THE CITIZEN OF INDIA

H.M. KING EDWARD VII., EMPEROR OF INDIA.

THE
CITIZEN OF INDIA

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REVISED EDITION

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON
1907

First Edition 1897
Reprinted January February, and May 1899
January, March, and April 1900
With corrections 1903 Reprinted 1904, 1905
Revised Edition 1906 Reprinted 1906, 1907 (three)

GLASGOW PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
BY ROBERT MACLEHOSE AND CO LTD

PREFACE.

In February, 1882, Lord Ripon's Government appointed a Commission to report upon the position of education in India, and to make recommendations for its improvement. One of these recommendations, proposed by the Principal of the largest and most successful of the aided colleges in India on the 7th of March, 1883, and carried almost unanimously, suggested that in every college, whether aided or Government, a series of lectures should be delivered to each of the classes in every session on the duties of a man and a citizen. It was expected that a direction of so vague a character might lead to a great variety in the choice of subjects and their treatment, and after the experience of a few years it was generally felt that the task of teachers would be made more easy if they and their pupils could use a text-book giving an outline of the system of administration and the part which the people of India might take in the affairs of their country. Accordingly, the first edition of this treatise was prepared and published in 1897, with the approval of the Government of India. In the several reprints which have followed the first issue from time to time the

figures have been corrected, and a few facts altered in accordance with the latest information, the original text being in other respects preserved. But the use of the book has now extended beyond the colleges into the schools, and the language which might have been suitable for undergraduates has been found to be too difficult for the less advanced pupils of schools. To meet the wishes expressed on the subject, the author has now re-written the book, preserving as far as possible the arrangement of the subject, but endeavouring to express himself in such simple language as Indian schoolboys may be expected to understand.

November 6, 1905.

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CITIZEN OF INDIA

CHAPTER I.

CITIZENS AND THEIR RIGHTS.

1. **Rights and duties.** When we begin to talk of citizens or to read about them, we shall often hear of 'rights' and 'duties.' Let us try to understand the meaning of these words. If I *owe* anybody *money or anything else it is my duty to pay it to* him, and he has a *right* to demand payment from me. As we grow up from childhood to manhood, at each stage of our lives we keep on finding out how much we owe to others, and fresh duties are constantly being added to our list of debts. We learn at home our first lesson on duty—to honour and obey our parents—and we have a right to expect that they will support, educate, and love us, because we are their own children. At school we are taught not merely to obey our masters, but also to be kind and polite to the pupils who attend it. From the school or college we pass into the outside world, where we meet with persons who do not belong to our family and never attended our school. They are strangers to us, and yet we owe them duties. Some men may earn a

livelihood by tilling the soil, others by keeping shops, and others again by various industries and occupations. He who tills the soil, the cultivator, has the right to expect that his crops will not be injured by travellers or stolen by thieves, and that the supply of water which belongs to him will not be turned aside or wasted by others. But he ought to treat others as he expects them to treat him. It is his duty, therefore, to respect the rights of his neighbours in these matters. The shopkeeper buys and sells goods. When he buys, he looks for honest dealing and proper weights, and it is his duty when he sells to deal fairly with others. And in whatever way we may earn a living, all of us find that peace and freedom are necessary for our happiness and prosperity.

It is the duty of our government to secure these blessings for us. The roads which we use ought to be kept in order and free from robbers: dispensaries and hospitals are needed for the sick; Courts of Justice should be provided to punish wrong-doers and settle disputes; and armed forces are required to keep off our enemies. Those whose business it is to spend time and money in these matters have the right to collect from the people the taxes and rates which are spent upon the public objects. At times also it may be necessary that we ourselves should help in suppressing disorders. Thus we see how our rights and duties extend beyond our homes and villages. But besides duties to our fellow-countrymen, we have duties to our neighbours in foreign countries.

There was a time when the tribesmen on the north western frontier of India often used to attack Indian

villages and carry off not only the property of the people but also their women and children. In revenge, the Indian villagers attacked the tribesmen, and the border-land became so disturbed that large tracts of good land were left waste. To prevent disorders of this kind, the Government placed agents in foreign territory, and entered into treaties and engagements with its rulers. It is the duty of every one who lives in India to carry out the agreements thus made, and it is his right to expect that foreign rulers will perform their promises. Thus it appears that our rights and duties are not confined even to India itself. We owe something not only to our families, our fellow-countrymen, and our government, but also to neighbouring nations, because we live in India.

2. **Citizens.** The first meaning of the word *citizen* is 'one who lives in a city.' When men began to live together in cities they soon understood the meaning of rights and duties and the need for keeping on good terms with their neighbours. So long as families or tribes of men lived apart from other tribes, hiding in the dense forests, or wandering over the plains where they pleased, and moving from one place to another in search of fresh pasture for their flocks, or new fields to cultivate, they thought of no duties outside themselves or their tribes. In course of time some of them gave up their wandering life and settled down at one spot. They built themselves houses and formed villages, cultivating the lands near them. But when they had stored up their crops and increased their cattle, often other tribes attacked them and robbed

them of their goods. The villagers were at first too few to protect themselves, and they therefore sought shelter in larger villages or towns. The towns became the residences of nobles or chiefs, who adorned them with fine buildings and fortified them with walls and ditches; they protected the inhabitants of the cities, and, in turn, the citizens were required to perform various duties and pay taxes. As cities grew in population they depended more and more upon the surrounding country to supply them with food, wood, clothing, and various other things. Villages and cities therefore united with the inhabitants of the country outside their walls, and thus formed districts, sharing their rights and duties with others. In this way the inhabitants of one country, under one government, became citizens of a state.

So long as the government was able to protect them and treated the people fairly the country remained united, but in former times the different countries of India were under many rulers and the chiefs and ruling families were constantly at war with one another. Districts and whole provinces often changed masters, so that the subjects of many states could not get attached to their rulers or become as fond of their country as the dwellers in cities are of their own city. But now, for more than a century the greater part of India, although its districts may have been attached to this or that province according to convenience, has enjoyed one and the same British Government. The people have been blessed with peace, and have learnt to think of justice and liberty as their rights. As men formerly

spoke of a citizen of Delhi or Lucknow, so now they speak of "citizens of India," meaning the residents of this vast country united by one government, enjoying the same rights, and owing the same duties to their fellow-subjects, and to the King Emperor who protects them all in their liberties.

