

It is sometimes said that loans beget waste. I cannot see how money of loans can have waste in its character more than money from revenue. The right horse to saddle with waste is the officer who wastes, and not that the money is a loan. A wasteful officer would as much waste money from revenue as from loans. The condemnation of waste must be in the administrative system and men, and not in the source from which money comes.

With regard to exports being merely surplus produce, there cannot be a greater mistake than that which was advanced by one speaker, that a country could not export anything until all her own people were fed. A country might not consume a farthing's worth of its own produce, but might send it all away, and, getting in return what was more valuable, become wealthy and happy. Surplus has nothing to do with it. England formerly tried by forcible means to keep her own produce at home, but now she got corn from all the world. To sum up the whole, the British rule has been—morally, a great blessing; politically peace and order on one hand, blunders on the other; materially, impoverishment (relieved as far as the railway and other loans go). The natives call the British system "Sakar ki Churi," the knife of sugar. That is to say there is no oppression, it is all smooth and sweet, but it is the knife, notwithstanding. I mention this that you should know these feelings. Our great misfortune is that you do not know our wants. When you will know our real wishes, I have not the least doubt that you would do justice. The genius and spirit of the British people is fair play and justice. The great problems before the English statesmen are two. 1. To make the foreign rule self-supporting, either by returning to India, in some shape or other, the wealth that has been, and is being, drawn from it, or by stopping that drain in some way till India is so far improved in its material condition as to be able to produce enough for its own ordinary wants and the extraordinary ones of a costly distant rule. If you cannot see yourself actuated by the high and noble ambition of the amelioration of 200,000,000 of human beings, let your self-interest suggest to you to take care of the bird that gives the golden egg of 12,000,000*l.* a year to your nation, and provisions to thousands of your people of all classes. In the name of humanity, I implore our rulers to make up their minds to prevent the restoration of the equilibrium, after the continuous exhaustion by drain and by horrible famines. I do not in the least see any legitimate benefit England may derive for its rule in India. On the contrary, I am thankful for its invaluable moral benefits; but it is the further duty of England to give us such a government, and all the

fit of its power and credit, as to enable us to pay, without starving or dying by famine, the tribute or price for the rule. 2. How to satisfy reasonably the growing political aspirations and just rights of a people called British subjects, to have a fair share in the administration and legislation of their own country. If the Select Committee solve these two problems, before which all other difficulties, financial or others, are as nothing, they will deserve the blessings of 200,000,000 of the human race.

VIII.

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA.

[Addressed to the Select Committee on East India Finance, 1871.]

A CONSIDERABLE number of the best informed and most influential Native and English inhabitants of India, together with others of Her Majesty's subjects of all ranks who have the welfare of that portion of the British Empire at heart, asked for Parliamentary inquiry. Parliament readily granted a Select Committee of the House of Commons, though for an inquiry which was to be limited to Financial Administration. It is, I think, due to Parliament and to the Select Committee that those who prayed for inquiry should say in time what they want, for it would be both unreasonable and useless for them to complain afterwards that the Select Committee did not do this or that. As a native of India, and one who joined in a petition from the East India Association, I most respectfully submit for the consideration of the Select Committee a few remarks as to what I hope and desire from it.

The Financial Administration of any country, like all other human institutions, requires four important elements :—

1st. Materials.

2nd. Head to design.

3rd. Hand to execute.

4th. Sound principles of design and execution. Upon the degree of perfection of each and all of these requisites depends the measure of success.

I.—MATERIALS.

This is the *most important* and fundamental question for decision. Without sufficient and suitable materials to work with, all the other requisites are of no avail whatsoever.

The question, then, is : Does India, even at the present day, produce enough to supply, without hardship or privation, both its ordinary wants as a nation, and its extraordinary and peculiar want to remit to a distant country a portion of its produce as the natural economical result of a foreign rule? I say that India does not produce enough even for the ordinary necessary wants of its children, much less for all their

and peculiar political wants. Is this a fact or not? The Indian Government is bound to answer this question definitely. If the India Office should prove me to be wrong, no one will rejoice more than myself. If I be right, then, no ingenious device of even ten Wilsons or Temples will relieve the Financial Administration of its difficulties, unless the Indian legislators and financiers possess the Divine power of creating something out of nothing. The poverty and privations of the country once admitted, the question then will be, how to remedy this fundamental evil. The subject of the remedies ultimately resolves itself into the following:—

1st. Provision of capital necessary for all public works of a permanent character, both ordinary and extraordinary, which are required to increase production and facilitate distribution, to be provided, if India is impoverished, and has it not.

2nd. A just adjustment of the financial relations between India and England, so that the political drain may be reasonably diminished.*

3rd. The best way of attracting capital and enterprise to utilise the vast culturable waste lands.

4th. The best way of increasing the intelligence of the people by a comprehensive plan of national education, both high and popular.

* I give this chief cause of the impoverishment of a country in the words of Sir C. Temple himself, written under the direction of Lord Lawrence. (Punjab Administration Report for 1856-8, Parliamentary Return 212 of 1859, page 16):—

"In former reports it was explained how the circumstance of so much money going out of the Punjab contributed to depress the agriculturist. The native regular army was Hindustanee; to them was a large share of the Punjab revenues disbursed, of which a part only they spent on the spot, and a part was remitted to their homes. Thus it was that, year after year, lakhs and lakhs were drained from the Punjab, and enriched Oudh. But within the last year, the native army being unjabee, all such sums have been paid to them, and have been spent at home. Again, many thousands of Punjabee soldiers are serving abroad. These men not only remit their savings, but also have sent quantities of prize property and plunder, spoils of Hindoostan, to their native villages. The effect of all this is already perceptible in an increase of agricultural capital, a freer circulation of money, and an impetus to cultivation."

The Report has been prepared under the direction of Sir John Lawrence, B., Chief Commissioner of Punjab, by

"R. TEMPLE,
Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Punjab."

I appeal to Sir R. Temple to ponder over this extract, and in his new place of adviser of India, look this same evil for all India boldly in the face, and firmly set its proper remedies; so that the burden of the millions and millions that are "year after year drained" from India to England may be reasonably lightened, and the ability of the people to meet the legitimate portion of the drain increased to the very extent? Is it also too much for India to expect, or even to claim from Lawrence to represent this evil to the Select Committee and to Parliament, and obtain for India full redress?

If the fact of the poor production of India can be proved directly, any indirect test may not be considered necessary; but as questions have been already put in the Committee about such tests, and as these tests are frequently appealed to as proving the prosperity of the country, I think it necessary to say a few words regarding them. The tests I refer to more particularly are "rise" in prices and wages, and imports of bullion. I hope mere general assertions on these points will not be considered sufficient. To understand correctly the phenomena of prices and wages, it is absolutely necessary for the India Office to prepare a return of the prices and wages of all districts from, say, twenty years prior to the British acquisition, to the present day, giving also opposite to the figures for each year the causes of the rise or fall, as the case may be. Such a return alone will show the effect of "the drain," after the British acquisition, either as to how far any rise, on the one hand, was the result of scarcity of production, or of increase of prosperity, or of local expenditure on public works; or, on the other, how far any fall was the result of abundance of produce or the poverty of the district; and, further, whether the rise or fall was general or local, permanent or temporary. The average of a collection of districts of the whole country must also be taken correctly, and not in the erroneous manner in which they are at present made up in the Administration Reports.

To show the necessity of what I ask in the above paragraph, I give a few instances. In the Madras selection from Government Records, No. XXXI., of 1856, prices are given of certain periods for several districts. I take those of Chingleput (page 23), for the years 1841-50 (Fuslee, 1251-60), during which the prices suddenly rose from Rs. 82 per garce of paddy in 1254, to Rs. 126 in the next year 1255, and to Rs. 124 in 1256, and again went down to Rs. 96 and 69 in the succeeding years. So at Rajahmundry, in the prices for the years 1236 to 1245 (1826 to 1834), there is a sudden rise from Rs. 64 in 1241 to Rs. 111 in 1242, and to Rs. 168 in 1243, going down again to Rs. 95 and 63 in the succeeding two years. Now, are these high prices in the two couples of years the result of scarcity or prosperity? If the former, how very wrong it would be to take the high averages of these ten years for comparison or as an indication of prosperity? The last two years in the Punjaub have been bad seasons, and the price of wheat has risen from 1st January, '68, to 1st January, '70, at Delhi, from 26 seers (of 2 lbs.) per Re. 1 to 9 seers; at Ambala from 24 seers to 9 seers; at Lahore, from 18 seers to 9½ (Punjaub Adm. Report for 1869-70, p. 95).

Now, is it right from high averages occasioned in this manner to infer prosperity? An hon. member recently quoted in Parliament the high price of rice at Jubbulpore. Had his informant been a little more communicative, he would have learnt that, while at Jubbulpore, say in the average good season of 1867-8, the price was Rs. $3\frac{3}{4}$ per maund, in the adjoining division of Chutteesghur, the price at Raipore and Belaspore was only Re. 1 per maund, or nearly one-fourth; and that therefore Jubbulpore, with its local expenditure on public works, was no criterion for the rest of the country. In the North-west Provinces, the price of wheat was about the same in the years 1860 and 1868. But during that interval the province passed through a great famine, and had famine prices. Now, will the average taken with these famine prices be a proper criterion for inferences of prosperity? With regard to the erroneous mode of taking averages of a number of districts, by adding up the prices and dividing the total by the number of the districts, without reference to the quantity produced in each district, I need simply refer to the average taken in the Report of the Central Provinces for 1867-68. It is there made out for rice to be Rs. $2\frac{3}{4}$ per maund, when the actual average was only about Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$.

These few instances will, I hope, suffice to show how carefully the test of prices, and similarly that of wages, have to be ascertained and applied. With reference to wages, two important elements must be borne in mind—the number of the labourers who earn each rate of wages, and the number of days such wages are earned during the year.

So far as my inquiries go at present, the conclusion I draw is, that wherever the East India Company acquired territory, impoverishment followed their steps, and it is only from the time that loans for irrigation and railways and other public works, and the windfall of the benefits from the American War returned back, as it were, some of the lost blood, that India has a little revived. But it will require vigorous and steady efforts to increase the production of the country, and diminish its drain to England, before it will be restored to anything like ordinary good health, and be freed from famines.

With regard to imports of bullion, there are sufficient returns for the past seventy years; but they require to be carefully examined to draw any correct inferences from them, taking into consideration the non-production of bullion in the country, the revenue being required to be

paid in money, and thereby making silver a necessity in all ordinary transactions of life, the *vast* population among whom these imports are distributed, and the amount of treasure the East India Company and their servants carried away during the last century in the shape of salaries, bribes, booty, &c. Cannot the India Office make some return on this point, to show the exhaustion of the country thus caused which required to be replenished by subsequent imports? It is no use simply depending upon the re-echoing of the general exclamation, "What an enormous quantity of silver has gone to India!" I entreat most earnestly that the first element—viz., the material condition of India—may be most carefully sifted, and the necessary remedies be applied. If this question be not boldly and fairly grappled with, it will be, in my humble opinion, the principal rock on which British rule will wreck. It is impossible for any nation to go on being impoverished without its ultimate destruction, or the removal of the cause.

II. HEAD TO DESIGN.

The head which designs the Imperial financial legislation is the Supreme Legislative Council, while local legislation is designed by the local Councils. All these Councils have a controlling head in the India Office Council in London. The questions, then, to be decided, in order that the designing head may be as efficient and adapted to the end as possible, resolve themselves into these :—

1st. Can any legislation ever do its work satisfactorily in which the opinions, feelings, and thoughts of the people paying the taxes are not fairly represented? Englishmen, no matter how able, and with whatever good intentions, cannot feel as the natives feel, and think as the natives think. The co-operation of a sufficient number of intelligent natives in all the Councils is an absolute necessity to any satisfactory financial legislation. As to any fear of political mischief from taking natives more largely into confidence, I think it to be entirely groundless. But, even granting that there was any risk, I need simply refer to the Act of 1861, in which ample checks and securities are provided. With a sufficiently large number of natives, with a corresponding increase in the number of non-official English members, there will not only be no risk, but, on the contrary, every cause for satisfaction. I may just point out the checks I allude to—

"Provided always, that it shall not be lawful for any Member or

Additional Member to introduce, without the previous sanction of the Governor-General, any measure affecting—

- “ 1. The public debt or public revenues of India ; or by which any charge would be imposed on such revenues.*
- “ 2. The religion or religious rites and usages of any class of Her Majesty's subjects in India ;
- “ 3. The discipline or maintenance of any part of Her Majesty's Military or Naval Forces ;
- “ 4. The relation of the Government with Foreign Princes or States.” (Clause 19.)

Moreover, the Governor-General has his power of veto ; and the ultimate consent of Her Majesty's Indian Secretary is also necessary. (Clauses 20 and 21.)

Clause 22, limits even the power of the Governor-General as to what he shall not legislate upon, and Clause 43 repeats, with certain additions, as to what the local Council cannot legislate upon except with the sanction of the Governor-General. With such checks there can be nothing to fear.

2nd. Whether decentralization, such as Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir C. Wingfield, and others who agree with them, propose, is necessary or not to solve difficulties like the following. Some provinces complain that they are taxed more to make up the deficits of others. For instance—supposing that the Zemindars of Bengal are right in claiming exemption from any additional burden on lands, under the Regulation of 1793, would not the scheme of decentralization enable the Bengal Government to provide in some other appropriate way for its own wants, instead of the Supreme Council being obliged to impose the same taxes upon the other parts of India also, as it cannot tax Bengal by itself.

The distant Presidencies complain that the Supreme Council is not able to understand fully their peculiar requirements. With the

* Though the Indian Councils are thus prohibited from imposing charges on Indian revenues without direct legislation, and the sanction of the Governor-General first obtained to introduce the measure, the Indian Council in England is, in a very anomalous way, left to do what it likes with the revenues of India ; take, for instance, the way in which certain charges connected with the Cooper-hill Civil Engineering College are put upon Indian revenues, or the large sum of money spent upon the India Office, or any other charges that the Indian Council chooses to make.

Governor-General having a veto upon all the legislation of the subordinate Governments, could not the Supreme Government be better able to attend to all Imperial questions without any loss of dignity or power, and yet leave fairly upon the heads of the different Présidencies their fair share of responsibility? These and similar questions with regard to the constitution and work of the Councils in India have to be decided.

