhaps the Frontier States may be taken to know something about it, and if we have, as we have never had before, the Frontier States of Nepal and Sikkim and Bhutan, the majority of them, allied by religious and racial affinities to Thibet, all supporting our action and deploring the folly and obstinacy of the Thibetan Government, there must be strong *prima facie* ground that we were not mistaken in our views." There are unfortunately people in India who also denounce the Tibetan expedition as one of needless aggression, but I do not think that this is a feeling shared by Mahomedans at all events. It has never been one of the traditions of our race that the ruler of a great country should tamely suffer an indignity or an affront, and although it may suit the more effeminate inhabitants of Bengal to clamour for a 'peace at any price' policy, our sympathies will always

be with the Viceroy who was ready to uphold the dignity of the Empire that was entrusted to his charge. So much for Lord Curzon's frontier policy, and I think there can be few right-minded men who will not admit that in this respect at all events he is leaving India safer from attack than he found her seven years ago. And now a few words regarding India's position towards the outer world. It was the great Lord Beaconsfield who first conceived the idea of utilizing Indian troops as an important factor in European politics by despatching a force of native regiments to garrison Cyprus. Since then Indian troops have served with distinction on many a battlefield. More especially has this been the case during the time of Lord Curzon's reign. It was the prompt despatch, at a few days' notice, of 8,000 European troops from India that practically saved the Colony of Natal from being over-run by the enemy when the Boer war first broke out. This could not have been done unless by unceasing care and supervision every regiment had not been kept in a high state of preparedness and efficiency. Altogether, whilst the war lasted no less that 13,000 European soldiers were sent from India to take part in the war, and it says a great deal for the loyalty of India and

for the affection of the people towards their ruler that no one ever dreamt of taking advantage of this reduction in her strength. On the contrary, every one was only too eager to be allowed to take a share in the defence of the threatened colony. As a native of India I may perhaps be allowed to express a regret that native troops were not allowed to take a share in this expedition. For various reasons, however, it was decided that this should be a *sahib's* war, and so my compatriots were not allowed an opportunity of showing the stuff that they were made of. That a similar prohibition will be made in the future I can scarcely believe, and should the chance again occur, I feel no doubt that the Indian troops will show themselves to be fully equal to their European comrades not only in valour but also in discipline and self-restraint.

Then, again, there was the expedition to China and that to Somaliland. In neither of these did the same restriction seem necessary, and the result was that in both places the Indian contingent showed itself to be second to no other in all military requirements. And here again the affection of the people towards British rule and the British

ruler was shown by the eagerness with which they applied for their services to be made use of. All this enthusiasm would not have been shown for an unsympathetic Viceroy. The fact is that by his untiring energy and ceaseless work, Lord Curzon had brought himself into touch with the people and had aroused their sympathies, and as soon as the occasion came, his devotion to duty met with its reward. It is owing to the labours of our departing Viceroy that the people of Great Britain have at last come to recognize that India and her army are important factors in the Imperial defence, and that she can be relied upon in any emergency that may occur. She is no longer a source of weakness but an element of strength to the Empire.

Whilst speaking of the army it will not be out of place to allude to two other branches of the service, in one of which Lord Curzon has shown the greatest interest and of which, the other owes to him its inception. I allude to the Imperial Service Troops and the new Cadet Corps. It was mainly due to the spontaneous offer of my own gracious Sovereign, the Nizam of Hyderabad, that the idea of forming an Imperial Service Corps was first of all formed, and then became an accomplished fact. Lord Curzon has not been slow to see the

opportunity this idea gave him of fulfilling the promise he held out of associating the Native Princes with him in the affairs of the Empire. To many of these young princes it has given a new ambition and a new object of life. The same may be said of the Cadet Corps in which the sons of Indian Princes and Noblemen are being trained to take a part in the Imperial Service Troops raised in their respective States. Already in Hyderabad one of these cadets, the son of the late Nawab Sir Vikar-ul-Umra, has been selected for an important military post of responsibility, and they are all of them thus afforded an opportunity of a military career instead of spending their lives in luxury and idleness. All this is a fresh proof, if another were needed, of Lord Curzon's active sympathy for the people under his rule. He has constantly been striving to raise them to a higher platform and to instil into them higher ideals, and instead of remaining a recluse in the Lodge at Simla, or in the Palace at Calcutta, he has set them an example in his own person of devotion to duty and of a constant endeavour after improvement, or, in the words of the poet,

"To rise on stepping stones
of their dead selves to higher things."