3. **India.** The country of which we are citizens to-day is one of which we have good reason to be proud. Its snow-clad mountains in the north are the most lofty in the world; its rivers are famous for their length and size; its fertile plains are covered with rich crops; and its forests contain valuable timber, which supplies the markets of the world. Anyone who travels by railway through India can see that the country is well supplied with great rivers. There are in India forty-five railway bridges more than a quarter of a mile long, twenty-five more than half a mile, ten more than three-quarters of a mile, one more than a mile and a quarter, two more than a mile and a half each, and one more than one and three quarters of a mile in length. There are forty-four millions of acres watered by canals, tanks, and wells. There are splendid harbours on the coast, and metalled roads over all parts of the country. The area of India exceeds 1,766,000 square miles, and the people number 294 millions. Beneath the soil are hidden stores of gold, precious stones, iron, coal and other minerals, all ready to be used in the service of its citizens.

Many races of men possessing different qualities and of different religions inhabit it. In past ages, there have lived here great poets, law-givers, warriors and

heroes of mighty fame, and kings whose palaces, tombs, and public buildings still adorn the cities in which their builders lived. It is a free country, in which the people are allowed to write or say what they like, to meet together, and to live where they please, so long as they do not break the law. Trade and commerce flourish, and although famine and plague at times visit the land, its population and wealth are continually growing.

4. **A land of peace.** India has passed through many trials and changes of government in the past. If you take any district that you please, you will see at once that without peace the citizens cannot increase in numbers, nor can they make full use of the advantages which they possess in their noble country. In the united provinces of Agra and Oudh there is a district named Bulandshahr which enjoyed much prosperity under the rule of Akbar and his successors. When the Moghal empire was broken up the peace of the district was destroyed: the fields ceased to be tilled because no man could be sure that he would reap what he had sown; and the villages were deserted because the lives and property of the people were not safe. The famine of 1783 reduced even the people of the towns to starvation, and many poor citizens sold themselves or their families into slavery for the sake of a few meals.

At the beginning of last century the district came under the rule of the East India Company, and order was restored. In 1848 a little more than a half of the whole area of Bulandshahr was being cultivated, and the inhabitants numbered 700,000. In 1871,

the cultivated area had risen to 64 per cent. of the area fit for tillage, and the population to 936,000. In 1890, another addition of five per cent. was made to the land under culture, and the citizens numbered 950,000. At the beginning of this century 73 per cent. of the whole area was giving crops, and the people had increased to 1,138,100 souls. Their houses are built of better material, their cattle have increased, and the quality of their food has improved. The wages of artizans have risen, and mills for pressing and cleaning cotton have been introduced. The history of this district is that of many others in all parts of the country. Where peace and liberty are enjoyed, the citizens increase, fresh industries are started, and, as a consequence, the people enjoy more rights, and their duties grow with their rights.

5. **A land of freedom.** Something else besides peace is needed so that the citizens of a great country may make the best use of the resources which they enjoy. There are many countries in which the citizens are not allowed to leave the villages in which they were born, nor to seek elsewhere such employment as they please. It was so once in India, and for ages Indian labourers, artizans, and tradesmen used to follow the trades of their fathers whether they liked to do so or not. In many countries of Europe men are to-day compelled to serve in the army for a short time in order that they may be able to fight for their country when their services are required.

In India there used to be forced labour, and the roads or canals were repaired by compelling men in many cases to work upon them without wages. In

the matter of trade heavy taxes were put upon certain articles, so that people could not afford to buy what they wanted. Tolls were taken from those who used the roads and bridges, and transit duties were charged upon goods which passed between the interior and the seaports. As people could not move about as they pleased or convey goods from one place to another, the cost of living was much higher than it need have been, and the people were prevented from using their labour in such employments as they chose. In some places, and at some times, a special tax was put upon those who professed certain religions, as in the case of the *jizia* imposed upon the Hindus, which the Emperor Akbar removed and Aurangzib reimposed. Even now the rulers of many countries in the East try to prevent their citizens making use of the wonderful machines and discoveries which have been introduced into the western world, such as railways, the telegraph, the steam engine, and electricity. In all these matters India enjoys not only peace, but also liberty, freedom of person, freedom of action and speech, and freedom of movement and trade.

6. **Queen Victoria's proclamation.** In the year 1857 the government of our country passed from the hands of a number of British merchants, known as the United East India Company, into those of the ruler of the United Kingdom. The Queen of Great Britain and Ireland became the Queen of British India, and in the year 1876 she assumed the title of Queen-Empress of India. One of the first acts of the Queen of India was to send a royal message to her subjects in this country, which is printed in full at the end of

this book. She assured them that her strength would be in the prosperity of her Indian subjects, her security in their contentment, and that their gratitude would be regarded by Her Majesty as her best reward. She gave them liberties such as few other nations in the world enjoy, and when in 1901 our King-Emperor Edward VII. ascended the throne, he repeated the promises so graciously given by his sovereign mother.

The citizens of India are citizens of the British Empire, which extends to all parts of the earth, so that the sun never sets upon the whole of it. Whatever fame and honour belong to this Empire now belong to us as its citizens. We all share in the peace and freedom which God has granted to its subjects. East and west, India and England, are joined together, and while it is the right of every citizen of India to enjoy the liberties of the British subject, it is also his duty to take his part in preserving those liberties and handing them on to his children.

CHAPTER II.

THE VILLAGE.

7. **Common interests.** The house is the home of the family, where the father, the son, and the brother learn and practise their duties towards one another. In the same way the village is the home of the

citizen. It is in the village that the greatest numbers of the people of India live. In it men of various families, races, and religions, engaged in different trades and occupations, feel that they must work for and with one another because they live together in the same village. In other words, they find that they are united by *a common interest*. A similar lesson is taught in the town or city where the popula-

NATIVE INDIAN VILLAGE.

tion is larger and the duties of the citizens more numerous. There are in the whole of India only 2,150 towns, but there are more than 728,600 villages, and in the latter 265 millions of persons live. It is in villages that most of the citizens of India enjoy their rights and perform their duties to one another.

The first lesson learned in these villages is that a man may belong to another caste or religion, and may

be engaged in a different trade from that followed by his neighbour, and yet be to him a good fellow-citizen. He may leave his fellows to obey their rules of caste or the teachings of their own religions, and yet take his share of the work of the village by their sides, and help them to preserve their liberties and rights.

The second lesson learned there is that the more we know about our neighbours and the laws and rules of our Government, the more ready shall we be to keep on friendly terms, and to join with them in working for the common good. We ourselves must suffer if they should be afflicted with the plague, or if they should break the laws, or destroy the public property. We are all interested in the health, peace, and prosperity of our own village.