Similar questions have also to be considered with regard to the Indian Council in England. First, need there be such a large Council? Secondly, need the Council have the work of supervision of everything that is done in India; or will it act merely as an appellat power, to interfere when appealed to? Is the constitution such as could satisfactorily perform its work with the due knowledge and appreciation of the continuous change of conditions going on in India? And is it not necessary, moreover, that, as in the Councils in India, some suitable representation of native views and interests should exist in the India Office? Lastly, is it right that this Council should have the power to spend the revenues of India as it likes, without some such open legislation, discussion, and check, as is provided for the Councils in India? From this, I hope it will be sufficiently apparent that the element of "the head which designs and controls" the financial administration of India requires careful consideration. The necessity of a fair expression of the views and feelings of the natives has another aspect—viz., that with such co-operation Government will be very largely relieved of the odium of any dissatisfaction among the natives.

All the remarks with reference to the necessity of a fair representation of natives in the Legislative Councils apply equally to all taxation and expenditure of local funds. For, besides the Imperial revenue of some 50,000,000*l.*, there are local funds raised as follows :—

LOCAL FUNDS.

Gross Receipts for 1867-8, according to Part I. of Finance and Revenue Accounts of India, published by the Government of India, Calcutta, 1870, Account No. 34, pages 116, 118, 120, and 122.

Government of India	...	...	...	£41,028
Oude	...	...	...	194,728
Central Provinces	...	...	...	173,410
British Burmah...	...	...	...	105,550
Bengal	...	...	...	623,722
N. W. Provinces	...	...	...	825,007
Punjaub	...	...	...	326,870
Madras	...	...	...	459,199
Bombay	...	...	...	1,093,133
Berars (11 months of 1866-67, £130,148)	Not given.			

Total..... £3,842,647

III.—HAND TO EXECUTE.

This hand is formed by all the different services in the Administration. The questions are—

1st. Can these services be fully efficient without a proper proportion of natives of talent and integrity in all grades? I consider the question here solely with reference to successful financial administration, independently of its very important social and, especially, political bearings, of the claims of right and justice, and of the great evil of no elders of wisdom or experience being prepared among the natives, as all the wisdom and experience of English officials is lost to India on their retirement, except perhaps of a few, who have conscience enough to feel the debt they owe to India, and to do what they can in England to promote its welfare.

2nd. Can the English officials, no matter however clever, manage the natives as well as natives of the same standing, ability, and integrity? A word of persuasion and assurance from a native of official position will, in the nature of things, carry more influence than that of an Englishman. A native will far more easily understand and know how to deal with the ways of natives. The assistance, therefore, of a proper proportion of natives in all departments is a necessity for successful organization and working of details. Even now it is the native in many instances who is the real soul of the work, though the credit is all taken by his English superiors.

Conscientious men, like Sir Henry Ricketts, of the Bengal Civil Service, make no secret of such a circumstance, and rightly urge to let credit be given to whom it belongs. It is only natural that the Englishman, with his frequent changes and his ignorance of the people around him, is depended upon, and at the mercy of, his subordinates. If there were in the service natives of the same position with himself, he would, by comparing notes with them, be much helped in understanding the feelings, views, and idiosyncrasies of natives, which he has no other means of learning.

Successful administration requires complete knowledge, and for such knowledge the co-operation of the natives is simply a necessity.

There is, moreover, the economical, and, therefore, the immediately financial, point of view from which this subject has to be considered. Supposing that the native official was paid as highly as his English colleague, the mere fact that all the earnings of the native official remain in the country, as he has no remittances to make to a foreign land for the education or maintenance of his children or family, or of his savings, is in itself so far an economical and, therefore, a financial advantage to the country; and it is the bounden duty of the English rulers to allow India this economical saving, consistently with their political supremacy. In some of the services, such as the Public Works, Telegraph, and Forest, political considerations have no place; while economy and justice, and the oft-repeated pledges of Parliament, demand that qualified natives should have free and fair admission into all the services. Unless this economical saving is allowed to India to a fair extent, all professions of administering the finances of India for the good of India cannot but be merely a mockery and delusion. Politically considered, it is not at all improbable that before long the English rulers of India will have some troublesome questions to solve, if due foresight is not used in this matter.

IV.—PRINCIPLES OF DESIGN AND EXECUTION.

As a whole the questions are :—

1. Whether, by the present principles and modes of taxation, the burden is equitably distributed over the shoulders of all classes of people?
2. Whether the present expenditure is not capable of being largely curtailed, and much waste prevented, without impairing the efficiency or strength of the English rule?

To solve these two important questions it is necessary to work in the

way in which the Committee has already commenced, to examine the principle and necessity of each item of receipt and expenditure. Now, there is no doubt that the opinion of this governor, or that revenue officer, or such a commander, may be worthy of all weight and respect; but, at the same time, in order that the committee should arrive at an independent judgment of their own, it is necessary that they should not be satisfied with mere general opinions of the witnesses, but should require a clear statement of some satisfactory *proofs* upon which those opinions are based. I hope, therefore, that mere assertions of officials, that "all is right," will not be considered sufficient. For instance, we may take the question of the land revenue, which is the very subject the Committee has commenced with. There is a variety of land tenures, and each is based upon several principles. I take the instance of one of these principles—viz., the proportion of the rate of assessment to the income of the cultivator, or the produce of the land.

There are two questions. First, Are the principle or principles of the rates sound? and, second, if so, are the rate or rates adopted, such as to encourage increase of cultivation, lead to increase of capital, and thereby to increase of production and prosperity?

First take the *principles* of the rate.

In Bombay one and the chief principle of the last settlement seems to me to be this. It is illustrated by a table by Captain (now Sir George) Wingate and Lieut. Nash. (Bombay "Selection," No. CVII., New Series, page 14. See also pages 109 and 110.)

The soil is divided from No. 1 to No. 9. The gross produce of soil No. 1 is supposed, for illustration, to be Rs. 172 4 as. for every Rs. 100 of cultivation expenses—i.e., Rs. 72 4 as. is net produce; and for soil No. 9, the gross produce is supposed to be Rs. 127 6 as. 3 p. for every Rs. 100 of cultivation expenses—i.e., Rs. 27 6 as. 3 p. is net produce. The Government assessment is then adjusted as follows: Out of the net produce of Rs. 27 6 as. 3 p. of No. 9 soil, the Government rate is, for supposition taken as Rs. 5 13 as. 4 p., leaving to the cultivator Rs. 21 8 as. 11 p.—i.e., something like 75 per cent. of the net produce. But what is proposed to be left to the cultivator of No. 1, whose net produce is Rs. 72 4 as.? One would think that, like the rate of the No. 9 soil, Government would take one-fourth, or say, Rs. 18, and leave to the cultivator three-fourths, or Rs. 54. Such, however, is not the case. The cultivator of No. 1 soil is also to keep only Rs. 21 8 as. 11 p. and give up to Government Rs. 50 5 as. 1 p.—that is, Government takes above two-thirds and the

cultivator less than one-third ; the principle being that, no matter what the net produce for every Rs. 100 invested may be, every cultivator is not to have a definite proportion of his net produce, but an absolute fixed quantity. This would be something like imposing the income-tax upon the principle that if one merchant makes a profit of 50*l.* on an investment of 100*l.*, and another of 10*l.* on the same investment, they are not to pay some definite proportion or proportions of their profits ; but if the latter is to pay 2*l.* out of 10*l.*, and retain 8*l.*, the former should also retain 8*l.* only, and pay 42*l.* to Government. I wonder how British merchants and manufacturers would like this principle ! However, it is not my object here to discuss the merit of this principle, but only to state it, for comparison with that of the other provinces.

Now take Madras. There the principle is, after allowing for ridges, boundaries, unproductive portions of fields, seasons, cultivation expenses, &c., to adjust the Government Assessment at two-thirds of the net produce on wet or irrigated lands, and a sort of compromise between two-thirds of net produce and one-fourth of gross produce on dry lands ; the balance of about one-third of the net produce being left to the cultivator. ("Madras Selection," No. XIV., of 1869, pages 142—160, Settlement of Chellumbrum and Manargoody Talookas, of South Arcot.) Taking Punjaub, the principle of the first settlement was on the basis of two-thirds of the net produce, but by the revised settlement it is on one-half of the net produce for Government. In the N. W. Provinces (Adm. Report, '67-'68, page 47) "the standard of assessment is now 55 per cent. of the assets, of which 5 per cent. goes for cesses ; the remaining 45 per cent., after defraying the village expenses, forms the profit of the proprietors."

To sum up the whole, I give an extract from a memorandum of the India House (Return 75, of 1858). "And in all the improved systems of Revenue Administration, of which an account has been given in the preceding part of this paper, the object has not been merely to keep the Government demand *within the limits of a fair rent, but to leave a large portion of the rent to the proprietors.* In the settlement of the N. W. Provinces, the demand was limited to two-thirds of the amount, which it appeared, from the best attainable information, that the land could afford to pay as rent. The principle which has been laid down for the next settlement, and acted on wherever settlement has commenced, is still more liberal ; the Government demand being fixed at one-half instead of two-thirds of the average net produce—that is, of a fair rent. The same general standard has been adopted for guidance in the new settlement of

the Madras territory. In Bombay no fixed proportion has been kept in view, but the object has been that land should possess a saleable value." (The italics are mine.)

Now, in giving this extract I have also the object of directing attention to the use of the words "net produce" and "fair rent" as synonymous. Is it so? Is the *net produce*, of which one-half is settled as Government assessment, *rent* only in the sense in which economists use that word, and for "leaving a large portion of which" Government claims credit of liberality?

Now to the next question. Taking the *absolute* amount of the net produce, is the portion allowed to the cultivators sufficient, on an average, for their year's ordinary wants of common necessities, and some reasonable comforts, together with a saving to face a bad season, or to increase the capital of the country for increasing production?

The test of "the satisfaction of the ryots" is often quoted as a proof of soundness. But it requires to be ascertained whether because an element like that of fixity of tenure and non-interference for a long period is felt satisfactory, it follows that the other elements or principles of the settlement are also necessarily satisfactory or just, even though, as a general result, the agriculturists may feel themselves somewhat better off than they were before? Or is the fact of such profits as the Bombay Presidency had the good fortune to make from the late American war, and the improvement of condition by railways, though a cause of satisfaction to the cultivators, a proof of the soundness or justness of each and all the principles adopted in the settlement? To come to a right conclusion, each principle requires to be examined on its own merits, without reference to general results: for if *all* the principles were sound, much more satisfactory may be the results.

The Bombay settlement, as well as that of other parts, is now under revision. It is important to ascertain the real present incidence of land revenue, and the reasonable increase that may be made, with sufficient left to the cultivator to subsist on and to save for increase of capital. I am afraid the Bombay re-settlement is not quite reasonable.

I shall take one or two more instances in connection with land revenue. Whether the zemindars of the permanent settlement can be taxed for extra cesses has been the subject of much controversy and dissatisfaction, and even up to the present day the Indir Office is divided against itself. Now, as long as mere opinions of this official or that

Indian Secretary are the sole guides, I do not see how the controversy will ever end. It is a simple question of documentary evidence—the interpretation of a regulation. Would it not be the best plan to subject this question to the decision of a judicial authority, such as the Privy Council after hearing the arguments of counsel on both sides? The decision of such a tribunal must end the matter. The same course, either on the original side of the High Court of Bombay, or in the Privy Council, might be adopted with regard to the extra anna-cess imposed upon the existing Bombay settlements. I believe it is the opinion of many that it was a breach of faith on the part of Government. A decision of a competent judicial tribunal would be satisfactory to all parties.

The *prestige* of the British name for good faith should never be in the least imperilled, if it is to exert for Government the moral influence it possesses, independently of political and other reasons.

Lastly, in reference to the principles of the land revenue, as a part of the whole design, is the burden of taxation on the cultivator of land in an equitable proportion with other classes? Government claims the rights of a landlord. Does that mean that Government *must* have a certain portion of the produce no matter even though the exaction be inequitably higher than that from other classes of people? Or is the Government demand upon land to be adjusted on the principle that Government requiring a certain revenue, the land should pay its equitable quota with all other industries? or is it that, because richer interests can resort to agitation, and make themselves heard, while the poor labourer and cultivator cannot, it is felt easier to squeeze them than the other classes?

II. Is the machinery for the collection of the land revenue sufficiently economical? I think the evidence of a person like Dewan Kazi Shahabudin, for the Bombay side, will be valuable; for, as a native revenue official as he once was, he knows the feelings and views of the natives in a way and to an extent which it is almost impossible for an English official to acquire.

After this one instance of the land revenue, I do not think I need go into the details of the other items of the Budget further than to say that the test of Questions I. and II. under the fourth head has to be rigidly applied to all the items; and to ascertain whether the system of keeping accounts is such as it should be. I shall take only one more item. The salt-tax, especially, requires most anxious consideration. It is the cause of the poor, who cannot speak for or help themselves. Is it at all right

to tax salt ; and, even allowing the necessity, is the incidence of its burden on the poor similar to that on the other classes for the share they pay towards revenue ?

The salt gross revenue for different parts is as follows for 1869-70 :—

(Ret. c. 213 of 1870.)

				Per head	
				about	
				s.	d.
				Population	
				about	
Bengal	...	£2,583,562	40,000,000	1	3½
Oudh	...	1,219	11,000,000	...	
Central Provinces...	115,167	9,000,000	0	3	
N. W. Provinces	...	488,728	30,000,000	0	4
Punjaub	...	923,060	17,500,000	1	0½
Madras	...	1,164,736	23,000,000	1	0
Bombay	...	599,407	14,000,000	0	10
Total...				144,500,000	0 9¾ average

Now, taking the share of the agricultural produce which can be considered as left to the mass of the poor, agricultural, and other common labouring population, to be 20s. a-head, an ordinary coolie or workman pays in his salt some 4 per cent. out of his wretched pittance. But it must also be borne in mind that 4 per cent. out of 20s. is far more important to the poor man than 10 or 20 per cent. out of the income of the richer classes. Taking 25s. a-head, the rate will be 3¼ per cent.

Of the four elements I have described above, the first three are essentially questions for Parliament.

1. It is Parliament alone that can decide what the financial relations between England and India should be ; how far the guarantee of England can be given for the alleviation of the burden of the public debt, which is the result of English wars in India, or other countries of Asia ; and how far the benefit of England's credit and capital can be given to help in the restoration of India's prosperity and prevention of famines.

2. It is Parliament alone that can modify the constitution of the Legislative Council and the Indian Council, or give the people of India such a fair voice in their own affairs as they are now capable of exercising, because these Councils are the creation of an Act of Parliament.