CHAPTER IV.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS—BERAR; BENGAL; PLAGUE AND FAMINE; EARTHQUAKE AND CRIME.

LORD CURZON cannot claim to have extended the outside boundaries of the Empire. His great work has been to consolidate within them. But although he has not added to its extent, he has created three new provinces within its limits. Of the first I have already spoken. The second has been formed by the amalgamation of Nagpur and the Central Provinces with the District known as the Berars. These Districts in former times had belonged to H. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad. They were practically wrested from him by the Mahrathas, but were ceded to him after the close of the Mahratha war in 1804. Subsequently in 1853 they were again ceded to the British Government "in trust" for the payment of the Hyderabad Contingent Force, and have remained in their possession ever since. In the course of time these districts

recovered, and added to, their former prosperity, and when, under the able rule of Sir Salar Jung, the Hyderabad Kingdom reached a state of prosperity it had not known before, it was the ardent wish of the great Minister to redeem the districts which had been pledged away. This he was never able to do, and the whole question became a subject of discussion which lasted for many years, and formed in fact the only point of dissension between the greatest of the independent States of India and the Supreme Government. At last during the Regency, which preceded the accession of the present Nizam, it was finally decided that nothing should be done in the matter until after the present Nizam should have succeeded, when, if he should wish to re-open the question, he might do so. The whole question involved a considerable amount of acrimonious controversy, into which I need not enter here. The British Government, on the one hand, were unwilling to give up a country which had for so many years been in their possession, whilst, on the other hand, the Nizam's authorities and his Regent were anxious to give back to him his kingdom intact. For a considerable time after his accession the present Nizam took no steps whatsoever. The surplus revenues of the Berar

Provinces were regularly paid over to HisHighness' Government and amounted on an average to about 20 lakhs of rupees. But then about the beginning of the nineties this surplus gradually decreased in amount. From year to year it became "smaller by degrees and beautifully less," whilst at the same time the actual revenue increased in a similar proportion. The reason of this was the increased expenditure in the Province itself. The Public Press at length began to take notice of this state of things, and for several years after 1896 the subject formed one of considerable controversy both in India and in England. At last there occurred the great famine of 1899-1900. Not only was the Hyderabad State affected—she had to borrow two crores of rupees in order to meet her extra expenditure,—but the Berar Province also suffered. The surplus had for some time ceased to exist, and in fact had been changed into a deficit, which in the famine year amounted to a crore and a quarter. It was then that Lord Curzon resolved to take the matter in hand and, if possible, devise some remedy which could bring about a settlement satisfactory to both parties. A Commission was first of all sent to make a searching enquiry into the civil and military expenditure,

and after its report had been submitted, an arrangement was at last arrived at. Throughout the negotiations the Resident, Sir David Barr, treated with H. H. the Nizam only, and not, as had been the custom hitherto, through the medium of the Minister. It is thus certain that nothing could have been done which did not have His Highness' full concurrence. The result was published just before the Delhi Durbar. His Highness the Nizam continued to retain his sovereign rights over the Province, but gave over the administration in perpetuity to the British Government in return for a fixed rent of 25 lakhs annually. Of this a certain proportion was to be at once paid and the remainder to go towards paying off the liabilities incurred to the British Government, so that after a series of years the Hyderabad Government would receive the full amount of the rental. On their part the British Government relieved H. H. the Nizam of all responsibility as regards the Hyderabad Contingent, which thereafter became part of the British force. In this simple manner was a question set at rest which for many years had formed, as it were, an open sore and had been the cause of friction and ill-feeling. It is true that there are still some who maintain that H. H. the Nizam came off

second best in the bargain, but that is a matter with which, as it seems to me, neither they nor any one else has anything to do. The question was settled by His Highness himself and had therefore his full approval and concurrence. His Highness himself, as is well known, is one of the shrewdest and most able Rulers in India, and he was the person best calculated to know what best suited his interests. As far as Lord Curzon is concerned, it can only redound to his credit that he resolved to set at rest for ever a question that, if left alone, might again crop up and lead to unpleasant consequences. He did so by causing his Resident to confer with His Highness direct, and this having been done he at once accepted the arrangement they had mutually arrived at. This was a course least calculated to offend His Highness' susceptibilities, and the manner in which His Highness' action was appreciated is best shown by the hitherto unprecedented honour which was awarded to him at the Delhi Durbar by creating him a G.C.B.