We have, in fact, common interests; and if any one should ask what is meant by common interests, he cannot do better than think of his own body. The body consists of different parts, and if one part suffers pain all the members suffer with it. If, for instance, the finger of a man is hurt, we say that he has a pain in his finger. So too in the case of a nation, or as it is called 'a body politic': if one village, or town, suffers from plague, famine, or other disaster, the whole province feels the pain in all its villages and towns; and if the province suffers, the whole nation suffers with it. The interests of one part are the interests of all, and we shall presently see that there are many things which each of us desires to see done, and which we can only get done by the action of several men working together. Thus, the canal which brings water to one or more villages can only be made

at a heavy cost which all other villages must help to bear; and the roads and railways which many of us use are constructed by the united effort of the whole population.

8. **Elements of union in India.** It is a common saying that 'unity is strength,' and the division of India into so large a number of small villages sometimes makes it difficult to unite its scattered citizens. In Europe the feeling of patriotism is promoted by wars carried on against a national enemy by the combination of many citizens for social or political purposes, by the large number and size of the towns and cities, by trade or commerce, and by travel and intercourse. Although there are some differences of religion and race amongst the inhabitants of European countries, yet the great majority of them are Christians, and the customs and habits of the various classes of society are very similar. In India these influences tending towards union are often wanting. But, on the other hand, the inhabitants have from the earliest times possessed certain traits of character and customs likely to draw them together, which western countries have lacked. Personal devotion to a chief, obedience to the father of a family, a strong sense of religion, and village communities have, in the past, laid in India a foundation for useful citizenship. The people have long since felt in the family circle, in the religious sect, or in village life, the practical advantages of common action. To a large extent men have been accustomed to look beyond themselves, and to feel that they are members of a wider circle than that of their own separate families.

The village and the caste system have thus introduced into the daily life of the country an idea of co-operation, and a feeling that, if one caste of labourers supplies one want of the village or the nation, its wants should be supplied in turn by other castes. The spirit of mutual helpfulness, and the sense, shared by all classes, of dependence upon government and a higher providence, are influences which even to-day tend to unite the people of India. On the other hand, the very system of family, caste, and creed which has fostered them, is sometimes apt to keep these influences to a narrow circle. The natives of India are famed for their charity, but their charity is more confined within the caste or the sect than is the case in Europe. The citizen ought to have a wider range of duties and privileges than any class or sect of the community can have. As the family is merged in the village, so the village is merged in the province, and the province in the empire, and by citizenship we mean the residents of a whole empire united under one government, sharing liberties and rights in common, and owing duties not only to their own castemen or fellow-villagers, but to the whole body of their fellow-countrymen.

9. **The village community.** There are nearly 56 million houses in Indian villages and towns. The number of villages in the whole of India, including the native states, is 728,600, and they may be divided into three different classes. In the first place, new villages spring up every year as the population of the country increases, or as water is carried by canals into parts of the country which used to be desert. The

process of making new villages has been going on continually for the last hundred years in many parts of the country, and for only a few years in other parts more recently annexed to British India. But there is one feature common to all these modern villages. Growing up in safety and under the protection of British laws, they have not required either the outward defences or the local administration which villagers needed in the days of disturbance before the establishment of order and peace.

The older villages of the country may be divided into two classes according to the systems which have prevailed in them from former days, namely, the raiyatwari and the joint-village system. It is easy to understand how the raiyatwari village came into existence. In the earliest times a family settled down in a particular spot and tilled the soil. The head of the family was the ruler of the house, and, when his children married and built themselves houses, his authority extended over all. Gradually other families came to reside in the neighbourhood, and they built their houses near to the first comers as a matter of safety and convenience. They soon found it necessary to employ servants for the benefit of the whole village, such as the barber, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the washerman, the potter, and in course of time the silver-smith and the copper-smith. The cultivators ploughed the land, gathered the crops, and, after paying the rent due to the ruler of the country, they supported the village priests and the temple servants, rewarding the village artizans for their services by giving them a share of the produce according to custom.

Between the raiyats and the officers of Government there stood generally a descendant of the family which had first settled there, the village headman, and a village accountant, who were paid for their public duties by the grant of land rent free and by certain contributions given to them by the raiyats. The first thing which had to be thought about was the protection of the village against robbers. For this reason a wall, a stockade, or a fence of prickly pear was constructed round the village, and the gates were guarded at night by the village watchman. When disputes between the villagers had to be settled, the matter was referred to a *panchayat* or local council. The officers of the Government took care that their share of the produce was paid, but for the rest they spent nothing upon the villagers, leaving even the roads and tanks to be provided for by the people themselves Villages on the raiyatwari system are found in most parts of the Dekhan and Southern India.

In the Punjab and Northern India the joint-village system prevails. There the raiyats who actually cultivate the soil do not separately pay their rents to Government, and a single village headman is not required. The lands belong to heads of families who have shares in the village and manage its affairs by a council. It is supposed that, in times past, the ancestors of these shareholders either drove the original settlers out of the village, or else took from them their lands and compelled them to labour for their new masters. In any case the new comers required help to carry on the business of the village, and were obliged to employ artizans, village watchmen, and other servants.

Thus in the old days of disorder the inhabitants alike of raiyatwari, and of other villages on the joint-village system, arranged amongst themselves for the conduct of their local affairs. Some tilled the soil, and others worked at trades, receiving from their neighbours a certain share of the produce, and taking the part given to them for protecting and carrying on the business of the village.

10. **The past and the present.** Just as the villages which have been founded in the last century differ from the older village communities, so also have changes taken place in those ancient communities themselves. The inhabitants of raiyatwari and other ancient villages have no need to-day for walls, stockades, or fences to protect them from attack at night. Even the great cities which had fortifications and splendid gates, such as those of Delhi and Ahmedabad, have now thrown down their walls and ramparts, and spread out into the open country. The seat of government in Calcutta used to be known as Fort William, that in Madras as Fort St. George, and that in Bombay as the Castle. It is difficult now even to trace the ruins of the walls which once surrounded them. The villages, as well as the towns and cities of India, are protected from attack by other means, and the walls which hindered the free movements of the people are not needed in a time of peace and order.

It is, moreover, good for the health of the inhabitants that the fresh air should have free entrance into their dwellings. An eminent doctor has lately expressed the opinion that the plague has been more

severe and its ravages more prolonged in those parts of the country where the villages are still to some extent confined by fences and walls. This was also the experience of England when in 1665 the great plague, or the black death, devastated London and other parts of England. The narrow ill-ventilated streets, the want of drainage, and absence of pure air from the houses of the inhabitants, encouraged the spread of the disease, and the great Fire of London was not without its advantages in removing ill-built streets into which fresh air and light could not find their way.