3. It is Parliament alone that can insist on the faithful fulfilment of the repeated pledges they have given by Acts of Parliament for the admission of natives into the various services, according to competence and character, and without any regard to caste, creed, colour, or race. In the Public Works Department there is a farce of a regulation to admit natives in India on proof of competence; but very good care is taken that natives do *not* get in. On the Bombay side, as far back as 1861, three natives proved their competence (and one did the same in 1866), and to my knowledge none of them had found admission into the Engineering Department up to 1868. Whether they have since been admitted I do not know, though during the interval dozens of appointments have been given every year. English interests exercise such pressure upon the Indian Governments, that unless Parliament does its duty and insists that, in accordance with its pledges, justice shall be done to the children of the soil, there is but little hope on that score.

4. The principles of the whole design of Financial Administration, or of its details, will have always, more or less, to be settled and controlled by the Indian Governments themselves, according to change of circumstances. The best service, therefore, that Parliament can do on this head—and which Parliament alone can do—is to inquire, at certain reasonable intervals—say every ten or twelve years—how the Indian Governments have discharged their trust. This simple necessary control of the great Parliament of the Empire will prevent many of those evils which freedom from a sense of responsibility induces, and infuse into the Administration all that care and forethought necessary to its success.

May, 1871.

After I had posted the foregoing part of this pamphlet from Alexandria, I came across a speech of Lord Mayo, in the *Times of India's* summary, of 8th April last. I read one paragraph in it with feelings of mixed regret and hopefulness; regret, that one in the position of a Viceroy should have put forth what, in my humble opinion, is an erroneous and misleading statement; and hopefulness, because now that the Viceroy has directed his attention to the all-important subject of the insufficient production of the country, he will, I hope, be able to grapple with it, investigate its causes and evil consequences, and earnestly endeavour to apply suitable remedies.

I refer here to the paragraph in which his Excellency endeavours to refute the assertion that Indian taxation is "crushing." His lordship on

this point has made several assumptions, which require examination. I shall, therefore, first consider whether the conclusion drawn is legitimate, and whether all necessary elements of comparison have been taken into account.

Last year, in my paper on "The Wants and Means of India," which was read before the East India Association, a rough estimate was given of the total production of India (including opium, salt, minerals, manufactures—in short, production of every kind) as about 40s. a-head per annum.

Mr. Grant Duff, in his speech of 24th February last, referred to the relative incomes of England and India, and endeavoured to show that while the former was estimated at 30*l.* a-head, the latter was "guessed" as 40s. a-head per annum. Now, his lordship the Viceroy quotes Mr. Duff's statement of 40s., and believes that Mr. Duff has good reasons for his statement. So that we have it now on the highest authority that the total production of India is only 40s. a-head per annum.

His Excellency the Viceroy, after admitting this fact, compares the taxation of India with that of some other countries. In doing this, his lordship deducts as land revenue (*whether rightly or wrongly, will be seen hereafter*) the opium, tributes, and other small receipts from Indian taxation, and then compares the balance with the taxation of other countries. Being on board a steamer in the Red Sea, I cannot refer to returns to see whether his lordship has made any similar deductions from the taxation of the latter. The result of the comparison would appear to be that, while India pays only 1*s.* 10*d.* per head of taxation per annum, Turkey pays 7*s.* 9*d.*, Russia 12*s.* 2*d.*, Spain 18*s.* 5*d.*, Austria 19*s.* 7*d.*, and Italy 17*s.* per head per annum. The conclusion drawn is that the taxation of India is not "crushing." What idea his lordship attaches to the word "crushing" I cannot say, but his lordship seems to forget the very first premise that the total production of the country is admitted to be 40*s.* per head. Now, this amount is hardly enough for the bare necessities of life, much less can it supply any comforts or provide any reserve for bad times; so that, living from hand to mouth, and that on "scanty subsistence" (in the words of Lord Lawrence), the very touch of famine carries away hundreds of thousands. Is not this in itself as "crushing" to any people as it can possibly be? And yet out of this wretched income they have to pay taxation as well.

His lordship has, moreover, left out a very important element from account. He is well aware that, whatever revenue is raised by the other

countries, for instance, the 70,000,000*l.* by England, the whole of it returns back to the people and remains in the country ; and, therefore, the national capital, upon which the production of a country depends, does not suffer diminution ; while, on account of India's being subject to a foreign rule, out of the 50,000,000*l.* of revenue raised every year, some 12,000,000*l.*, or more, are carried clear away to England, and the national capital—or, in other words, its capability of production—is continuously diminished year after year. The pressure of taxation, therefore, if proper remedies are not adopted to counteract the above evil, must, necessarily, become more and more crushing every year, even though the amount of taxation be not increased. It is quite intelligible that the English people, with an income or production of some 30*l.* per head, aided by or including some 12,000,000*l.*, or more, annually drawn from India, may not feel the taxation of 2*l.* 10*s.* a-head as crushing : or the nations which his lordship has instanced, having no price of some 12,000,000*l.* annually to pay for a foreign rule, and being, most probably, able to produce enough for all their wants, may not feel the 7*s.* to 19*s.* 7*d.* as crushing ; but, in my humble opinion, every single ounce of rice taken from the “scanty subsistence” of the masses of India is to them so much more starvation, and so much more “crushing.”

I shall now consider what would have been the fairest way of making the comparison of taxation. Every nation has a certain amount of income from various sources, such as production of cultivation, minerals, farming, manufactures, profits of trade, &c. From such total income all its wants are to be supplied. A fair comparison as to the incidence of taxation will be to see the proportion of the amount which the Government of the country takes for its administration, public debts, &c., to the total income. You may call this amount taxation, revenue, or any thing you like ; and Government may take it in any shape or way whatsoever. It is so much taken from the income of the country for the purposes of government. In the case of India, whether Government takes this amount as land tax, or opium revenue, or in whatever other form, does not matter, it is all the same, that out of the total income of the country Government raises so much revenue for its purposes which otherwise would have remained with the people.

Taking, therefore, this fair test of the incidence of taxation, the results will be, that England raises 70,000,000*l.* out of the national income of some 900,000,000*l.*—that is, about 8 per cent., or about 2*l.* 10*s.* ⁶/₁₀ per head, from an income of about 30*l.* per head ; whereas the

Indian Government raises 50,000,000*l.* out of a national income of 300,000,000*l.*—that is, about 16 per cent., or 6*s.* 8*d.* per head, out of an income of 40*s.* per head.

Had his lordship stated the total national income and population of the countries with which he has made the comparison, we would have then seen what the percentage of their revenue to their income was, and from how much income per head the people had to pay their 7*s.* to 19*s.* 7*d.* per head of taxation, as quoted by his lordship.

Further, if in consequence of a constant drain from India from its poor production, the income of the country continues to diminish, the percentage of taxation to income will be still greater, even though the amount of taxation may not increase. But, as we know that the tendency of taxation in India has, during the past twelve years, been to go on increasing every year, the pressure will necessarily become more and more oppressive and crushing, unless our rulers by proper means restore India to at least a healthy, if not a wealthy condition. It must, moreover, be particularly borne in mind that, while a ton may not be any burden to an elephant, a few pounds may crush a child; that the English nation may, from its average income of 30*l.* a-head, bear with ease a burden of even 5*l.* or 10*l.* of taxation per head, while, to the Indian nation, 5*s.* out of 40*s.* may be quite unbearable and crushing. The capacity to bear a burden with ease or to be crushed by it, is not to be measured by the percentage of taxation, but by the abundance, or otherwise, of the means or income to pay it from. From abundance you may give a large percentage with ease; from sufficiency, the same burden may be just bearable, or some diminution may make it so; but from insufficiency, any burden is so much privation.

But as matters stand, poor India has to pay not only the same percentage of taxation to its income as in England, but nearly double; *i.e.*, while England pays only about 8½ per cent. of its national income for the wants of its Government, India has to pay some 16 per cent. of its income for the same purpose; though here that income per head of population is some fifteenth part of that of England, and insufficient in itself for even its ordinary wants, leaving alone the extraordinary political necessity to pay a foreign country for its rule.

I sincerely trust, and very hopefully look forward, that when those in whose hands the destiny of India is now placed—such as Mr. Grant Duff, the members of the India Office, the Viceroy, and Sir R. Temple—understand this great evil, it will not be long before really effectual

remedies shall be adopted, with the assistance of Parliament. Parliament being the fountain of all power, and as the Indian Government can only act as Parliament directs, it becomes its bounden duty to God and man to lay down the great principles of a just, efficient, and beneficent government for the administration of India, and to see from time to time to their being acted on.

In stating the Viceroy's views, I am obliged to trust to memory, but I hope I have not mis-stated them. Now that we have the testimony of the two latest Viceroys—Lord Lawrence stating that the mass of the people live on scanty subsistence, and Lord Mayo believing Mr. Grant Duff's statement of the income of India being only 40s. a-head per annum as well founded—the Select Committee may not think it necessary to ask for any returns, but take the fact as proved. Perhaps the time thus saved to the Select Committee may be well employed in ascertaining the best remedies for such a deplorable state of affairs, and it may not seem very reasonable to request the Committee to put the India Office to the trouble of making any returns on this subject. But I hope that, though the Select Committee may not now think it necessary to ask for any returns for its own use, it will recommend—or the Indian Government will, of its own accord, require—the return of a table of total income of the country as an essential part of the annual Administration Reports of all the different provinces, and embody it in the return now annually published, showing the moral and material progress. The Houses of Parliament and the English and the Indian public will then be able to see every year clearly what the material condition of India really is, and how far measures are adopted to improve the present state of matters. To prepare returns of the total production of the country, there are ample materials in the tables required by the Calcutta Statistical Committee in the Administration Reports. All that is necessary is simple calculation. For instance, one table gives the total acreage of cultivated land in each district; another table gives the acreage of the different crops grown; a third table gives the produce per acre of each kind of crop; a fourth table gives the prices of the produce in the markets of the districts. Now it is easy to see that, with these materials, the value of the total produce of all the districts of a province can be easily worked out.

An erroneous principle has crept into the Administration Reports. I have already once referred to it in connection with the question of prices. I point it out here again, so that it may be avoided in this important calculation. In the above tables of the Administration Reports averages

are taken, for instance, of the prices of all the districts of the province, by adding up the prices of the different districts and dividing the total by the number of districts. This is evidently absurd, for one district may have produced a million of tons of rice, and may sell it at Re. 1 a maund, and another may have produced only a thousand tons, and the price there may be Rs. 5 a maund. It will be incorrect to make the average price as Rs. 3 per maund, when it will actually be only a little more than Re. 1. In the same manner the produce per acre may be very large in one place where probably the acreage under cultivation also is very large, while in another district the cultivated acreage may be small and the produce per acre may be small also. If the average is taken by simply adding up the produce per acre of each district, and dividing by the number of districts, the total of the produce thus obtained will be less than the actual quantity. Avoiding this mistake in the principle of taking averages, from the above-mentioned tables can be calculated the total production of cultivated land. Then there are other sources of income to be added, such as stock, opium, salt, minerals, manufactures, fisheries, &c. The Reports already have the figures for most of these items, and thus the grand total of income available for human consumption and saving may be ascertained. Such a return, with two others I shall refer to hereafter for every province, would be of great importance.

If this calculation of the total income of the country is made out every year, we shall have the most direct evidence of the actual condition of the people, instead of being obliged to draw inferences indirectly from the complicated and misleading phenomena of differences of prices or wages.

Except Bengal, all the provinces have the means of obtaining the necessary materials for the different tables required by the Statistical Committee. In Bengal, the perpetual settlement, I think, makes it unnecessary for the Revenue Department to ascertain the actual extent of the whole cultivation, and of the different crops. But for such an important purpose, I have no doubt, the Bengal Government will devise some means to procure the necessary information. In the Report for 1869-70, they have, I think, intimated their intention to do what they can.

Not commanding the time and the means necessary for minute calculations, I have made a rough estimate, and I think that if averages are worked out by the statistical staff at the India Office or at Calcutta, the result will be very nearly what Mr. Duff has stated, and which his Excellency the Viceroy adopts—viz., a total income of about 40s. a-head per annum. From this, the European residents and the richer classes of

natives above the common labourer get a larger proportion, and the portion remaining for the mass of the people must, therefore, be much less.

It must also be remembered that this average of 40s. per head is for the whole of India; but for the different Presidencies or Provinces, each of which is as large and as populous as some of the countries of Europe, the proportion of distribution of this total production is very different. For instance, in Bombay the total production, if accurately worked out, may be found to be 100s. a-head, Punjab perhaps about 45s. to 50s. a-head; consequently the other provinces will have under 40s. a-head. Then, again, there is another drawback—viz., the want of cheap communication—by which even this insufficient production of 45s. a-head is not fully utilized, so as to allow the plenty of one Presidency to be available for the population of another. Not only does this difficulty of distribution exist between different Presidencies, but even between parts of the same province. I shall give just one instance—that of the Central Provinces. While at Raipore and Belaspore the price of rice at the end of 1867-8 was Re. 1 for a maund of 80 lbs., at Hosungabad it was Rs. 5 per maund, at Baitool it was Rs. 4 per maund, at Jubbulpore Rs. 3 12 ans. per maund. In this way, while in one district a part of the produce was perhaps rotting or being wasted, other districts were suffering from scarcity.

Upon the whole, I think the average income per head of the poor labouring population of all the provinces (except Bombay and Punjab) will be found hardly above 20s. a-head per annum, or may be, from 20s. to 25s.

This can be tested directly if the Administration Reports give, in addition to the return for the total income of the province, a second return, something like the following (I believe they have all the requisite materials, or can obtain them):—The number of people living upon unskilled labour, and rates of wages, with details; the number adults (male and female) capable of work, say between twenty-one and fifty; the number of youths, say from twelve to twenty-one years of age (male and female); the number of the old incapable of work, or, say, above fifty years of age; the number of children under twelve years of age; the average wage earned by males and females of the above different classifications (calculating the average on the correct principle of taking the *number* of labourers earning each *rate* into account); the number of the sick and infirm; and the number of days during the year that the different rates of wages are earned. From these materials it will be easy to ascertain the real average income of the unskilled labourer, who forms the majority of the population, and upon whose labour depends

the subsistence of the nation. I hope the India Office will order such returns to be prepared for the Select Committee. It will be a direct proof of the actual condition of the mass of the people of each Presidency, and will be a great help to the Committee.

I may now give a few particulars, which are at hand, of the cost of living, for the bare necessities of life.