The new Province formed by the partition of Bengal has given rise to much heated controversy, but it is a step that has been taken after full and ample consideration and in the interests of the people themselves. The Bengalis seem to think

that by separating a portion of the Province and joining it on to Assam, their nationality will be diminished, but we in the rest of India cannot sympathise with them in this respect. In no other Province of India do the inhabitants belong to one race only, and I fail to see why what applies elsewhere should not apply to Bengal. Besides, it is only the portion separated that will be brought together with another race, and there is a probability of the Bengali element eventually predominating. It has been urged that if the work of the Province, as it existed, was too heavy for a Lieutenant-Governor, it would have been better to have formed it into a Governorship with a Regular Council, but to this there are many objections, one of them being that of expense. Moreover, the desirability of the change has long been discussed. The idea is not a new one. It was left for Lord Curzon to carry through a project which had been resolved upon, deferred, and at last had become inevitable. The Bengalis seem to wish to have their own way in everything, and directly a measure is passed which is not to their liking, even though it is intended to promote the interests of the country, they at once raise an outcry as if they were the only persons in the world who deserve

consideration. Mahomedans are not likely to estimate a loyalty of this kind very highly, and the movement set on foot in Bengal has called forth very little sympathy in the rest of India.

It is curious to note that in the *Swadeshi* movement, which has been started in Bengal, by which the people are endeavouring to signify their disapproval of the partition of that Province by boycotting European goods, they are adopting a course which is in fact a carrying out of the policy which Lord Curzon has not only impressed upon them, but has himself endeavoured to inaugurate, *viz.*, the encouragement of native manufactures. There is nothing to be gained by boy-cotting European goods if there is not a sufficiency of native manufactures to meet the demand. In order to do this effectually they must increase the number of manufactories, otherwise the only result will be so great a rise in the price of the native manufactured article as to defeat the object they have in view ; already we hear that in some parts native-made goods have risen 10 per cent. in value. It will require a very much larger amount of patriotism than I can give the people credit for if they stand an increase like this for any length of time.

Should, however, the movement have the effect of inducing the capitalists to invest their hoarded wealth in the construction of new native enterprises, there is probably no one who will be more gratified at the result than Lord Curzon himself.

If there is one thing that should endear Lord Curzon to the people of India it is the sympathy that he has shown for them in the great calamities of plague and famine with which the country has been visited during his term of office. Every human effort possible has been made to alleviate suffering and distress, and over all operations the Viceroy has himself exercised the most careful personal supervision. As regards plague, every endeavour has been made to discover the cause and origin of this mysterious disease, and to adapt the measures necessary for the protection of the people as much as possible to their habits and customs. When plague made its appearance before Lord Curzon's arrival, the measures adopted were at first harsh and uncongenial. This has been remedied, and the people no longer regard the plague authorities with hatred or meet them with opposition. Every resource of science has been availed of, and there seems now to be a fair hope that the disease will be successfully grappled with.

As regards another of God's visitations, it was during Lord Curzon's period of office that the severest and most widespread famine in the memory of man has occurred, and never has a famine campaign been more efficiently or more successfully grappled with. Of late years famines unfortunately have been of frequent occurrence, but previously they had been more or less circumscribed in area. That of 1876-77 extended over a large portion of Bombay and Madras, and every one will admit that it found the authorities far less prepared to grapple with it than they were in 1899-1900. Again, after the last famine had passed away a Commission travelled over the whole of the affected area, held a minute enquiry, and submitted an exhaustive report. The experience thus gained has been embodied in Famine Codes, and the method of meeting and treating a famine has now been reduced to a science. Never again can a famine find the country or the authorities unprepared. The arrangements for observing and reporting the conditions of every portion of the country are now such that long before a famine actually makes its appearance, it announces its own approach. At each stage it is clearly laid down what steps should be taken, and when at last there can no longer be any doubt all

the preparations will have been made. The works on which the labourers are to be employed, Imperial and local, have been marked out and planned; the tools are at hand and the staff of officials ready at their respective posts. The scale of wages has been fixed so as to accommodate itself to the price of grain, and everything that human foresight can devise has been thought of and prepared for. Lord Curzon's promise to place every department on the anvil and then to test its efficiency has been fully kept in regard to famine. The experience gained from the failures and the breakdowns of the past, have been made use of to render such mishaps humanly impossible in the future. Each link in the chain has been tested and every point of importance has been "twice done and then done double." For this the country is indebted to Lord Curzon's thoroughness, and, as has been already said, the sympathy which he has shown for the people in this respect alone should make his memory live for ever in their hearts.