The spirit which distinguishes the present from the past in India is that of freedom. The old walls of the villages have been broken down in more senses than one. The raiyats and the artizans may go where they like and when they please. The roads are kept in order without forced labour, the prices at which food-stuff and other articles may be sold are not fixed by law or regulation, and all classes and persons may bring their complaints before the courts of justice. The villager is not confined to his village, and his thoughts go out to the district or province to which he belongs. He feels himself a citizen of a great country with rights and duties that extend far beyond the circle of the small community in which he was born. It is well to understand how this great change has come about in the lives of the people and what it means. Without a strong and just government at the head of affairs it would be impossible for the residents of nearly three quarters of a million of villages to arrange matters so that all might be able

to work together for the defence of their country and enjoy the fruits of peace and order.

11. **Faults and benefits of the old system** We need not find fault with the villagers of old days because they shut themselves up behind walls and thought only of their own local interests. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who was governor of Bombay in 1820, remarked that the village communities were "an excellent remedy for the imperfections of a bad form of government," and that they "prevented the bad effects of its negligences and weakness." When the rulers of a province spent nothing upon its defences and its roads, it was wise on the part of the villages to protect themselves, and to gather within their walls the labourers and artizans required for their daily wants. Since no courts of law were provided, it was well that disputes should be settled by a *panchayat*. But when a foreign invader, such as Nadir Shah, came down to rob the inhabitants of the plains and cities of India it was soon found that villages, however well protected by their inhabitants, were quite unable to drive back his powerful armies.

So too when the Pindaris and other gangs of robbers within India itself went forth to pillage and destroy their own country, each village perished as the hosts of thieves advanced. At times the residents of a large town, like Guntur, preferred to set fire to their houses and perish with their families in the flames rather than submit to the cruelties of such cut-throats. The villages endured these sufferings in times of war or disturbance, because they had not arranged with other villages for their common defence.

Instead of combining to send forth an army to defeat the foe at a distance from their houses they waited at home until they were attacked and plundered, one after another.

Such was the result of want of union in time of war; but even in times of peace the whole country suffered other miseries, because each village lived for itself. When famine or pestilence visited the land, the government often took no action to save the lives and properties of the afflicted masses. It sometimes carried away what it could of the scanty crops, and left the villagers to starve. The cultivators were no longer able to pay the usual dues to the village servants, and many of these helpless people died of starvation, while others sold themselves or their children as slaves to any one who would feed them. If only the villagers in all parts of India had combined with one another, they might have arranged for those villages in which famine prevailed to draw their supplies of food from distant provinces, and paid for them in times of plenty and good crops. But so long as each village stood alone, it was as weak in times of distress as a single stick taken from a bundle, or a single strand torn from a strong rope.

12. **The modern village.** The villages have lost nothing by the changes which have taken place in the government of India. Many of them still keep the names which they had in the distant past, and occupy the same sites. Traces still exist of their ancient constitution. In raiyatwari villages the headman, or patel, performs his public duties and exercises an authority in revenue and in police

matters over the other residents. He has his colleague, the village accountant, known as the kulkarni, the patwari, or the karnam, who keeps the accounts and writes the returns required by government. Although the village-servants may go where they please, they frequently continue to perform their usual duties, and prefer to remain where their fathers lived.

But the events of their daily lives ought to remind the villagers that they are citizens of an empire whose rulers provide for their wants and safety, and expect them in turn to assist in making their country strong and prosperous. The postman brings to their doors letters from all parts of the country; the officers of the district and provincial courts of justice are to be seen in their midst: the district engineer inspects their roads; the educational inspectors examine their schools; and the collector of the district with his assistants visits their fields. A district police force arrests robbers and thieves and removes criminals from their midst. At times a military force passes through the country, and every one hears of expeditions undertaken against the wild tribes on the Indian frontier to punish them for raids upon Indian villages. Thus with the roads safe there is much coming and going, and freed from the necessity of defending their own villages the people live securely and reap the crops which they have grown.

It is not necessary for the people to provide for their safety by leaving the country and dwelling in the large cities. In fact, the village population still

vastly exceeds in numbers the town population, for in calculating the latter it is usual to take a collection of houses in which 5000 or more people live as constituting a town and not a village. Reckoning in this way, nine persons out of ten in the whole of India dwell in villages, and only one in ten lives in towns or cities. But the village population varies in different provinces. In Bengal it is as high as 95 per cent. and in Bombay as low as 81 per cent. The average number of souls in an Indian village also varies considerably. In Burma the population of the villages averages 157, in Bengal 335, in Bombay 508, and in Madras 623 souls. One half of all the villages in the empire contain less than 200 residents. Taking the whole country we find on an average a village in every two-and-a-half square miles, but in Bengal there is one to be found in every square mile, and in Sindh the average is one village in every twelve square miles.

Thus it will be seen that India is still a land of villages and its population rural. Although these inhabitants are scattered over the whole face of the empire in small communities, without the protection of walls or fences, they are perfectly safe, and dwell in peace. They are scattered, but a strong hand unites them, and as a mighty river is fed by many streams and rivulets, so the villagers contribute to the strength of the whole country and receive in turn their share of the protection and public works which the government extends with equal care to all its subjects. Instead of relying upon themselves alone for their defence and local administration, the

inhabitants of each village look to all other villages and towns to provide for the common needs of society, and to government to use the resources of all of them for the common good.

13. **Villages share in the benefits of the empire.** We often hear the complaint made that Indian villagers have on the one hand lost their old interest in the affairs of their own village, and on the other take no part in the larger concerns of the country of which they are citizens. It is said that they readily felt the need of living for, and, if the necessity arose, of dying for their neighbours in the village, but that they cannot understand how the interests of a village are bound up in those of other villages far from their dwellings, nor what share they have in the misfortunes or the prosperity of the empire. The daily experience of every citizen is enough to supply an answer to these complaints. Although the inhabitants of towns have special rights and privileges which can only be enjoyed in places where the population is large, yet the residents of the smallest villages share equally with the townsmen the rights of protection, freedom, law, and justice.