The Bombay Report for 1867-68 gives Rs. 41 13 ans. 10 p. as the average cost for diet per prisoner, and Rs. 5 10 ans. 11 p. for clothing and bedding. The N. W. Provinces Report gives the average cost for central gaols—for diet, Rs. 18 1 an. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ p.; for clothing and bedding, Rs. 3 5 ans. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ p. For divisional gaols—for diet, Rs. 24 6 ans. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ p.; and clothing and bedding, Rs. 4 3 ans. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ p.; and for district gaols—for diet, Rs. 15 8 ans. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ p.; and for clothing and bedding, Rs. 3 2 ans. 6 p. In the Central Provinces, the cost for diet is Rs. 25 $\frac{1}{2}$, and for clothing and bedding Rs. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$; and in the Punjaub—for diet, Rs. 23 6 ans.; for clothing and bedding, Rs. 31 13 ans. 6 p.

This is what the State thinks it necessary to give to criminals as bare necessities of life. There may be some little allowance to be made for the proportion of females and the young being smaller in a prison than in the outside world. Making this allowance, can it be said that the labourer gets the necessities of life to this extent? To this has to be added some cost for lodging, something for reasonable social wants, and something to save for a bad day or old age. Do the people get this?

Surgeon S. B. Partridge, Government Medical Inspector of Emigrants, in a statement dated Calcutta, 26th March, 1870,* proposes the following as a scale of diet, to supply the necessary ingredients of nourishment, for the emigrant coolies during their voyage, living in a state of quietude:—

RICE DIET FOR ONE MAN.				FOR FLOUR DIET.			
			ozs.				ozs.
Rice	...	...	20 0	Flour	...	...	16 0
Dhal	...	...	6 0	Dhal	...	...	4 0
Preserved Mutton	...	...	2 5	Preserved Mutton	...	...	2 5
Vegetables	...	...	4 27	Vegetables	...	...	4 27
Ghee	...	...	1 0	Ghee	...	...	1 5
Mustard Oil	...	...	0 5	Mustard Oil	...	...	0 5
Salt	...	...	1 0	Salt	...	...	1 0
Total.....			35 27	Total.....			29 77

* The *Indian Economist* of 15th October, 1870; "Statistical Reporter," p. 45.

Total Production of India.

In July 1870, I made a rough estimate, in my paper on "The Wants and Means of India," placed before the East India Association, as follows :—

"The whole produce of India is from its land. The gross land-tax is put down for 1870-71 a little above £21,000,000. Now, I suppose I shall be within the mark if I say that Government takes for this land-tax, on an average, one-eighth of the gross produce, if not more. This gives for the gross production of the country, say, about £168,000,000; add to this—gross opium revenue about £7,000,000; gross salt revenue, £6,000,000; gross forest, £600,000. The total, thus, of the raw produce of the country amounts under £182,000,000, to be on the safe side, let us say £200,000,000 to include the produce of half a million tons of coal, of alienation lands, or anything else there may be. Now, the population of the whole of British India is nearly 150,000,000; giving, therefore, less than 27s. a-head for the annual support of the whole people."

I then further raised the production from £200,000,000 to £300,000,000, to include the value of manufacturing industries, excise on spirits, and a large margin for any omissions, making 40s. a head for the gross production of India as a high estimate.

Since then I have endeavoured to work out the same problem directly, as far as the official data I could get enabled me to do so.

Parliament requires a yearly report of the moral and material progress of India; and a Statistical Committee is formed at Calcutta to supply the necessary information. This Committee has prescribed certain tables to be filled up by the different Governments in their administration reports.

The Central Provinces and Burmah reports are the only two complete in their agricultural tables as far as practicable. Four others (Madras, North-West Provinces, Punjab, and Oudh) give them imperfectly. Bengal and Bombay gave the least, or none, up to 1869-70. For what I could not get from the reports, I applied to the India Office, which naturally replied they could not give what they did not get from India. It will be seen, therefore, that I have been obliged to work out the production under much difficulty. Not only is the quantity of information insufficient, but the quality even of such as is given is defective. For instance, in the tables of prices of produce in the

of the Central Provinces, in order to get an average the prices are added up together, and the total is divided by the number of the districts. This principle is generally adopted by the returns made by all the Governments with respect to average of produce or prices. The principle, however, is altogether fallacious. In taking the average of prices, the quantities of produce sold at the different prices are altogether lost sight of. In the same way, in taking the average produce per acre, the extent of land yielding different quantities is overlooked.

The result, therefore, is wrong, and all arguments and conclusions based upon such averages are worthless. Taking the instance of the Central Provinces in the administration report of 1867-8, the average price of rice is made out to be Rs. 2-12-7 per maund, when in reality the correct average will be only Rs. 1-8 per maund. Again, the table for the produce of rice per acre gives the average as 579 lbs., when in reality it is 759 lbs. Now, what can be the worth of conclusions drawn from these wrong averages? These averages are not only worthless, but mischievous. It is a pity that, with large Government establishments, more accurate and complete information should not be given. I sincerely trust that future reports will not only work averages upon correct principles, but also work out the total production of their respective provinces. Then only we shall know the actual condition of the mass of the people. All 'I thinks' and 'my opinions' are of no use on important subjects. The whole foundation of all administration, financial and general, and of the actual condition of people, rests upon this one fact—the produce of the country, the ultimate result of all capital, labour and land. With imperfect materials at command, and not possessed of the means to employ a staff to work out all the details as they ought to be, I can only give approximate results.

On the question of taking proper averages and supplying complete information, I addressed a letter, in February 1871, to the India Office, which I have reason to believe has been forwarded to the Governments in India. I hope that some attention will be paid to the matter. As a specimen of the correct principle of averages, I have got worked out table A of the averages of price and produce of some of the principal productions of the Central Provinces. From this will be seen that the correct average price for rice is Rs. 1-8, instead of Rs. 2-12-7, as stated above; also that the correct average of produce is 750, and not 579 lbs., per acre. I have explained, in the following calculations for the mode I have adopted for each. Though working

with insufficient and defective materials, and without the means and time to work out details, I have endeavoured to calculate *above* the mark, so that, whatever my error, it will be found on the safe side, of estimating a higher produce than the reality.

The principle of my calculations is briefly this. I have taken the largest one or two kinds of produce of a province to represent all its produce, as it would be too much labour for me to work out every produce, great and small. I have taken the whole cultivated area of each district, the produce per acre, and the price of the produce; and simple multiplication and addition will give you both the quantity and value of the total produce. From it, also, you can get the correct average of produce per acre and of prices for the whole province, as in this way you have all the necessary elements taken into account.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

The total area of cultivated land (table 2, Fiscal of Report, 1867-8— an average *good season* year) is 12,378,215 acres. The price of produce per acre, as worked out in table A for the important articles rice, wheat, other food-grains, oil-seeds, and cotton, is Rs. 11-13-5—say Rs. 12.* The total value of agricultural produce will be acres 12,378,215 \times Rs. 12 = Rs. 14,85,38,580. To this is to be added the produce of Sumbulpore; but the acreage of that district is not given. Making some allowance for it, I increased the produce to, say, Rs. 16,00,00,000, or £16,000,000, for a population of 9,000,000.

I have lately met with an unexpected confirmation of my views. The *Times of India* Summary of 6th June 1873 takes from the *Englishman* some particulars from Mr. Pedder's reply to the Viceroy's circular on local funds. Mr. Pedder makes out, as the value of produce in the Nagpore district, about Rs. 8 per acre, and my estimate of the whole of the Central Provinces is Rs. 12 per acre. I do not know whether

* The table A is too large for insertion.

	Summary.	
	Acres.	Rs.
Rice	2,938,328	4,18,43,575
Wheat	3,313,677	3,51,77,956
Other Food Grains	4,197,516	4,70,63,760
Oil Seeds	697,100	1,04,42,854
Cotton	643,390	50,28,838
Total.....	11,790,011	13,95,56,983

Average, Rs. 11-13-5 per acre.

Mr. Pedder has avoided the wrong principle of averages—whether he calculates for an average good season, and whether any allowance is made for bad seasons.

PUNJAB.

The administration report of 1867-8 gives all the necessary agricultural tables, except one, *viz.*, the produce per acre of the different kinds of crops. I take this year (1867-8) as a better season, and with a larger extent of cultivation, than that of 1868-9.

The chief crops are wheat and other inferior grains—the former nearly 20, and the latter 50 per cent., of the whole cultivation. The price of wheat is higher than that of other inferior grains, and as I take the prices of first-class wheat, I think the average price of the produce of one acre of wheat, applied to the whole cultivated acreage, will be very much above the actual value of the production, and my estimate will be much higher than it ought to be.

As the administration reports of both 1867-8 and 1868-9 do not give the produce of crops per acre, I ascertain it from other sources.

In the administration report of the Punjab for the year 1850-51 (published in 1854 by the Court of Directors), drawn up by Mr. (now Sir Richard) Temple, a detailed table, dated Jullundhur, 25th October 1851, gives the produce per acre. The table gives 14 instances of first-class lands, which, by the rough process of adding up and dividing by the number of instances, gives $14\frac{1}{2}$ maunds = 1,160 lbs.; (a maund equals 82 lbs.—Report 1855-6); for the *second* class from 8 instances, I find the average $13\frac{1}{2}$ maunds, or 1,107 lbs.; and for the third class from 6 instances, I find 11 maunds, or 902 lbs. From this table I have taken all at 10 maunds or upwards as representing irrigated land, and the second class representing the bulk of it, as producing 1,100 lbs. per acre. For unirrigated land I have not sufficient data. I adopt 600 lbs. per acre, for reasons I have stated under heading 'North-West Provinces.'

After I had made my following calculations on the above basis, I was favoured with a loan from the Record Department of the India Office of the administration report for 1869-70. The produce per acre is given in this report, but the average is taken on the objectionable principle of adding up the produce of all districts and dividing by the number of districts, without reference to the extent of cultivation in each district. According to this, the average of the produce of wheat per acre of all the districts is given in the report as only 624 lbs. The highest produce

in three districts included in this average, is 1,044, 1,066, and 1,000 lbs.; so that my assumption of 1,100 lbs. per acre for *all* irrigated land is much above the mark. Again, even making allowance for the drought of the years 1868-9 and 1869-70, my assumption of 600 lbs. of wheat per acre of all unirrigated land only, is also above the mark.

I take the calculated area of 1867-8, which is also the largest of the three years 1867-8, 1868-9, and 1869-70; and I take prices for 1867-8, that having been an average good season. The prices of 1868-9 and 1869-70 are scarcity-prices. The year 1867-8 is a fair test for the produce of the Punjab in an average favorable seasons.

The report for 1867-8 does not give prices of produce for all districts separately, but only of a few important towns, *viz.*, Delhi, Umballa, Lahore, Sealkote, Mooltan, and Peshawur (page ciii.); and as I take these prices to represent not only those of the whole of the districts of these towns, but of all the districts of the Punjab, I evidently assume a much higher price than actually must have been the case. My results, therefore, will be affected in a double way (*viz.*, firstly, in taking first-class wheat to represent all produce; and secondly, in taking the prices in the principal towns to represent all Punjab); and will show then the total value of the production of all Punjab much higher than the reality. I therefore think I shall not be unfair in deducting 10 per cent. as some correction of this double error; and even then I shall be above the mark. The prices given in the report for 1867-8 are as follows (III. E. J. Statement, showing the prices of produce in the Punjab for the year 1867-8):—

	Price in Seers for 1 Rupee.				
	1st June 1866	1st Jan. 1867	1st June 1867	1st Jan. 1868	Average.
Delhi	21½	20	19½	25	21½
Umballa	25	20	20¼	20½	21½
Lahore	23	20	22	17	20½
Sealkote	24	20	22	16	20½
Mooltan	16	17½	16	13½	15½
Peshawur	24½	22	20½	15	20½

The Seer is 2 lbs.

Mr. Pedder has avoided the wrong principle of averages—whether he calculates for an average good season, and whether any allowance is made for bad seasons.

PUNJAB.

The administration report of 1867-8 gives all the necessary agricultural tables, except one, *viz.*, the produce per acre of the different kinds of crops. I take this year (1867-8) as a better season, and with a larger extent of cultivation, than that of 1868-9.

The chief crops are wheat and other inferior grains—the former nearly 20, and the latter 50 per cent., of the whole cultivation. The price of wheat is higher than that of other inferior grains, and as I take the prices of first-class wheat, I think the average price of the produce of one acre of wheat, applied to the whole cultivated acreage, will be very much above the actual value of the production, and my estimate will be much higher than it ought to be.

As the administration reports of both 1867-8 and 1868-9 do not give the produce of crops per acre, I ascertain it from other sources.

In the administration report of the Punjab for the year 1850-51 (published in 1854 by the Court of Directors), drawn up by Mr. (now Sir Richard) Temple, a detailed table, dated Jullundhur, 25th October 1851, gives the produce per acre. The table gives 14 instances of first-class lands, which, by the rough process of adding up and dividing by the number of instances, gives $14\frac{1}{2}$ maunds = 1,160 lbs.; (a maund equals 82 lbs.—Report 1855-6); for the *second* class from 8 instances, I find the average $13\frac{1}{2}$ maunds, or 1,107 lbs.; and for the third class from 6 instances, I find 11 maunds, or 902 lbs. From this table I have taken all at 10 maunds or upwards as representing irrigated land, and the second class representing the bulk of it, as producing 1,100 lbs. per acre. For unirrigated land I have not sufficient data. I adopt 600 lbs. per acre, for reasons I have stated under heading 'North-West Provinces.'

After I had made my following calculations on the above basis, I was favoured with a loan from the Record Department of the India Office of the administration report for 1869-70. The produce per acre is given in this report, but the average is taken on the objectionable principle of adding up the produce of all districts and dividing by the number of districts, without reference to the extent of cultivation in each district. According to this, the average of the produce of wheat per acre of all the districts is given in the report as only 624 lbs. The highest produce

in three districts included in this average, is 1,044, 1,066, and 1,000 lbs.; so that my assumption of 1,100 lbs. per acre for *all* irrigated land is much above the mark. Again, even making allowance for the drought of the years 1868-9 and 1869-70, my assumption of 600 lbs. of wheat per acre of all unirrigated land only, is also above the mark.

I take the calculated area of 1867-8, which is also the largest of the three years 1867-8, 1868-9, and 1869-70; and I take prices for 1867-8, that having been an average good season. The prices of 1868-9 and 1869-70 are scarcity-prices. The year 1867-8 is a fair test for the produce of the Punjab in an average favorable seasons.