In so large an Empire as India scarcely a year passes without some calamity occurring in one portion or the other. Last year the North of India and one Himalayan Valley was visited with a terrible earthquake. Here again the sympathy of the rulers for the ruled was shown in the prompt

measures which were taken for the relief of those who had suffered. These calamities must occur, but if there is one thing that distinguishes British rule from that of former dynasties and governments, it is the prompt and far-reaching nature of the succour it affords. In former days relief was given spasmodically and locally; now it is given imperially. Formerly in remote parts men and women died in thousands, unheeded and uncared for; now-a-days the long arm of the Government reaches into the most inaccessible corners of the most outlying districts. In the place of chaos and incompetence there is now order and efficiency.

In connection with Lord Curzon's sympathy for the people I may here point to the several occasions on which he has interfered to give protection to the native when oppressed by Europeans. He has not hesitated to call Courts of law to account, when it appeared that evenhanded justice had not been done, and when, as in two flagrant cases, the offenders were members of a regiment and were being screened by their comrades, he has not hesitated, at the risk of his own popularity, to administer a wholesome punishment. Fortunately, such incidents are now of rare occurrence, and when they do happen there is often a desire to hush up a

scandal. Lord Curzon, however, has insisted that strict justice should be dealt out to white and black alike. In the words of his promise at Bombay, he has "held the scales." In Bengal, where men's feelings have become excited over other matters, these points would seem to have been lost sight of, but we in the rest of India, who are not so prejudiced, cannot forget them, and feel grateful to the Viceroy who interferes at the risk to his own popularity in order to support the weak against the strong.

CHAPTER V.

TRADE—REVENUE RAILWAY EXTENSION AND TAXATION.

In spite of plague and famine the years of Lord Curzon's viceroyalty have each been marked with increasing prosperity. The record of each succeeding year has been broken by that of the next. In nothing has this been so marked as in the trade returns. The returns of imports and exports (omitting those on account of the Government) for the last five years are shown on p. 47.

When the different items are gone into, it is found that the increase extends to almost every branch of trade. Under exports the most remarkable is the expansion of the grain trade. During the last ten years the exports of wheat have more than quadrupled, having risen from 10,000 cwts. to 43,000, and the value from nearly 4 crores to nearly 18. It is the same with rice and with cotton, and every year fresh tracts of country are being brought under cultivation. This has been rendered possible by the enormous extension of

	1900-01.	1901-02.	1902-03.	1903-04.	1904-05.
IMPORTS—					
Merchandise ...	76,27,78,853	81,51,89,794	78,78,79,084	84,82,32,930	96,67,80,884
Gold	11,87,13,827	8,29,76,205	13,14,66,553	20,13,11,752	21,81,19,745
Silver	4,59,22,253	11,35,07,591	12,10,90,721	11,81,20,869	11,21,55,553
Total Imports ...	92,74,14,933	1,01,16,73,590	1,04,04,36,358	1,16,76,65,551	1,29,70,56,182
EXPORTS—					
Foreign merchandise re-exported ...	3,20,85,314	3,25,98,163	2,93,56,132	3,32,55,087	3,37,25,945
Indian merchandise ...	1,04,16,04,984	1,21,20,50,631	1,25,87,97,516	1,49,63,40,735	1,54,12,74,199
Gold	4,30,58,851	3,36,64,788	3,67,73,923	3,80,26,776	3,69,85,896
Silver	3,16,85,700	5,09,60,877	5,13,26,185	4,34,66,954	4,27,79,760
Total Exports ...	1,14,84,34,849	1,32,92,74,459	1,37,62,53,756	1,61,10,89,552	1,65,47,65,800

railways, communications, and irrigation canals.