In old days, as we have seen, the villages were constantly exposed to attack and unable to defend themselves. The raiyat may now dwell secure under his own roof, cultivate his fields, and reap the produce. He may do what he likes so long as he does not break the law, and go where he pleases without asking leave from any one. The courts of law are open to him, and the officers of government dare not treat him unjustly. His produce is carried to market over

mighty rivers and through forests along roads which are maintained for his benefit as well as others. Although the rains may fail in an entire province, so that the crops wither and even the grass does not spring up, yet a supply of food will find its way to every village and the people will obtain work or relief from the government while the severe distress lasts. In short, if any villager opens his eyes to what he sees around him, he cannot doubt that the government cares for him and provides for his wants, just as much as it cares for the citizens of the most important towns in the empire.

14. **Personal duty.** Since this is the case, it is the duty of every citizen to think of what is expected from him. The government, while it does not desire that each village should waste its money and labour upon keeping up its own defences, needs the help of all its subjects to provide for the good of all. The character of the public servants depends to a large extent upon the behaviour of each private person. The human body cannot enjoy health if the several members do not work together for it. In the same way the government of a country cannot be carried on if the citizens do not take an active part in assisting it. It is not at all necessary that a man should be in the service of the State in order to fulfil his duty to the State. We hear sometimes complaints of the corruption of the police, of the miscarriage of justice, or of the spread of disease which can be prevented. But bribes would not be taken if they were not offered, injustice would not be done by courts of law if false evidence were not given, and disease would not spread

if it were not first produced and diffused by neglect of proper precautions.

The country has a right to expect that each citizen will use his best endeavours to promote the causes of justice and public health. Within the village community there used to be a spirit of mutual help and service for the common good. Although the circle of our duties is enlarged, there is no reason why the same idea should not animate the residents of a province or a country. In an address delivered in Calcutta in December, 1896, the Honourable Mr. Justice Ranade, C.I.E., made these observations: "The State after all exists only to make individual members composing it nobler, happier, richer, and more perfect in every attribute with which we are endowed: and this perfection of our being can never be insured by any outside arrangement, however excellent, unless the individual member concerned is in himself prepared in his own private social sphere of duties to co-operate in his own well-being."

CHAPTER III.

TOWNS AND CITIES.

15. **Urban population.** The census report gives the number of people in India. It also shows the difference between villages, towns, and cities. A number of people living together in one place make up a *town*, if they amount to 5000 souls or more, and a

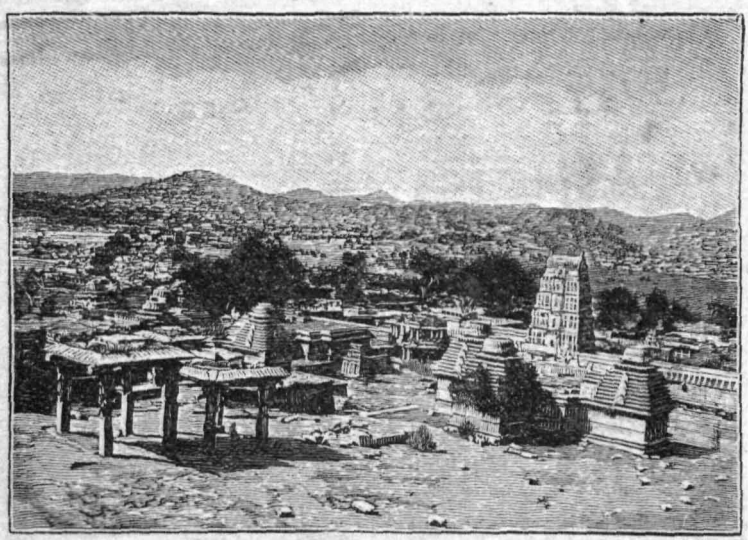
village, if their number is less. If the population is 100,000 or more, the town becomes a *city*, and a capital city is the principal town of a province in which the chief offices of Government are placed. The population of both towns and cities is called *urban* from a Latin word *urbs*, which means a town, while that of the villages is called *rural* from the Latin *rus*, which means the country.

The main difference between India and most European countries is that in the former the rural population is very much larger than the urban. In the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, which is only one-fifteenth of the size of India, a third of the people lives in 39 cities; in Germany a sixth of them lives in 33 cities; and in France a seventh resides in only 15 cities. In England and Wales more than half of the whole nation lives in towns with more than 20,000 inhabitants, while in India not a twentieth part is found in such towns.

In the great Indian empire there are only about 250 towns in which some 15 millions reside, while the number of towns containing 50,000 people is 83, several of them being of modern growth. There are besides 1300 smaller towns, each containing from 5000 to 20,000 inhabitants, and, taking together the residents of all Indian towns, they only amount to 10 per cent. of the whole population. The effect of continued peace is, however, shown in the continuous growth of trade and commerce, which is sure to draw persons from the country to the towns. Owing to this cause the urban population is constantly increasing. Thus in the last ten years the number of cities with

100,000 inhabitants has risen by eight, those with over 50,000 by twelve, and those with over 20,000 by forty-five.

16. **Modern towns.** In the town, as in the village, a change has taken place in the classes of people which live in it and the way in which



RUINED TEMPLES, VIJAYANAGAR.

they live. In the days of old, large cities were either founded by some great chief or king, who lived there with his court and followers, or else they grew up round a famous shrine or temple, which was visited by crowds of pilgrims. The celebrated traveller, Bernier, who visited India in 1659 in the reign of the emperor Aurangzib, thus described what he saw: "A capital city, such as Delhi

or Agra, derives its chief support from the presence of the army, and the people have to follow the Moghal whenever he takes a long journey. These cities may be compared to a camp. The king's pay is the only means of support." Whole cities were sometimes ordered to remove themselves to another place at the bidding of the emperor. The most famous and cruel instance of this was the transfer of the capital by Mahomed Tughlak from Delhi to Daulatabad in the fourteenth century, an attempt which brought ruin and death to many thousands of the citizens.

Cities were, in fact, nothing more than camps, and the language spoken in and round the capital of the Moghals came to be called *Urdu*, which means a camp. When one king made war upon another the blow fell heavily upon the cities, and thus Delhi was often plundered in former days. On the other hand, the urban population enjoyed the protection of the king's soldiers, and the profits of trade with them. Arms, armour, horses, ornaments, cloth of gold, illuminated manuscripts, jewels, and such articles as the court or the military officers required, were readily sold. A king of fine tastes also encouraged learned men and poets to settle in his capital. Splendid tombs and palaces were built and maintained, giving labour and service to the inhabitants. It is true that much of the labour was got by force, and even skilled workmen were compelled to enter and to remain in the service of the chief and his nobles. Still, work and the means of living were found for many persons, and the taxes paid by the villagers and the cultivators of the soil were often spent for the benefit of the town.