The report for 1867-8 does not give prices of produce for all districts separately, but only of a few important towns, *viz.*, Delhi, Umballa, Lahore, Sealkote, Mooltan, and Peshawur (page ciii.); and as I take these prices to represent not only those of the whole of the districts of these towns, but of all the districts of the Punjab, I evidently assume a much higher price than actually must have been the case. My results, therefore, will be affected in a double way (*viz.*, firstly, in taking first-class wheat to represent all produce; and secondly, in taking the prices in the principal towns to represent all Punjab); and will show then the total value of the production of all Punjab much higher than the reality. I therefore think I shall not be unfair in deducting 10 per cent. as some correction of this double error; and even then I shall be above the mark. The prices given in the report for 1867-8 are as follows (III. E. J. Statement, showing the prices of produce in the Punjab for the year 1867-8):—

	Price in Seers for 1 Rupee.				
	1st June 1866	1st Jan. 1867	1st June 1867	1st Jan. 1868	Average.
Delhi	21½	20	19½	25	21½
Umballa	25	20	20½	20½	21½
Lahore	23	20	22	17	20½
Sealkote	24	20	22	16	20½
Mooltan	16	17½	16	13½	15½
Peshawur	24½	22	20½	15	20½

The Seer is 2 lbs.

I take the above averages of the towns to represent their whole districts, and then the average of the six districts to represent the whole of the Punjab in the following calculation (wheat first sort is taken to represent all produce):—

Districts.	Irrigated Land.	Produce per Acre.	Total Produce.	For Re. 1.	Total Value.
	Acres.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
Delhi	200,955	1,100	221,050,500	43	51,40,709
Umballa	96,328	„	105,960,800	43	24,64,204
Lahore	447,295	„	492,024,500	41	1,20,00,597
Sealkote	394,227	„	433,649,700	41	1,05,76,821
Mooltan	505,750	„	556,325,000	31½	1,76,61,111
Peshawur... ..	249,144	„	274,058,400	41	66,84,351
Total...	1,893,699	...	.....	...	5,45,27,793

The average value of produce per acre of the irrigated land of the six districts will, therefore, be Rs. 28-7-9.

I now apply this to all irrigated land of the Punjab.

Total irrigated acres are 6,147,038, which, at Rs. 28-7-9 per acre, will give Rs. 17,69,73,224 as the total value of the produce of irrigated land of the Punjab for 1867-8.

I now calculate the value of the produce of unirrigated land (wheat first sort is taken to represent all produce):—

Districts.	Unirrigated Land.	Produce per Acre.	Total Produce.	For Re. 1.	Total Value.
	Acres.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
Delhi	307,690	600	184,614,000	43	42,93,348
Umballa	856,701	„	514,020,600	43	1,19,53,967
Lahore	557,882	„	334,729,200	41	81,64,126
Sealkote	425,440	„	255,264,000	41	62,25,951
Mooltan	118,684	„	71,210,400	31½	22,60,647
Peshawur	456,661	„	273,996,600	41	66,82,843
Total...	2,723,058	...	.....	...	3,95,80,882

The average value of produce of one acre of unirrigated land of the six districts is Rs. 14-5-3. Applying this to the unirrigated land of the whole of the Punjab, the result will be as follows:—Total unirrigated acres 14,810,697, at Rs. 14-5-3 per acre, will give Rs. 21,51,99,427 as the value of the produce of all unirrigated land of the Punjab for 1867-8.

Adding up the value of the produce of irrigated and unirrigated land, the total will be Rs. 39,21,72,651. From this I deduct 10 per cent. for reasons stated above, which will leave Rs. 35,29,54,800 for a population of 17,593,946, or say £36,000,000 for a population of 17,500,000.

NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

I take the figures of 1867-8, being an average good season. The subsequent ones, 1868-9 and 1869-70, have been bad.

The administration report does not give the distribution of chief crops, but I find in the Statistical Reporter of the *Indian Economist* (page 136) of 15th March 1871, a table of the crops for 1868-9. From this it will be seen that, out of a total of about 22,000,000 acres, rice, jowari, bajri, wheat, and barley make up—

Rice ... ..	...	...	...	...	2,479,874
Jowari and Bajri ...	...	...	...	...	4,302,890
Wheat and Barley ...	...	...	...	...	7,257,873

Acres 14,040,637 or nearly $\frac{2}{3}$

As I cannot get the prices of all the above kinds of produce except wheat and barley, if I take wheat to represent all, I shall be above the mark.

In the administration report of 1868-9 there is a table given of prices of wheat and barley. I take the prices for the months of April, May, and June as those of the good season of 1867-8. The subsequent prices are affected by drought. I should have preferred to take the prices for January to June 1868; but the table does not give the earlier months. These prices are of some of the chief markets only, and that, taking the prices to represent the whole of the respective districts, and then taking the average of these few districts to represent the whole of the North-West Provinces, the result will be much higher; so, as in the case of the Punjab, I deduct 10 per cent. as some correction for these errors of excess.

The prices given in the report of 1868-9, pages 29, 30, are as follow :—
 “The following table gives the prices at the close of each month for the year in the chief markets of the provinces. The figures denote seers and chittacks.

Districts.	WHEAT.						My Remarks.				
	April.		May.		June.			Average.			
	S.	C.	S.	C.	S.	C.	S.	C.	lb. oz.		
Saharunpore...	22	6	25	14	25	14	24	11	49	6	The report does not say which seer this is.
Meerut ...	26	0	27	0	27	8	26	13	53	10	Formerly 1 seer is given equal to 2·057 lbs.
Moradabad...	26	10	25	10	24	0	25	8½	51	1	(Parliamentary Return No. 29 of 1862, page 5.)
Bareilly ...	25	10	27	8	25	0	26	0	52	0	I take this seer = 2 lbs.
Muttra ...	24	0	...	...	24	0	24	0	48	0	16 chittacks = 1 seer.
Agra ...	23	0	23	0	24	0	23	5	46	10	The report also does not say whether these quantities were got for one rupee, but it evidently appears to be meant so.
Cawnpore ...	23	0	23	0	22	0	22	11	45	6	
Allahabad ...	18	4	18	0	17	0	17	12	35	8	
Mirzapore ...	18	0	18	0	17	0	17	10½	35	6	
Benares ...	17	5	18	5	18	0	17	15½	35	14	

The administration reports give no table of produce per acre of different crops. I adopt the same scale as given in the case of the Punjab, for the following additional reasons :— * Captain Harvey Tuket's estimate in the year 1840, from 2,000 experiments, of which 512 were for wheat, made by the Government of the North-West Provinces, gives the average produce of wheat per acre at 1,046 lbs. The late Mr. Thornton, formerly Secretary to that Government, has recorded that, judging from his own experience, he should say that 1,200 lbs. per acre was a high average for irrigated land, and 700 lbs. for that of which a considerable portion is dry.† Mr. Maconochi, in his recent settlements of Oonah (Oudh), gives for irrigated land—

1st class 21 bushels=1,218 lbs. (at 58 lbs. per bushel)

2nd „ 16 „ = 928 „

3rd „ 9 „ = 522 „

and for unirrigated land—

1st class 11 bushels=638 lbs.

2nd „ 9 „ =522 „

3rd „ 7 „ =406 „

* The “Agricultural Gazette of India” of the *Indian Economist*, 15th August 1870, No. 1.

† See also Parliamentary Return No. 999 of 1853, page 471.

Taking second class as representing the bulk, the average for irrigated land may be considered as 928 lbs., and for unirrigated 522 lbs. From all the above particulars it will be seen that the estimate I have adopted, of 1,100 lbs. per acre for irrigated and 600 lbs. for unirrigated land, is something above a fair average. A settlement officer of the North-West Provinces, in a letter to the *Indian Economist* of 15th February 1871 ("Agricultural Gazette," page 171), sums up all that is known to him on the subject of the produce of wheat per acre in those provinces. It will be too long an extract to insert here; but, making allowance for the "mischievous fallacy" of all official documents alluded to by this writer, about which I have already complained to the India Office and which vitiates averages for a number of years or places, I think the average I have adopted above is something more than a reasonable one. When administration reports will give, as they ought, correct particulars for each district every year, accurate estimates of the actual produce of the provinces could be easily made. I give the calculations below. The table of cultivated land, given at page 45 of the appendix to the administration report of 1867-8, does not give the irrigated and unirrigated extent of land separately for the Moradabad, Tarrae, Mynpoorie, Banda, and Ghazipore districts.

I find that the totals of irrigated and unirrigated land bear nearly the proportion of two-fifths and three-fifths respectively of the whole total cultivated land. I assign the same proportion to the above districts in the absence of actual particulars.

Wheat.

Districts.	Irrigated Land.	Produce per Acre.	Total Produce.	For 1 Re.	Total Value.
	Acres.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs. oz.	Rs.
Saharunpore ...	160.058	1,100	176,063,800	49 6	35,65,849
Meerut ...	577.346	"	635,080,600	53 10	1,17,26,444
Moradabad ...	806,930	"	787,623,000	51 1	1,73,83,069
Bareilly ...	344,662	"	379,128,200	52 1	72,82,174
Muttra ...	332,542	"	365,796,200	48 0	89,22,837
Agra ...	434,106	"	477,582,600	46 10	1,02,43,058
Cawnpore ...	397,396	"	437,135,600	45 6	96,33,842
Allahabad ...	345,624	"	380,186,400	35 8	1,07,09,476
Mirzapore ...	198,823	"	218,705,300	35 6	61,82,481
Benares ...	238,971	"	262,868,100	35 14	75,01,549
Total...	3,836,518	...	.....	...	9,31,50,779

The average value of the produce of one acre will be Rs. 24-2-8.

Applying the average of the above districts to the whole of the irrigated area of the North-West Provinces, the result will be—acres $10,045,050 \times \text{Rs. } 24.2.8 = \text{Rs. } 24,38,93,814$.

In a similar manner, the total value of the produce of unirrigated land, as represented by wheat, will be as follows :—

Districts.	Unirrigated Land.	Produce per Acre.	Total Produce.	For 1 Re.	Total Value.
	Acres.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs. oz.	Rs.
Saharunpore ...	621,382	600	372,829,200	47 6	75,50,960
Meerut ...	453,694	"	272,216,400	53 10	50,76,288
Moradabad ...	484,158	"	290,494,800	51 1	56,88,992
Bareilly ...	768,283	"	460,957,800	52 1	88,53,920
Muttra ...	406,153	"	243,691,800	48 0	50,76,912
Agra ...	374,976	"	224,985,600	46 10	48,25,424
Cawnpore ...	436,636	"	261,981,600	45 6	57,73,696
Allahabad ...	644,594	"	386,756,400	35 8	1,08,94,544
Mirzapore ...	614,658	"	368,794,800	35 6	1,04,25,280
Benares ...	202,818	"	121,690,800	35 14	33,92,064
Total...	5,007,352	...	.....	...	6,75,58,080

The average value of wheat per acre of unirrigated land is therefore Rs. 13-4-9.

Applying this average to the whole unirrigated land of the North-West Provinces, we get—acres $14,132,111 \times \text{Rs. } 13.4.9 = \text{Rs. } 19,06,42,177$. The grand total of the value of the produce of irrigated and unirrigated land will be—

Irrigated..... $10,045,050$ acres = Rs. 24,38,93,814

Unirrigated... $14,132,111$ „ = „ 19,06,42,177

Total... $24,177,161$ „ = „ 43,45,35,991

Deducting 10 per cent. for reasons stated above, the remainder will be Rs. 39,10,82,392 for a population of 30,086,898, or say £40,000,000 for a population of 30,000,000.

BENGAL.

The administration reports till 1869-70 give no information required by the Statistical Committee, except the area of districts in square miles and acres (report 1869-70). For information for cultivated area, distribution, produce of crops and prices, I have to look out elsewhere, or make a rough estimate.

First with regard to the extent of cultivated land, I adopt the following plan as the best I can. The total area of the North-West Provinces is about 50,000,000 acres, of which about 25,000,000 are cultivated. The population of those Provinces is, by the late census of 1865, about 30,000,000, so we have the total area 5 acres to 3 persons, and of cultivated area five-sixths of an acre per head. Now, assuming Bengal to be at least as thickly populated as the North-West Provinces, and the total area, as given in the administration report of 1869-70 (appendix, page xxi.), being about 105,000,000 acres, the population of Bengal will be about 63,000,000; and I am encouraged to adopt this figure instead of 36,000,000 of the report of 1869-70, as the *Englishman* of 25th June 1872 states that the census of Bengal, as far as the figures are made up, lead to an estimate of about 65,000,000. Again, as in the North-West Provinces, I allow five-sixths of an acre of cultivated land per head, and take, therefore, 54,000,000 acres of cultivated land for a population of 65,000,000.

With regard to produce, coarse rice is the chief produce of Bengal, and in taking it to represent the whole produce, I shall be near enough the mark. For the produce of rice per acre, I take a table given in the report of the Indigo Commission (Parliamentary Return No. 721, of 1861, page 292), in which produce of paddy per beegah is given for a number of districts. The rough average, without reference to the quantity of land in each district, comes to about 9 maunds per beegah.

The maund I take is the Indian maund of 82 lbs. The quantity of produce per beegah given in the table is evidently for rice in husk; for, though not so stated, this would be apparent by comparing the money values of these quantities given in the same table, with the prices for 1860 given in the table at page 291.

The beegah I find explained, at page lxi. of the same return, at about one-third of an acre. Thacker's Bengal Directory for 1872, page 2, gives the following table for "Bengal square or land measure":—

1 chittack	=	45 square feet or 5 square yards.
16 ,,	=	1 cottah= 720 sq. ft. or 80 sq. yds.
20 cottah	=	1 beegah=14,400 ,, or 1,600 ,,

This gives a little more than 3 beegahs to an acre.

Mr. Cowasjee Eduljee, the manager of the Port Canning rice mills and lands, thinks, that for an average of all lands, or say for standard land,

7 maunds of paddy per beegah will be a very fair calculation. I take 8 maunds. Mr. Cowasjee further says, as the outturn of his mills, that paddy yields 55 per cent. of rice at the outside.