"Since the long cycle of lean years, which marked the close of the last century, unbroken agricultural prosperity, which is essential to the well-being of the exported trade, has been generally experienced. The most notable feature of the year is the extraordinary development of the grain trade which

has increased in volume by 32 per cent. and in value by 851 lakhs. The total value of grain and pulse reached the unprecedented value of 4,111 lakhs, this being 26·7 per cent. of the total value of the export trade."—(Review of the Trade of India for 1904-05). If this increase continues, before long, India will form one of the chief food-suppliers of the United Kingdom. There are, however, not wanting those who find in this development of trade a cause for complaint. "The country," they say, "is being drained of its wealth." They point to the difference between the value of the exports and that of the imports, and say that this represents the wealth that has gone out of the country never to return. But they forget that all these exports are paid for. They are not extorted by task masters from unwilling ryots and sold for the benefit of the Government, but for every ton of goods sent away from India by sea there comes back the cash price. An increase of exports means, therefore, an increase of money coming back to be spent in the country. The ryot sells his grain to the village merchant, and if this year he can sell two hundred weight where last year he only produced one, he is by so much the gainer. The village merchant

sells to big brokers and merchants at the ports, and they send the grain home to be sold in the market, but always for cash, which is sent back to India in the shape of goods, bullion, or bills which are convertible into money at will. "But," say the objectors, "the balance of trade is against India; she sends away more than she gets back, and therefore she is being gradually deprived of her life's blood." But they forget that exports are what we sell, and imports are what we buy. Now if a man sells more than he buys, it means in ordinary life that he is gradually heaping up riches. Here in India it is true that we sell more than we buy, but the reason of that is that the people who receive the money for the goods they sell do not invest the whole in the purchase of other goods. They keep a considerable balance. But it remains in the country, and the country is so much the richer for it. In a country where the trade is what is called healthy, the exports should be equal to the imports, which means that the sellers do not let any of their purchase money be idle, but turn it over again and make profit on the whole of it. Here in India a large portion is allowed to remain idle. But it is here, and is annually increasing in amount. The figures which I have quoted

above show that the trade is annually becoming more active, and each year the sellers purchase more goods than they did the year before. Thus in the matter of "merchandize," whereas five years ago they only purchased for 76·27 crores, last year they purchased for 96·67 crores. This increase goes on annually, and is more marked with each successive year. The figures also afford another proof of the fact that more money comes into India than goes out of it. Take for instance last year's figures. Whereas gold and silver to the value of 33·00 crores were imported, less than 8·00 crores were exported. Now, this goes on from year to year, and the result is that the balance of gold and silver retained in India is annually increasing. I will quote one more sentence from the Report on Trade for last year. "An estimate was made in the Review of the Trade of 1903-04 of the net imports of gold and silver since 1835-36, adding the figures for 1904-05 the totals are gold net imports £167,757,439 and gold production £21,208,210 which together give £189,167,649 as the absorption of gold during the last 70 years. The value of the net imports of silver during the same period is Rs. 4,479,091,615, of which the estimated equivalent is 1,729,621,823 ounces."

I have gone at some length into these figures as an answer to those who say that the alleged increase in the prosperity of the country is all a sham, and that she is being gradually drained of her wealth for the benefit of England. The contrary is the case, and for the last seventy years the wealth of the country has been rapidly increasing. If only more of it were employed in trade and not left to be idle, the country would be more prosperous still. Now it is only fair that the Ruler under whose auspices the prosperity of the country increases should get, at all events a certain amount of the credit for such increase; for increase of trade is due in a great measure to good government, and there can be no doubt that the currency regulations introduced by Lord Curzon to which I shall allude later on, have in a great measure contributed to the increase of trade. The great increase of trade has also been rendered possible by the existing railways. During the last seven years nearly five thousand miles of rail have been laid down at a cost bordering on eleven crores of rupees. These lines have now almost entirely been acquired by the State, and the percentage of earnings has risen all round by about one per cent., until last year it represented 5·91 on the capital

outlay. The total extent of railways in India is 27,563 miles, and represents a capital outlay of 356·35 crores of rupees. So that during Lord Curzon's period of office the average mileage laid down has increased from about 400 miles in the year to something over 700. Now this is a considerable achievement, and only those who lived through times of famine 30 years ago know how much it means towards the saving of life. Railways make it possible for the agriculturists to send their crops to distant markets and sell them there at a profit. Without them they would rot in the fields or the villages. Without communications, or with only roads as means of communications, there was no object to be gained in bringing fresh land under cultivation for food stuffs, since the cost of distant transport would have made the price prohibitive. Each district therefore only raised food grain sufficient for its wants, and when the rains failed and the stocks were exhausted, there was absolutely no food to be got. In ordinary years there would be more than plenty; in bad years, starvation. In the great famine of the year 1876-77 there were only 7,000 miles of railway throughout the whole of India. In almost every district in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies there were por-