In our day towns are built up in quite a different way. The rural population flocks to the towns to please itself, and to supply the wants not of a few favoured persons, but of the masses of the people. Trade, commerce, and manufactures are the objects which draw together workmen and shopkeepers. Accordingly, some of the old cities which had the advantages of rivers or positions favourable to trade still flourish, such as Delhi and Lucknow. Others—such as Patna, the capital of Chandragupta, more than two thousand years ago; Bijapur, adorned by the Muhammadan kings of the Adil Shahi dynasty in the sixteenth century; Vijayanagar, the splendid capital of the Hindu ruler who restored the kingdom of Carnata in Southern India; and Ajodhya, the capital of Rama in the north—have decayed or are in ruins.

The modern capital cities of India lie upon the coast or on mighty rivers, where the naval power of Great Britain can protect them, and where goods carried by ships along the paths of the sea can reach them. Owing to these advantages Calcutta, Bombay, Rangoon, and Karachi enjoy a prosperity such as Delhi never reached in the day of its grandeur, and yet their names were not even known to the Moghal emperors. The people of the surrounding country flow naturally into them and supply the wants of a vast population, receiving in return wages and the articles of dress and daily use which the villagers require. No large military force, no lavish expenditure of court or nobles create the market. The common people themselves are both purchasers and

sellers, exchanging with one another the products of their labour and reaping the profits of it.

17. **Advantages of towns.** The prosperity of the city now depends upon the prosperity of the village, and the citizen of each learns that the interests of the urban and rural population are the same. Stately buildings adorn many cities, and the inhabitants have reason to be proud of the noble tombs, palaces, and public buildings which were raised by former rulers of India. But the country which paid the taxes and bore the cost of these buildings gained little benefit from them. It is otherwise with railways and good roads, which connect the villages with the towns and the towns with the cities of a province. All classes reap the benefit of them. The cultivators can by means of them carry and sell their foodstuffs in the town, and the townspeople pay less for the produce of the villages if the expense of carrying it to town is reduced. In the same way canals are doubly useful, supplying the towns with good drinking water, and the villages with water for their crops.

It has been mentioned in the first chapter that India is a land of peace and freedom, and it has been shown that many things can be done by the united effort of a number of citizens which cannot be undertaken by a few. Towns and cities give to the people an opportunity for gathering together in large groups, and so uniting to carry on large industries. Manufactories for weaving cloth, working iron, and tanning leather are thus established in the larger cities, giving labour to the villagers at times of the year or in seasons when work cannot be done in the fields.

Fuel, whether wood or coal, is needed in the cities not only for cooking purposes, but also for driving the engines used at factories and lighting the streets at night. These wants in town can only be supplied by working the forests and mines of the country. Thus we see how the good of the village is promoted by the welfare of the town, and the citizens are taught by daily experience that each depends on the other.

18. **Municipal towns.** The assembly of a large number of citizens in a town also enables government to entrust to some of the foremost and best educated of them a share in the public business of the country: Local affairs in which the townsmen are specially interested, such as the care and lighting of their streets, the education of the children, the water-supply, drainage, and conservancy, the maintenance of hospitals or dispensaries, and so forth, are duties which the residents of towns or cities are well able to undertake for themselves. Excluding the four capital cities of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Rangoon, which possess considerable revenues and powers of self-government, there were, in 1903, in British India 756 municipal towns with a total population of about 14½ millions; of this number the presidency of Bombay had 166, Bengal 157, the Punjab 137, and the United Provinces 104, while in Madras there were 60 municipalities, the remainder being scattered over the other provinces.

Municipal or local self-government does not mean that those towns which enjoy it cease to be under the general government of the country. They are bound to obey and live by the laws which apply to all

citizens of India, and to contribute their share of the taxes, which are paid by all inhabitants of the empire towards the cost of the public safety and the public good. But for a good many other advantages which benefit their own town they are allowed by law to levy rates (or local taxes) upon the population and to spend the proceeds in the town. There is so much work to be done in a large country by the government and its officials that it is wise to secure the assistance of the townspeople in providing for their own wants. In the first place, the local residents are better able to understand what is required in their town than the officers of state who live elsewhere and have to attend to other duties. In the next place, those who exercise a local authority learn for themselves what government means. They see how impossible it is to find money to spend upon all the wants of their fellow citizens. They gain what is called a political education, and are taught by experience some of the difficulties of governing a country.

It is impossible, of course, to give unlimited powers to municipal bodies. Such large concerns as the maintenance of the army or the police forces must be left to the central authorities, who only can ensure efficiency and economy. Again, even in the matters of local administration, control and supervision are necessary. The levy of new taxes, the raising of loans, and expenditure on very large schemes, require the sanction of government under the Municipal Acts. Nevertheless, municipalities enjoy very real powers and administer considerable revenues through their boards or committees. It is clearly impossible

for every townsman to take a personal share in the administration, and accordingly a few of them are formed into boards or committees which undertake the duties for the rest. Nearly 10,200 members of boards, more than half of them being elected by the ratepayers, conducted in 1902-3 the affairs of the four capital cities and the other municipalities in British India; of them 7880 held no public office under government, being called non-official members. While the European members numbered 1340 no less than 8860 Indians held municipal office. It is thus clear that non-officials and natives of India conduct the main part of urban administration, and, ever since 1850, their powers have been growing.

The year 1883 was specially marked in their history as the date from which the election of town councillors took the place of the former system of nomination by government. Some idea may be formed of the importance of urban self-government from the fact that, in the year mentioned above, the expenditure of the 760 boards exceeded 867 lakhs of rupees. This sum, amounting to three rupees for each resident, represented a revenue per head of the municipal population larger even than the average contribution paid to the government by each citizen of India. Thus the townspeople enjoy not only their share of the taxes paid for preserving the peace and improving the public works of India, but also the proceeds of municipal rates and taxes which are spent for their special benefit by their own boards.

19. **Local boards.** We may briefly mention here a further attempt made by the British Government to

give the citizens an interest and a share in their own government. Its success varies much in the different provinces, but nowhere has it been possible to give the rural population the same measure of self-government as that conferred upon municipalities. In the country, as well as in the town, it was thought that committees or boards might be formed to look after primary education, district roads, and dispensaries. Accordingly, more than a thousand local boards have been created with 16,000 members, of whom 5400 are elected. In Madras where the attempt has succeeded better than elsewhere, unions of villages represented by their headmen, with certain other members nominated by government, have been formed and have reached the number of 380 unions. But whereas in a town the municipal members live generally close to each other and are well known to many of their neighbours, the representatives of districts, talukas, or unions are usually strangers to each other, and less inclined to meet and work together. An official chairman is therefore required to direct their proceedings, and rural boards are not likely to prove so successful forms of self-government as municipalities have already become.