For the price of rice I take the season 1867-8. I take the rough average of the weekly prices given in the *Calcutta Gazette* for the months of January to March 1868, as fairly representing the effect of the season of 1867-8. This average is taken by simply adding up the prices and dividing by the number of districts, and not on the correct principle of taking the quantities of the produce of each district into account (as in specimen table A I have given for the Central Provinces). The average, therefore, which I have adopted, must be much higher than the actual one, and will require some reasonable deduction. I shall deduct only 10 per cent. as some correction for this, and to make up for any error in the produce per acre. Besides, the prices given in the *Gazette* are retail prices, and are therefore higher than the prices all over the country; so my deduction of 10 per cent. will be but a very small correction for all the errors of my rough calculation. I cannot get the extent of cultivated land for each district. I give below the calculations. Since writing these notes, I have seen the late census report, which gives the population as 66,856,859, or say 67,000,000. The approximate area of cultivated land will be, say, five-sixths of 67,000,000 or 56,000,000 acres. The produce per acre, taken as 24 maunds paddy per acre, will give about 13 maunds of clean rice, or 1,066 lbs.—say 1,100 lbs. The total produce of 56,000,000 acres will be 616,000,000 lbs., which, at 58 lbs. per rupee (as obtained by the rough average of the weekly prices of the three months of January, February, and March 1868), will give Rs. 1,06,00,00,000, or £106,000,000. Deducting 10 per cent. will give £95,400,000, or say £96,000,000 for a population of 67,000,000. This will amply cover the higher price of some of the articles, such as silk, indigo, cost price of opium, tea, &c. or any double crops, &c. The percentage of these products is a small one; the total value for all these will be under 10 per cent. of the whole produce, while the average of price I have taken for rice as representing the whole produce of the presidency will be found much above the actuals. On the whole, I cannot help thinking that the total value of all productions of the Bengal Presidency will be found much under, than above, my estimate. It is very desirable, however, to get a correct result, and the Statistical Committee or Agricultural Department should give it.

MADRAS.

I take the administration report of 1868-9 as I have not been able to get an opportunity of studying that of 1867-8. Besides, as prices have not much altered, the later report is the better. I am obliged to ascertain the produce per acre from other sources : the report does not give this information. I take paddy to represent the produce of wet and cumboo for dry land, as they form the bulk of the produce of the country.

Mr. H. Newill, the Director of Settlements for South Arcot, in his letter of 27th August 1859 (Selections of the Madras Government, No. 14 of 1869, Appendix Y, from page 142), gives an elaborate table of produce per acre of the principal grains, as ascertained by a large number of experiments and general enquiry ; and the result of his investigations gives, for the different classes of soils, the following produce, from which 5 per cent. is to be deducted for numerous ridges for regulating irrigation channels, exterior boundaries, &c. :—

Produce of Wet Land per acre for "Good Crop" first grade Land.

Description of Soils.	Value assigned for good Crops per acre. H.C. (Bazar Huris Cullum.)
1	45
2	40
3	35
4	30
5	28
6	40
7	35
8	30
9	28
10	30
11	25
12	20
13	18
14 }	15
15 }	

Average...30

Deducting 5 per cent. for ridges, &c., $30 - 1\frac{1}{2} = 28\frac{1}{2}$ H. C.

For second grade land, deduct 15 per cent., which will give $24\frac{1}{4}$ H.C.
 For third grade deduct 20 per cent., which will give 22.8 H. C. For
 bad seasons Mr. Newill deducts 10 per cent. more, which I do not;
 so that the produce calculated by me is for "good crop," or in "good
 season," as in all other cases. Taking second grade as the bulk of the
 land, I take $24\frac{1}{4}$ H. C. as the average of all wet land.

For dry land for cumboo (page 150), Mr. Newill gives the produce
 per acre as follows :—

Descriptions of Soils. H.C.	Descriptions of Soils. H.C.	Descriptions of Soils. H.C.
1 21	6 17	11 12
2 18	7 15	12 10
3 17	8 13	13 10
4 16	9 12	14 9
5 14	10 14	15 8

Average... $13\frac{1}{4}$
 say 14 H. C.

The next thing necessary is to ascertain the correct average price. I take the average price as given in the administration report (calculated on the wrong principle referred to by me before), bearing in mind that the correct average, as worked out according to specimen table A, would be very likely found lower. Again, taking the rough average of first and second class paddy, the price comes to Rs. 180 per garce; and as second class paddy must be the bulk of the produce, the correct average price in this respect also must be lower. In taking, therefore, Rs. 180 per garce, some reasonable allowance will have to be made. I shall make it only 10 per cent. for all kinds of excess. It is too much work for me to calculate as in table A.

Wet land under cultivation (except South Canara and Malabar, where areas under cultivation are not given) is for 1868-9, 2,957,748 acres at $24\frac{1}{4}$ H. C. produce per acre (and $133\frac{1}{2}$ H. C. = 1 garce*) will give 511,490 garces, which, at Rs. 180 per garce, will give Rs. 9,68,53,500—the total value of the produce of wet land.

Dry cultivated land (except South Canara and Malabar) is 13,560,329 acres, and with produce at 14 H. C. per acre (and 133 H. C. = 1 garce), will give 1,427,403 garces. I take the rough average price as given in the table—Rs. 188 per garce—in the administration report of 1868-69. This will be an over-estimate, as quantities in each district are not taken into account. The total value will be—1,427,403 garces at Rs. 188 = Rs. 26,83,51,764. Total produce of wet and dry lands will be Rs. 36,52,05,264; adding 10 per cent. for South Canara and Malabar, the total for all the Madras Presidency will be a little above Rs. 40,00,00,000. From this is to be allowed 10 per cent. as a correction for errors of high averages, which will leave, say, £36,000,000 for a population of 26,539,052 (Parliamentary Return No. ^(C 1841)₁₈₇₀), or say 26,500,000.

BOMBAY.

The season 1867-8 was a favourable one (Bombay administration report, 1867-8, page 59); that for 1868-9 unfavorable (report for 1868-9, page 65). I take the former to ascertain the produce of a fair good season. I am sorry that the administration reports give no agricultural information. I therefore take the necessary particulars from other

* $24\frac{1}{4}$ Madras measures = 1 Huris Cullum.
 $133\frac{1}{2}$ Huris Cullum = 1 Madras Garce.
 (Selection of the Madras Government, No. XIV. of 1869, page 16.)

sources. The Revenue Commissioner's reports for 1867-8 give the total area under cultivation for the Northern Division at 5,129,754 acres and 1,263,139 beegahs, in which are included for grass and fallow land 611,198 acres and 226,708 beegahs. The actual cultivated land will, after deducting this, be 4,518,556 acres and 1,036,431 beegahs = 609,842 acres, or total acres 5,128,398. Out of this bajri, jowari, rice, and cotton make up nearly two-thirds, or above 60 per cent., as follows :—

	Acres.			Beegahs.
Bajri	985,427	56,857
Jowari	676,377	224,210
Rice	616,802	94,306
Cotton	519,058	319,572
<hr/>				
2,797,664			694,945=408,791 acres,	
or total acres 3,206,455.				

Similarly for the Southern Division, out of the total acres, 13,985,892, jowari, bajri, rice, and cotton make up above 60 per cent., as follows :—

	Acres.			
Jowari	4,906,073
Bajri	2,715,719
Rice...	504,015
Cotton	704,629
<hr/>				
8,830,436				
<hr/>				

I take, therefore, these four articles to represent the produce of the whole presidency, though this will give a higher estimate. Neither the administration nor the Revenue Commissioner's reports give produce per acre or prices. I take these two items as follows. From Selections of the Bombay Government, Nos. 10 and 11 of 1853, I get the following estimate of produce :—

Produce per Acre in Pounds.

Selection.		Districts reported upon.	Bajri with Kuthole.	Jowari with Kuthole.	Sathi, or Coarse Rice.	Kupas, or uncleaned Cotton.	Remarks.
No.	Page.		lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	
X.	15	Prant of Huseore—	680	700	1,020		Cleaned Cotton as per experiments made under order of Mr. Saunders, Resident of Hyderabad, in Bassein district of Berar—average of 8 acres giving 31½ lbs. of clean Cotton and 83½ lbs. of Seed. (<i>Agricultural Gazette of India</i> of 21st August 1871, page 3.) This would give 82 lbs. for 305 lbs. of kupas.
		Morassa & Bayar Pergunnah in AhmedabadCollectorate ...		1,020			
	106	Duskroee per-gunnah, Greatest ...	1,700	1,500	1,360	410	
		Least ...	270	210	410	200	
XI.	15	Dholka—Greatest ...	1,700	1,500	1,360	410	
		Least ...	270	210	410	200	
		Rough average.	924	856	912	305	

The above averages belong to a fertile part of the Northern Division; so that if I put down 900 lbs. for bajri, jowari, and rice per acre, and 80 lbs. of cotton for the whole of that Division, I shall be making a high estimate.

The next thing to settle is the prices. I take them from the *Government Gazette* weekly prices for the months of January to May 1868, as fairly representing the effect of the average favorable season of 1867-8. These are retail prices of the chief markets of the respective districts, and it will be necessary to deduct 10 per cent. to make a fair average for the whole of the Division. For cotton I take the export prices from the Prices Current of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce for January to May 1868. This gives an average of Rs. 181 per candy. The export prices I have taken represent more than the average value of the whole crop of the presidency, as the above average is for Fair Dhollera and Bhownuggur, which necessarily give a higher figure than the average of all the different varieties. Again, the bulk of the cotton is not 'fair,' but 'midfair;' so, to make a fair allowance for all these circumstances, I take the price for 1867-8 as Rs. 170 per candy of 784 lbs.

The Southern Division.—As a whole, this Division is not as fertile as the Northern. I shall take, however, only 50 lbs. less for bajri, jowari, and rice; and for cotton I take 60 lbs. per acre—a high average for the whole of the Division; for Mr. J. B. Smith, M.P., in his paper of 1857 read before the Society of Arts, quotes Mr. Vary, the then late Superintendent of Government Cotton Experiments in Sattara and Sholapore, to the effect that “40 lbs. per acre per clean cotton is considered a fair crop.” For rice, I take Rutnagherry as exceptional in its produce. If I give 1,700 lbs. per acre for the whole district, it will be a high average.* I take the prices from the *Government Gazette* in the same way as for the Northern Division, and a similar reduction of 10 per cent. will have to be made. I give below a table worked out in the manner described above:—

* The Statistical Reporter of the *Indian Economist* of 22nd January 1872 gives a table, on official authority, of the total produce of the Bombay Presidency. The figures given for Rutnagherry are evidently wrong. For 113,296 acres the produce of rice is given as 10,110,964 maunds of 82 lbs., which will be above 7,200 lbs. per acre. The best land may produce as much as 3,000, but 7,200 lbs. is simply out of the question. In the Pardy settlement (*Indian Economist* of 15th July 1871, page 330) an acre of rice, “in embanked land receiving full supply of water for a crop of rice,” is put down as producing 3,400 lbs. Even in Bengal and Burmah—rice-producing countries—there is no such production as 7,000 lbs. per acre. For the rest of the presidency (excepting Canara), the total produce is given as follows:—

Rice—

Acres.	Produce, maund of 82 lbs.
822,218	9,197,713, giving an average of 917 lbs.

Jowari and Bajri—

Acres.	Produce, maund of 82 lbs.
9,476,687	44,557,600, giving an average of 385 lbs.

Now, the year 1869-70 is reported to have been an average favourable season, in which case my adopting 900 lbs. for the Northern and 850 for the Southern Division for all grains, is very much higher than the real average. For cotton the figures are acres 1,937,375, maunds 3,264,464, giving an average of 1·68 maunds or 136 lbs. It is not stated whether this is cleaned or seed cotton. Any way this cannot be correct. It is, however, remarked by the official who supplies these statistics—“The figures in table iii., giving the weight of produce, are not, it is feared, very reliable, but now that attention is being given to the subject, they will become more so every year.” I earnestly hope that it will be so; correct statistics of this kind are extremely important.

Bajri.

Collectorates.	Cultivated Area.	Total Produce (at 900 lbs. per Acre).	Price per 1 Re.	Total Value.
	Acres	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
Ahmedabad... ..	129,365*	116,428,500	33'6	34,65,134
Kaira	150,841	135,756,900	30'0	45,25,230
Surat	27,217	24,495,300	25'5	9,60,600
Khandeish	711,447	640,302,300	27'6	2,31,99,359
Tanna... ..	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total...	1,018,870	.....	.....	3,21,50,323
		(850 lbs. per Acre.)		
Poona	834,325	709,176,250	34'7	2,04,37,356
Ahmednuggur	1,152,316	979,468,600	34'3	2,85,55,936
Kulladghee	240,165	204,140,250	64'4†	31,69,880
Rutnagherry ... ..	.....	.....	.....	.....
Belgaum	76,228	64,793,800	59'2	10,94,489
Dharwar	14,108	11,991,800	69'0	1,73,795
Sattara... ..	398,573	338,787,050	52'9	64,04,292
Total...	2,715,715	.....	.....	5,98,35,748

Jowari.

Collectorates.	Cultivated Area.	Total Produce (at 900 lbs. per Acre).	Price per 1 Re.	Total Value.
	Acres.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
Ahmedabad... ..	119,679	107,711,100	42'4	25,40,356
Kaira	44,836	40,082,400	42'4	9,45,339
Surat	178,839	160,955,100	27'1	59,39,302
Khandeish	465,198	418,678,200	40'4	1,03,63,322
Tanna	10	9,000	26'8	336
Total...	808,262	.....	.....	1,97,88,655
		(850 lbs. per Acre.)		
Poona	1,487,816	1,264,643,600	49'5	2,55,48,355
Ahmednuggur	852,232	724,397,200	45'6	1,58,85,903
Kulladghee	1,162,582	988,194,700	70'0	1,41,17,060
Rutnagherry ... ..	.....	.....	.....	.....
Belgaum	426,542	362,560,700	66'0	54,93,344
Dharwar	511,389	434,680,650	83'8	51,87,120
Sattara... ..	465,509	395,682,650	52'6	75,22,487
Total...	4,906,070	.....	.....	7,37,54,269

* Gujara t in Northern Division; the cultivated area is given partly in acres and partly in beegahs. The beegahs are converted into acres, as 1·7 beegahs = 1 acre.

† Bhagalkote price is taken.

Rice.

Collectorates.	Cultivated Area.	Total Produce (at 900 lbs. per Acre.)	2nd Sort price per 1 Re.	Total Value.
	Acres.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.
Ahmedabad	31,902	28,711,800	14'0	20,50,843
Kaira	51,443	46,298,700	12'2	37,94,975
Surat	108,348	97,513,200	11'27	86,52,458
Khandeish	12,081	10,872,900	20'1	5,40,940*
Tanna	468,499	421,649,100	20'1†	2,09,77,567
Total...	672,273	605,045,700	... ..	3,60,16,783
		(850 lbs. per Acre.)		
Poona	108,643	92,346,550	22'2	41,59,754
Ahmednuggur	28,922	24,583,700	12'3	19,98,674
Kulladghee	5,496	4,671,600	20'9	2,23,521
Rutnagherry	130,403	221,685,100	27'0	82,10,559
		(1,700 lbs. per Acre.)		
Belgaum	70,889	60,255,650	29'0	20,77,781
Dharwar	91,840	78,064,000	27'1	28,80,590
Sattara	67,820	57,647,000	22'4	25,73,527
Total...	504,013	539,253,600	.....	2,21,24,406

Cotton.