tions situated a hundred or even a hundred fifty miles away from a line of railway, and in the North many thousands of square miles were left waste, because the cost of conveying the crops to the nearest railway would have been too heavy to enable them to be sold at a profit. These are now tapped by railways, and instead of being waste are converted into corn fields. It is said that an actual food famine is no longer possible in India; the only trouble is the price at which the food can be sold and the money with which to buy it. When there is famine in one portion of this great Empire there are sure to be other portions where there is Plenty, and the task is to bring the food from one portion to another at the lowest possible cost. This can only be done by railways, and Lord Curzon's solicitude for the good of the country has been shown by the energy with which he has pushed on their construction. And financially they are a success. An average dividend of nearly 6 per cent. is a feat which few other countries have been able to achieve. In Russia the railways actually entail a loss. But strange to say even this active railway policy has by some been made a cause of reproach against Lord Curzon's government. It seems to be impossible to satisfy some people, and there is there-

fore no use in trying. Lord Curzon laid down for himself the lines of the policy which he considered best suited to the interests of the country, and this policy he has steadily pursued in spite of calumny and abuse. From time to time he has condescended to meet the arguments of his opponents and to show them where they are wrong, but he has not for a moment swerved from the path before him. And be it remembered this policy has not been hastily formed. For nearly two years the time was taken up in learning what it was the country required. No reform has been commenced without a full and exhaustive enquiry, and the public have been taken into the confidence of the Government more fully than has been the case under any other Viceroy.

Another proof of the increase of prosperity during the last seven years is to be found in the enormous increase in the revenue. There was a time when deficits were of common occurrence, but of late years, and more especially during the last five, each successive year has shown a new record surplus. Here again his opponents say that this is not due so much to increased prosperity as it is to the fictitious value of the rupee. But, whatever it may be due to, it is a surplus, and means that the expenditure has been greatly below the revenue.

A portion of that surplus has each time been utilized in alleviating the condition of the people, sometimes by the remission of land taxation, by the reduction in the salt tax, and by raising the standard of those liable to pay income-tax. Whilst on the subject of taxation I wish to say something regarding the great controversy regarding the incidence of the land tax upon the agriculturist. This was a matter which was dealt with at great length and with considerable exaggeration by the late Mr. Digby in his book sarcastically called "Prosperous British India." Mr. Digby in his book attempted to, and did actually prove—to his own satisfaction—that in 1850 the average income of a native of India was 2*d.* (or say 2 annas), in 1880 $1\frac{1}{2}d.$, and in 1900 $\frac{3}{4}d.$ Now this was proving a great deal too much, for it is manifest with an average income of this amount the whole population must have died of starvation. But there can be no doubt that the actual condition of the Indian agriculturist is a very poor one indeed. The great difference between Lord Curzon and his critics is that whereas they say that it is getting worse from year to year, Lord Curzon says that it is improving. It is probably true that the average income of the native of India is not more than Rs. 30 per annum,

and that the incidence of taxation is as high as 3*s*. 3¼*d*. or about Rs. 2½, but on official figures, which at least are as reliable as Mr. Digby's unofficial ones, Lord Curzon shows that the average income of the native has increased from Rs. 27 in 1880 to Rs. 30 three years ago. As regards the incidence of the land revenue being the cause of famines, Lord Curzon has proved that the argument is an entirely fallacious one. When a famine happens everything is swept away, and for at least six months there is nothing. Mr. Digby, Mr. Dutt, and the Congress maintain that if he had not to pay so high a tax, the ryot would have a greater reserve with which to maintain himself. Granted that the average taxation of the ryot is 3*s*. 3¼*d*. Suppose that to be reduced by 2*s*. It will be admitted that he must pay something. If it were reduced to 1*s*. 3¼*d*., he would have 2*s*. or, say, Rs. 1·12 per annum from which to form a reserve (supposing that in the interval he has not lavishly squandered this amount) with which to meet a famine. How long would such a reserve, if it ever existed, last in a time of famine? It would not last a month, and the ryot would then be in the same miserable state as he is now when such a calamity occurs. As Lord Curzon justly pointed out in his memorandum