For, in the first place, the citizens of a taluka or a district live scattered in many villages apart from each other, and are busily engaged in the cultivation of their fields or the small trades of their village. They have neither the time nor the interest in the affairs of a large tract of country which the dwellers in a town or city have in its affairs. In the second place, the members of the local boards are not only strangers to

each other, but they find it difficult to understand the wishes of the people with whose business they are entrusted.

But unless members of boards feel that they are entrusted by others with power to carry out what is a common interest, they cannot learn the lesson of political education which self-government is meant to teach. That lesson is one which many Governor-Generals and Governors of Provinces have tried to teach the people. Amongst those who have done most in this direction the names of Lord Mayo and the Marquis of Ripon stand foremost. The total income of these local boards exceeds 380 lakhs of rupees a year.

20. **The cities.** As a town grows in size the wealth and authority of its municipal board also increase. Accordingly it is in the capital cities of the provinces, rather than in the towns, that we find the citizens taking the largest part in governing themselves, and see how peace and commerce are the surest foundations upon which prosperity can be built. Since everyone ought to know the leading facts concerning the origin and growth of the capital cities of British India, a short account will now be given of the four great cities which are included in the 760 municipal towns mentioned above. They are Calcutta, the chief city of British India, capital of Bengal; Madras and Bombay, the capitals of the two presidencies bearing their names; and Rangoon, the capital of Burma. A short notice of the other capital cities of provinces will then complete the subject of this chapter.

21. **Calcutta.** When Ibrahim Khan was Governor of Bengal in 1690 he invited Job Charnock, chief of the commercial business established by the British Company in that province, to settle on the banks of the Hugli in a small village. Charnock accordingly bought Calcutta and two neighbouring villages, and in 1696 proceeded to fortify his factory against

CALCUTTA.

attack by land and river. In twenty years this petty village counted about 10,000 inhabitants. But it rapidly grew, and in 1750 had over 100,000. In 100 years more, *i.e.* by 1850, it had 400,000. The census of 1872 shewed 633,000, and now it has about 850,000. This is without its suburbs, which are really a part of the city. If these be included, Calcutta contains 1,106,000 inhabitants, and is one of the 12 largest cities in the world. A hundred years ago London, now the largest city in the world,

with a population of over 4½ millions, or including its suburbs, of about 7 millions, was smaller than Calcutta now is.

Quite two-thirds of the inhabitants of Calcutta are not natives of the city, but come up to it for a time from the surrounding country to earn a livelihood, chiefly by working in the mills, or at some trade or industry. The prosperity of Calcutta has been due not only to the maintenance of public peace, but also to the triumph of skill and science over natural obstacles. The city is situated on the river Hugli, and is distant 80 miles from the sea. Ocean steamers have to come up this river, and about 50 years ago it was found that the silt or mud brought down by the Ganges from the hills was gradually filling up the channel of the river and making it shallower. Great alarm was felt, as it was feared that Calcutta would be quite cut off from the sea, and share the fate of many once flourishing seaport towns. But skilful engineers set to work. The silt is now dredged up from the bed of the river, and the channel is kept clean and open for the passage of steamers, and Calcutta still holds its own as the largest and most important port in India, with trade amounting to nearly 85 crores of rupees annually.

When the city had grown in numbers and in wealth, owing to trade and the preservation of peace, the British government offered, in 1840, to give over to the ratepayers the collection and management of the rates, if two-thirds of them, in any of the four quarters or districts into which the city was divided, would ask for it. But they did not care to do

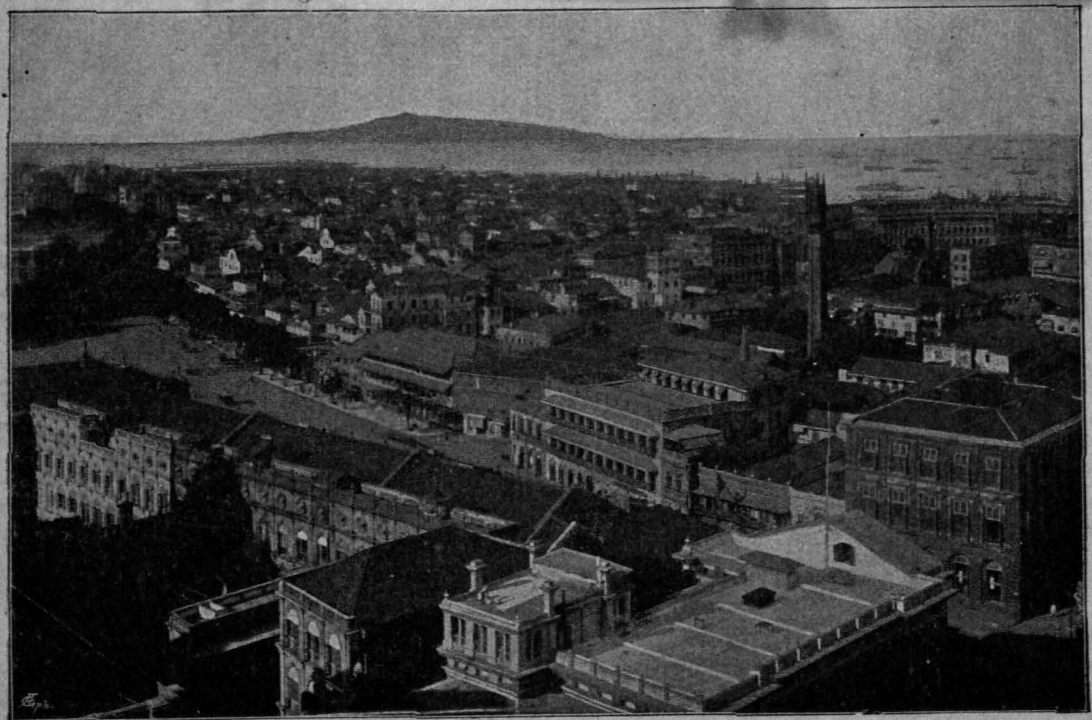
this. For several years different plans of making the city govern itself were tried and several public improvements were carried out.