Collectorates.	Cultivated Area.	Produce per Acre.	Total Produce.	Price per Candy.	Total Value
	Acres.	lbs.	lbs.	Rs.	Rs.
Ahmedabad	707,041	80	56,563,280	170	1,22,64,997
Kaira					
Surat					
Khandeish					
Tanna	704,629	60	42,277,740	170	91,67,367
Poona					
Ahmednuggur					
Kulladghee					
Rutnagherry					
Belgaum					
Dharwar					
Sattara					

* Average of Tanna and Alibaug.

† Price at Dhoolia being not given, I have taken the same with Tanna.

SUMMARY.

Northern Division.

	Acres.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Bajri ...	1,018,870	3,21,50,323		
Jowari ...	808,262	1,97,88,655		
Rice ...	672,273	3,60,16,783		
			8,79,55,761	10 % = 7,91,60,185
Cotton ...	707,041	.....		1,22,64,997
Total ...	3,206,446			Rs....9,14,25,182

Average per acre, Rs. 28·51

Southern Division.

	Acres.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Bajri... ..	2,715,715	5,98,35,748		
Jowari ...	4,906,070	7,37,54,269		
Rice ...	504,013	2,21,24,406		
			15,57,14,423	10 % = 14,01,42,981
Cotton ...	704,629	.....		91,67,367
Total ...	8,830,427			Rs....14,93,10,348

Average per acre, Rs. 17.

Total Cultivated Area.

	Acres.	Rs.
Northern Division...	5,128,221	at Rs. 28·51 = 14,62,05,580
Southern ,, ...	13,985,892	at ,, 17 = 23,77,60,164
Total ...		Rs. <u>38,39,65,744</u>

This gives for the whole of the Bombay Presidency the total value as Rs. 38,39,65,744, or say £40,000,000, for a population of 11,000,000.

About two or three months ago I came across an unexpected confirmation of my calculations. I was able to get from my friend Mr. Nowrojee Furdoonjee a few notes from Colonel Prescott's reports on the settlement of Akleshwar Taluka—I suppose an average Gujerat taluka. Colonel Prescott has made the value of gross produce (excluding straw) about Rs. 24 per acre. Why, my estimate for the whole of the Northern Division is above Rs. 28 per acre.

OUDH.

The administration report does not give the agricultural tables, but they are given in the revenue report. Wheat forms the most important produce in Oudh, as in the North-West Provinces. I take it to represent the whole produce. In the revenue report ending 30th September 1868, the average produce per acre is given as 892 lbs., say 900 lbs.

Now, in Oudh, irrigated land is nearly within 10 per cent. of unirrigated land. I shall give the above produce per acre for both, as the table also gives this as the average of all land. The year 1867-8 was somewhat below an average good season, and the prices, therefore, higher than they would be for an average good season year. I take them, however, as they are. The average for wheat, first quality, is given at Rs. 1-9-7 per maund of 80 lbs., and for second quality Rs. 1-8-4—the average will be about Rs. 1-9. As a small correction for the prices being of an inferior season, the average being on the usual wrong principle, and the second quality being the largest quantity, I shall deduct only 10 per cent. The total cultivated area is 12,486 square miles, or 7,991,040 acres. The total produce, at 900 lbs. of wheat per acre, will be 7,191,936,000 lbs.; and the total value, at the rate of Rs. 1-9 per maund of 80 lbs., will be Rs. 14,04,67,500. This, less 10 per cent., will be Rs. 12,64,20,750 or say £13,000,000 for a population of 9,500,000.

Summary.

Provinces.	Value of the Produce of Cultivated Land.	Population.	Produce per head.
	£		Rs.
Central Provinces	16,000,000	9,000,000	18
Punjab	36,000,000	17,500,000	21
North-West Provinces...	40,000,000	30,000,000	14
Bengal	96,000,000	67,000,000	15
Madras	36,000,000	26,500,000	14
Bombay	40,000,000	11,000,000	36
Oudh	13,000,000	9,500,000	14
Total...	277,000,000	170,500,000	

Such is the produce of India for a good season year, in which any second crops will be fully included. I have not taken the produce of grazing-land, or straw or kurby, though the cattle required for cultivation and stock need not only all these grazing-lands, but also a portion of the produce of the cultivated land, such as some grains, fodder, and other produce. From the above total of £277,000,000 it is necessary to deduct for seed for next year, say, only 6 per cent., that is, allowing sixteen-fold for produce of land. The balance will be about £260,000,000 as the produce of cultivation, during a good season, for human use and consumption for a year. If the Government of India would calculate this production correctly, it would find the total a good deal under the above figures.

I have next to add for annual produce of stock for consumption, annual value of manufacturing industry, net opium revenue, cost of production of salt, coals and mines, and profits of foreign commerce.

Salt, opium, coal, and profits of commerce will be about £17,000,000. For annual price of manufacturing industry or stock, I have not come across full particulars. The manufacturing industry in the Punjab—where there are some valuable industries, such as shawls, silks, &c., to the total estimated value of the “annual out-turns of all works”—is put down as about £3,774,000. From this we deduct the value of the raw produce; and if I allow this value to be doubled by all the manufactures, I shall be making a good allowance. Say, then, that the value of the industry is about £2,000,000, including the price of wool; the manufactures of other parts of India are not quite as valuable. Therefore, for the population of all British India, which is about ten times that of the Punjab, if I take £15,000,000 for the value of manufacturing industry, I shall not be far from the mark. The total for Central Provinces for 1870-1 for all manufactures is about £1,850,000. There are no very valuable industries, allowing, therefore, £850,000 for the value of the industry for a population of 9,000,000. In this proportion, the total value for India will be about, say, £17,000,000. For the annual produce of stock and fish for human consumption as milk or meat, I can hardly get sufficient data to work upon. I hope Government will give the particulars more fully, so that the annual production of stock for consumption, either as milk or meat, may be known. I set it down as £15,000,000 as a guess only.

All this will make up a total of about £307,000,000. I add for any contingencies another £30,000,000, making at the utmost £340,000,000 for a population of 170,000,000, or 40s. a head for an average *good season*. I have no doubt that, if the Statistical Department worked out the whole correctly and fully, they would find the total less. Again, when further allowance is made for bad seasons, I cannot help thinking that the result will be nearer 30s. than 40s. a head. One thing is evident—that I am not guilty of any under-estimate of produce.

Adding this additional £63,000,000 in proportion of population, that is to say 7s. 5d. per head, the total production of each province will be as follows:—

						Per head.	
						s.	d.
Central Provinces	...	...	...	...	...	43	5
Punjab	...	...	...	...	...	49	5
North-West Provinces	...	...	...	...	...	35	5
Bengal	...	...	...	...	...	37	5
Madras	...	...	...	...	...	35	5
Bombay	...	...	...	...	...	79	5
Oudh	...	...	...	...	...	35	5
Average...						40	0

Necessary Consumption.

I now consider what is necessary for the bare wants of a human being, to keep him in ordinary good health and decency.

I have calculated production chiefly for the year 1867-8. I shall take the same year for ascertaining the necessary consumption.

Surgeon S. B. Partridge, Government Medical Inspector of Emigrants, in a statement dated Calcutta, 26th March 1870,* proposes the following as a scale of diet to supply the necessary ingredients of nourishment for the emigrant coolies during their voyage, living in a state of quietude:—

Rice Diet for One Man,					For Flour Diet,				
				OZS.					OZS.
Rice	...	...	...	20·0	Flour	...	...	...	16·0
Dhal	...	...	...	6·0	Dhal	...	...	...	4·6
Preserved Mutton			...	2·5	Preserved Mutton			...	2·5
Vegetables	...	...	...	4·27	Vegetables	...	...	...	4·27
Ghee	...	...	...	1·0	Ghee	...	...	...	1·5
Mustard Oil	...	...	...	0·5	Mustard Oil	...	...	...	0·5
Salt...	...	...	...	1·0	Salt	...	...	...	1·0
<hr/>					<hr/>				
Total...35·27					Total...29·77				

The administration report of Bengal for 1870-1 gives, in appendix 11 D2, the following "scale of provisions for ships carrying Indian emigrants to British and foreign colonies west of the Cape of Good Hope."

"Daily Allowance to each stature Adult [Children above two and under ten years of age to receive half rations]."

Class.	Articles.	Remarks.
Grain ...	Rice ... oz. drs. 20 0	(Four kinds of dhals make up this quantity.)
	Flour ... 16 0	
	Dal { for rice-eaters. 6 0	
	{ for flour-eaters. 4 0	
Oil ...	Ghee { for rice-eaters. 1 0	Half an ounce extra allowance of ghee to each adult for every day that dried fish is supplied.
	{ for flour-eaters. 1 8	
Meats, &c. ...	Mustard Oil ... 0 8	In lieu of preserved mutton to be supplied at scale rate dried fish for two to three weeks. Fresh mutton (sheep) one week.
	Preserved Mutton 2 8	
Vegetables ...	1 oz. pumpkins or yams	In lieu of fresh potatoes, a sufficient quantity of preserved potatoes to allow 2 ozs. twice a week to each adult, or about five weeks' supply at scale rate.
	2 oz. potatoes	
	2 oz. onions...	
Curry Stuff, &c. ...	Garlic ... 0 0½	
	Mustard Seed ... 0 0½	
	Chillies ... 0 0½	
	Black Pepper ... 0 1½	
	Coriander Seed ... 0 2	
	Turmeric ... 0 4	
	Tamarind ... 0 8	
	Salt ... 0 8	
Narcotic ...	Prepared tobacco 0 7	Or in lieu of firewood, its equivalent in coal for half the quantity."
	Leaf ... 0 3	
	Firewood ... 2 0	

Besides the above, there is an allowance for dry provision to be used at the discretion of the surgeon, for medical comforts, medicine, instruments and appliances for hospital and dispensary. Again, for confirmed opium-eaters or *ganja*-smokers, the surgeon superintendent is to see a proper quantity supplied. Surgeon Partridge's scale is absolutely necessary to supply the necessary ingredients of nitrogen and carbon; not the slightest luxury—no sugar or tea, or any little enjoyment of life, but simple animal subsistence of coolies living in a state of quietude. I have worked out below the cost of living according to Surgeon Partridge's scale for the year 1867-8 at Ahmedabad prices. The scale in the Bengal administration report provides curry-stuff and narcotics in

addition, which I have not calculated in this table, though it can hardly be said that they are not necessities to those poor people.

*Cost of necessary living at Ahmedabad prices, on 30th January 1868,
as given in the "Bombay Government Gazette."*

Rice, second sort, 20 oz. per day, or 37½ lbs. per month, at 15 lbs. per rupee	Rs. 2 8 0
Dhal 6 oz. per day, or 11½ lbs. per month, at 20 lbs.* per rupee	" 0 9 0
Preserved mutton 2'50 oz. per day, or 4 lbs. 11 oz. per month, at 6½ lbs.† per Rupee...	" 0 11 7
Vegetable 4'27 oz. per day, or 8 lbs. per month, at 20 lbs.‡ per rupee ..	" 0 6 5
Ghee 1 oz. per day, or 1 lb. 14 oz. per month, at 2 lbs. 1 oz. per rupee ..	" 0 11 0
Mustard Oil 0'5 oz. per day, or 1 lb. 8 oz. per month, at 6 lbs.§ per rupee	" 0 4 0
1 oz. per day, or 1 lb. 14 oz. per month, at 38 lbs.|| per rupee	" 0 0 10
<hr/>	
Per Month...	Rs. 5 2 10

The annual cost of living or subsistence only, at Ahmedabad prices, is thus Rs. 62-2.

The following is an estimate of the lowest absolute scale of necessities of a common agricultural labourer in the Bombay Presidency annually, by Mr. Kazeer Sahabudin:—

Food—

1½ lbs. Rice per day, at Rs. 2 to Rs. 2-8 per maund of 40 lbs., say...	Rs. 28 8
Salt, including waste, about 1 oz. a day	" 1 0
¾ lb. Dhal... ..	" 9 0
Vegetables	" 0 0
Food-oil	" 5 0
Condiments, chillies, &c....	" 0 0
Tobacco	" 5 0
<hr/>	
	Rs. 48 8

* There are three kinds of dhal—Oorud, Moong, and Toor. I take an average.

† I don't find price of preserved mutton. I have taken of mutton.

‡ No price is given for vegetables. I take it the same as dhal.

§ No price of mustard-oil is given. I have taken for teel, which is the cheapest among the four kinds of oil given in the table.

|| This is the price of common sea salt, which would require to be taken more than a ½ oz. to make up for the ¼ oz. of good salt required. Also there is some wastage or loss.

Clothing—

3 Dhotees a year ...	Rs. 3 0
1 pair champal (shoes) ...	0 12
$\frac{1}{2}$ a turban ...	1 8
1 Bunde (jacket) ...	1 0
2 Kamlees (blankets) ...	1 8
1 Rumal (handkerchief) ...	0 2
1 Rain-protector ...	0 4
	<hr/>
	Rs. 8 2

The dress of the female of the house—

1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Saree (dress) ...	Rs. 3 12
1 Cholee (short jacket) ...	0 12
Oil for head ...	1 8
Bangrees (glass bangles) ...	0 6
$\frac{1}{2}$ Champal (shoes) ...	0 4
Extras ...	1 0
	<hr/>
	Rs. 7 10

The old members of the family will require as much.

Lodging—

Hut (labour taken as his own) ...	Rs. 25 0
Hut repairs (bamboos, &c.), per annum ...	4 0
Oil for lamp, per day ...	0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Barber, per month ...	0 1
Domestic utensils per annum ...	0 12

Say altogether Rs. 12 to Rs. 15 for the family.

Taking one-quarter less, for reasons stated further on, to calculate the cost per head of family, the result will be—

Food ...	Rs. 36	} Without any provision for social and religious wants, letting alone luxuries, and anything to spare for bad seasons.
Clothing ...	6	
Lodging ...	3	
	<hr/>	
	Rs. 45	

The report of the Bombay Price Commission gives the following particulars of the wants of the lowest servants of Government (pages 85, 86), supplied from the Poona District :—

	Quantities per month.	Cost per month in 1863.	Remarks.
	Seers.	Rs. a.	
Rice	12	1 8	It will be observed that simple living and clothing are here exhibited, and nothing is taken into account for support of dependent members of family, servants, religious and other domestic expenses.
Bajri	12	1 4	
Toor Dhal, &c.	4	0 12	
Ghee	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	0 10	
Vegetables ... ..	...	0 6
Oil	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	0 6	
Firewood ... ..	...	0 8
Salt	1	0 1	
Mussala ... ..	...	0 2
Chillies	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0 2	
Milk	4	0 8	
Betelnut-leaves ... ..	...	0 8
	Rs...	6 11	

Clothing—

	Cost per Month.
Turbans	Rs. 0 8
Dhotee	" 0 10
Puncha	" 0 2
Rumal	" 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Coats	" 0 3
Waistcoat	" 0 2
Shoes... ..	" 0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$

Total... Rs. 1 11

Grand Total... Rs. 8 6 per month.