In 1896 a corporation or council was formed with a chairman, vice-chairman and 75 commissioners, of whom two-thirds were elected by the ratepayers. A good deal of business was done, but it was found that there were too many members to do the work properly, for much time was wasted by them in talking. In 1899, the number of commissioners was fixed at 50, of whom half are elected by the ratepayers, ten are chosen by public bodies such as the Chamber of Commerce, the trades association and the Port Commissioners, and fifteen nominated by government. The chairman is paid a salary and is appointed by government, and may be removed on the request of not less than two-thirds of the commissioners. The ratepayers of the city do not even now take sufficient interest in self-government, as very few of them who are qualified to vote do so. This is to be regretted, because the income of the corporation is very large, amounting, in 1902-3, to more than 82 lakhs of rupees a year.

22. **Bombay** was given to the East India Company in 1668. Its revenue was then about Rs. 50,000, and its population consisted of about 10,000 "rogues and vagabonds." Fifty years later, in 1816, the residents were about 160,000. In less than 60 years from that date, in 1872, they had risen to 640,000, and despite heavy losses by plague they now number 982,000. Its growth from a collection of fishermen's huts, lying upon a sandy waste and

unhealthy swamp, to a stately city with splendid buildings and beautiful gardens, is marvellous. When the British first occupied it the air was so pestilential that seven governors died in 30 years, and no European child could live in it. Apart from the plague which has lately broken out, it is now a healthy city. The wonderful change which has taken place is due entirely to British protection. The ships which visited the western coast of India in times past were afraid to anchor in the splendid harbour of Bombay because of the pirates which infested the seas close by. Their forts and places of refuge were, however, completely destroyed in 1756.

In 1804 the Duke of Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, described the city as a place of refuge for the oppressed. "This island," he wrote, "has now become the only place of security in this part of India for property and for those who are objects of the Peshwa's enmity and vengeance, thus affording the strongest proof of the confidence which the natives repose in the justice and wisdom of our policy and our laws." The Peshwa, Baji rao, himself fled to Bombay when attacked by the great Maratha chief Holkar. The city was enlarged and the waters of the sea shut out by the construction of an embankment known as the Vellard in 1771. By these means Bombay, protected by sea and land, advanced rapidly in population and trade. During the wars in the Deccan and Guzerat, while the Maratha chiefs were fighting one another, a continuous stream of settlers sought protection under the British flag. Trade flourished in a harbour which



BOMBAY FROM THE TOP OF THE CLOCK TOWER.

gave splendid anchorage to ships, and was protected by the naval power of England. In 1802 the annual trade was less than a crore and a half of rupees. It is now worth 66 crores. The first cotton mill was erected in 1854, and to-day 400 factories, including cotton mills, are to be found in the city and presidency of Bombay.

In 1872, a town council and corporation were appointed and a system of election introduced. In 1888 certain changes were made, and there is now a corporation of 72 members called Commissioners, of whom 36 are elected by the ratepayers, 16 by the Justices of the Peace, 2 by the University and 2 by the Chamber of Commerce, and 16 are nominated by government. Any ratepayer may vote who pays rates amounting to Rs. 30 per annum. From among the members of the corporation a smaller body called the Town Council of 12 members are chosen, of whom 8 are elected by the other commissioners and 4 are nominated by government. The total income of the corporation was in 1902-03 more than 364 lakhs of rupees.

23. **Madras** has no harbour like that of Bombay, although in recent times stone piers have been run out into the sea so as to break the force of the waves and inclose smooth water within them, and thus form a port in which ships may lie at anchor, and land cargoes and passengers easily. In 1639 Mr. Francis Day, an officer of the East India Company who was looking about for a place on the east coast suitable for trade, succeeded in getting a small piece of land five miles along the coast by one mile in width inland,

on payment of a small rental. Here he built a fort, and invited traders of all kinds to come and settle close to it, to buy goods and to weave and sell cloth to the English merchants. During the wars between the English and French in India the fort was again and again besieged, and once taken by the French.

MADRAS.

Since the year 1758, however, it has enjoyed the priceless blessings of peace and safety. During troublous times, while the armies of Hyder devastated the Carnatic, rich bankers and wealthy traders came to live in Madras, to be safe under the guns of the fort, and the population and wealth of the town rapidly increased. The number of its inhabitants,

which was about 400,000 in 1872, had risen to 450,000 in 1892, and is now a little over 500,000. Madras is a very healthy city to live in, as it is not nearly so crowded as Bombay and Calcutta. There are 29 persons per acre to 57 in Bombay and 68 in Calcutta. Fully two-thirds of the population are natives of the city. The system of election was applied to the municipal government in 1878. Various changes were made from time to time, as they were found to be necessary. In 1884 an Act was made by which 24 commissioners are elected by the ratepayers, and 10 nominated by government. Any ratepayer paying rates amounting to Rs. 25 per annum may vote for the election of a commissioner. The income of the municipality is about 24 lakhs.

24. **Rangoon.** This city, the capital of Burma, is situated upon a noble river, the Irrawadi, and was captured by the British on the 14th of April, 1852. The Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, who retook the city and finally annexed it, predicted that it would become one of the greatest centres of trade in India, and used strong measures to suppress the pirates and robbers who infested the river and its banks. As soon as peace was established a peaceful population flocked to it, and in 1880 it was made a city, with large powers of self-government. The municipal area now contains 221,160 residents, and its affairs are managed by a board of 25 members, of whom only 3 are officials. Europeans, 13 in number, take an active part in its administration, and its income far exceeds that of Madras, amounting to sixty-five lakhs a year.

25. **Other capital cities.** The four cities just described are fortunate in being situated upon or near the open sea, to which ships carrying goods from and to foreign lands have easy access so long as peace is preserved by the armed forces of the King-Emperor. There is another great city, Karachi, capital of the province of Sindh, in the presidency of Bombay, which is also on the coast, and enjoys a trade as great as that of Madras. It has a population of 116,660 souls, and as it is the port of India nearest to Europe, it is sure to grow in wealth and importance. The city of Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, has 264,050 inhabitants; Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, has 203,000; and Allahabad, the capital of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, has more than 172,000. The last-mentioned province has several other great cities, including Benares, Cawnpore, Agra, and Meerut; while Nagpur, with 127,700 inhabitants, is the capital of the Central Provinces. Dacca, the new capital of the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, has a smaller population of 91,000, but it is certain to attract a larger number of residents when its position is established. In all these, and many other smaller cities, municipal institutions exist, and the inhabitants of them enjoy not only security and peace, but the privileges of taking a part in their own government.