For Poona the above scale is calculated to cost Rs. 6-11 per month, or Rs. 80-4 per annum, at the high prices of 1863, while my estimate, according to Surgeon Partridge's scale for 1867-8, is Rs. 5-2-10 per month, or Rs. 62-2 per annum—nearly 24 per cent. less, as prices have gone lower. For clothing, the estimate for 1863 is Rs. 1-11 per month, or Rs. 20-8 per annum, while Mr. Shahabudin's estimate is only Rs. 8-2 in 1868. Even allowing for fall in prices, Mr. Shahabudin's estimate is lower, and calculated on a very low scale for an agricultural labourer in the poorest districts, while that of 1863 is for the lowest class of Government servants. Upon the whole, therefore, the estimate

given for 1867-8, as for the bare necessities of a common agricultural labourer, is evidently under the mark.

Lately I found the following in the "Statement of the Moral and Material Progress of India" for 1871-2 :—"The best account of the Bombay peasantry is still probably that by Mr. Coats, written fifty years ago. The clothes of a man then cost about 12s., and the furniture of his house about £2."—(Parliamentary Return No. 172 of 28th April 1873.)

I have not been able to work out the details of cost of living in other parts of India. For the present I give the following approximate comparison for 1867-8 :—

Jails.

Provinces.	Cost of Living.	Cost of Clothing.	Total.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Central Provinces	25 8 0	5 8 0	31 0 0
Punjab	23 6 0	3 13 0	27 3 0
North-West Provinces... ..	18 8 0	3 5 0	21 13 0
Bengal*	28 3 0	3 8 0	31 11 0
Madras	†49 2 7	3 15 9	53 2 4
Bombay	41 13 0	5 10 0	47 7 0
Oudh ... ..	...	...	...

Now, the Bengal Census Report of 1872, page 109, of the appendix, gives the percentage of population according to age as follows :—

Males.		Females.	
Not exceeding 12 Years.	Above 12 Years.	Not exceeding 12 Years.	Above 12 Years.
18.8	31.3	15.7	34.2

The Census of the N. W. Provinces gives nearly the same result. Above 12 years' adults, 64.4 per cent.; under 12, 35.6 per cent. (see Administration Report for 1871-72, page 55; Census Report, vol. 1, page 31).

* Administration Report of Jails for 1871, page 39 of appendix.

† This appears to be a very large expenditure. Besides, the average is taken on the wrong principle, without taking the number of the prisoners in each district into account. The correct average will be above Rs. 50.

The total adults, that is, above 12 years, are 65·5 per cent., and infants or children under 12 years 34·5 per cent., which gives the proportion of 2 adults to each child, or 1 child to every 3 persons.

From taking the cost of adults per head to be a , and cost of the mass per head to be x , and supposing that, out of 34 per cent. of children under 12, only 17 per cent. cost any thing, say one-half of the adult (though the Bengal provision is half for children from two to ten years), while the other 17 cost nothing at all, the problem will be—

$$66a + 17\frac{a}{2} + 17 \times 0 = 100x$$

$$x = \frac{74\frac{1}{2}a}{100}, \text{ or say } \frac{75a}{100} \text{ or } \frac{3}{4}a,$$

i. e., the cost outside jail, or for the whole mass per head, will be about three-fourths of inside the jail, allowing the jail for adults only. Thus, taking the cost of 3 persons in the jail, or of 3 adults, to 4 persons outside, or of the mass, it comes to this :—

Production per Head.				Three-fourths of Jail Cost of Living, or Cost per head outside Jail.
Central Provinces ...	...	Rs. 21 $\frac{3}{4}$	or say Rs. 22	Rs. 23
Punjab ...	...	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	" "	" 20
North-West Provinces ...	...	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	" "	" 16
Madras ...	...	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	" "	" 41
Bengal ...	...	18 $\frac{3}{4}$	" "	" 23-12
Bombay ...	...	39 $\frac{1}{2}$	" "	" 35
Oudh ...	...	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	" "	18

It will be seen, from a comparison of the above figures, that, even for such food and clothing as a criminal obtains, there is hardly enough of production even in a good season, leaving alone all little luxuries, all social and religious wants, all expenses of occasions of joy and sorrow, and any provision for bad season. It must, moreover, be borne in mind that every poor labourer does not get the full share of the average production. The high and middle classes get a much larger share, the poor classes much less, while the lowest cost of living is generally above the average share.

Such appears to be the condition of the masses of India. They do not get enough to provide the bare necessities of life.

On the subject of necessary consumption, I shall be very glad if some members of this Association, or others who possess or can ascertain the necessary information, will supply it, as I have not been able to make such minute and extended enquiries myself as I could wish.

DEFICIT OF IMPORTS COMPARED WITH THE EXPORTS OF INDIA.

The total imports and exports of the United Kingdom for the years 1858 to 1870 are—

Imports.....	£3,608,216,242 (including Bullion)
Exports.....	£2,875,027,301 (, ,)

* This shows an *excess of imports* over exports of £733,188,941, *i. e.*, the imports are above 25 per cent. greater than the exports.

This excess is to be increased to the extent of about £125,000,000, the balance of loans to India included in the exports, less interest on these loans included in imports of about £60,000,000, and by such further amounts as may be made up by balances of loans and interests with foreign parts. As England is the greatest lending country in the world, the ultimate result of excess of commercial imports over commercial exports will most probably be above, rather than under, £733,000,000, or 25 per cent. of exports. At all events, it will not be less than 15 per cent.

For British North America, the total imports and exports, including bullion, for the years 1854 to 1868, are—

Imports.....	£200,257,620
Exports.....	£154,900,367

This shows an excess of imports over exports of £45,357,253, *i. e.*, the imports are about 29 per cent. more than the exports, subject to a modification of the extent to which it has received from, or given loan to, foreign parts. As far as I can see, it is a borrower, and the excess to that extent will be lesser.

For Australia, the total imports and exports, including bullion, for the years 1854 to 1868, are:—

Imports.....	£443,407,019
Exports.....	£384,503,081

The excess of imports over exports is therefore £58,903,938, *i. e.* the imports are 15 per cent. more than the exports, subject to modification, as in the case of British North America, for its foreign debt. These figures show that the normal condition of the foreign commerce of any country is generally such that for its exports there is always a return in imports equal to the exports, *plus* profits. On an average, commercial profits may be taken at 20 per cent. Indian merchants generally insure by

sailing vessels 25 per cent. more, and by steamers 15 per cent., for profits, as by steamers the same capital may be turned over oftener. If I take general commercial profits as 15 per cent., I shall be quite under the mark.

Now we must see what the case is with India. The exports of India for the years 1835 to 1872 being about £1,120,000,000, the imports, with an addition of 15 per cent. to exports for profits (of about £168,000,000), should be about £1,288,000,000. Besides this, India has incurred to foreign parts a debt of about £50,000,000 for the public debt, and about £100,000,000 for railways, during the same period.

Now, on the other hand, in return for the exports, *plus* profits, of £1,288,000,000, and £150,000,000, of the loans, India has actually imported, during the last 38 years, from 1835 to 1872 (not, as would be the case in a normal condition, £1,430,000,000, but) only about £943,000,000, leaving a balance of about £500,000,000, which England has kept back as its benefit, chiefly arising from the political position it holds over India. This is without including any interest at all. Towards this drain, the net opium revenue contributed by China amounts to about £141,000,000. The balance, of about £360,000,000, is derived from India's own produce and profits of commerce. The profits of commerce are, say, about £168,000,000. Allowing, then, the *whole opium revenue* and the *whole profit of commerce* as having gone towards the drain, there is still a deficiency of nearly £200,000,000, which must have gone out of the produce of the country. Deducting from this £200,000,000 the interest on railway loans remitted to England, the balance still sent from the very produce of the country is about £144,000,000. Strictly speaking, the whole £200,000,000 should be considered as a drain from the very produce of the country, because it is the exhaustion caused by the drain that disables us from building our railroads, &c., from our own means. If we did not suffer the exhaustion we do, and even then if we found it to our benefit to borrow from England, the case would be one of a healthy natural business, and the interest then remitted would have nothing to be deplored in it, as in the case of other countries, which, being young, or with undeveloped resources, and without much means of their own, borrow from others, and increase their own wealth thereby, as Australia, Canada, the United States, or any other native-ruled country that so borrows. However, as matters stand at present, we are thankful for the railway loan, for in reality that, though as a loan (with the profits during the American War), has revived us a little. But we are sinking fast again. Allowing for the

railway interest as a mere matter of business, and analysing the deficit of imports, or drain to England, as only about £453,000,000, the following is the yearly average for every five years:—

Years.			Yearly Average.
			£
1835 to 1839...	...	...	5,347,000
1840 „ 1844...	...	...	5,930,000
1845 „ 1849...	...	...	7,760,000
1850 „ 1854...	...	...	7,458,000
1855 „ 1859...	...	...	7,730,000
1860 „ 1864...	...	...	17,300,000
1865 „ 1869...	...	...	24,600,000
1870 „ 1872...	...	...	27,400,000

Now, can it be shown by anybody that the production during these 38 years has been such as to leave the same amount per head every year, and surplus besides to make up the above £200,000,000 taken away from the produce of the country, in *addition* to opium revenue and profits of commerce? In that case it will be that India is no better off now, but is only in the same condition as in 1834. If it can be shown that the production of the country has been such as to be the same per head during all these years, and a surplus greater than £200,000,000 besides, then will it be that any material benefit has been derived by India to the extent of such excess of surplus over £200,000,000. It must, however, be remembered that, in the years about 1834, the condition of the people had already gone down very low by the effects of the previous deficits, as will be seen further on from the official opinions I have given there.

The benefit to England by its connection with India must not be measured by the £500,000,000 only during the last 38 years. Besides this the industries of England receive large additional support for supplying all European stores which Government need, and all those articles which Europeans want in India from their habits and customs, not from mere choice, as may be the case with natives. All the produce of the country, thus exported from sheer necessity, would otherwise have brought returns suitable to native wants, or would have remained in the country, in either case, to the benefit of the produce or industry of India. Be it clearly borne in mind that all this additional benefit to English industries is entirely independent of, and in addition to, the *actual deficit* between the export *plus* profits and imports. Everything I allude to is already included in the imports. It is so much additional capital drawn away, whether India will or no, from the industry of India to the

benefit of English industry. There is again, the further legitimate benefit to England of the profits of English firms there carrying on commerce with India, the profits of the shipping trade, and insurance. The only pity—and a very great one too—is that the commerce between England and India is not so large as it should and can be, the present *total* exports of India to all the outside world being only about 5s. a head, while the exports of the United Kingdom are about £6 10s. a head, of British North America about £3 a head, and of Australia about £19 a head, including gold (and exclusive of gold about £11 a head). Again, what are imports into India from the United Kingdom, including treasure, Government stores of every kind, railway and other stores, articles for European consumption, and everything for native consumption and use? Only less than 3s. a head, as below:—

*Total Imports, including Treasure, into India from the
United Kingdom.*

1868.. £31,629,315	} Say £32,000,000, on an average, for a population of about 225,000,000, or less than 3s. a head.
1869...£35,309,973	
1870...£30,357,055	
1871...£28,826,264	

(Parliamentary Return [c. 587] of 1872, page 16—Trade and Navigation Returns of the United Kingdom.)

What a vast field there is for English commerce in India! Only £1 a head will be equal to nearly the whole present exports of the United Kingdom to all parts of the world. There is one further circumstance against British-Indian subjects, which will show the actual drain from the produce of the country of more than £200,000,000 as borne by British India. The exports from India do not all belong to British India; a portion belongs to the Native States. These States naturally get back their imports equal to their exports, *plus* profits—less only the tribute they pay to British India, of only about £720,000 altogether per annum, of which even a portion is spent in their own States. No account can I take here of the further loss to India (by famines) of life and property, which is aggravated by the political exhaustion. It is complained that England is at the mercy of India for its loan of some £200,000,000, but let it be borne in mind that, within the next few years, that sum will have been drawn by England while India will continue to have its debt over its head.

The figures of the deficit previous to 1834 I cannot get. I hope the India Office would prepare a table similar to this for this previous period,

in order that it may be ascertained how India had fared materially under British rule altogether.

The effect of the deficit is not equally felt by the different presidencies. Bengal suffers less than the others on account of its permanent settlement. I do not mean that as any objection to such settlement, but I state it merely as a fact.

The Court of Directors, in the year 1858, deliberately put forth before the Parliament and public of England the statement (Parliamentary Return No. 75 of 1858) that "the great excess of exports above imports is being regularly liquidated in silver." Now, is it not India's misfortune that not one man in the India Office pointed out how utterly incorrect, misleading, and mischievous this statement was?

Now, Mr. Laing makes the following statement before the present Finance Committee:—"Question 7660 of 2nd Report—Would it not be correct to state that the difference between the value of the exports from India, and the imports into India, which now amount, I think, to the sum of about £20,000,000, represents the tribute which India annually pays to England? Answer.—No, I think not; I should not call it a tribute when there is a balance of trade of that sort between the two countries. There are many other countries which are in the same condition of exporting considerably more than they import from one particular country, and the balance of trade is adjusted either by other payments which have to be made, or by transactions through third countries, or finally by remittance of bullion."

First of all, the question was not about India's commerce with any particular country, but about *all* its exports and imports. And next, taking his answer as it is, it is altogether incorrect and inapplicable to India, as must be evident from the facts I have already laid before you.

Next comes Mr. Maclean. He is reported to have said before this Committee something to the effect that, if we compare India, for instance, with the United States, which can hardly be called a country that is being drained of its natural wealth, we will find that the excess of exports over imports in the United States is very much greater than the corresponding excess in India. Now, let us see what the facts are. I have prepared a table, and have taken the figures from the year 1795—the earliest I could get. From the totals I have excluded the years 1802-6, 1808-14, 1818-20, because the imports for them are not given, and the years 1863-6 for reasons well known (the American War). The result till 1869 (I cannot get later authentic figures) is not, as

Mr. Maclean says, that "the excess of exports over imports in the United States is very much greater than the corresponding excess in India," but that the excess of *imports* over exports is about \$493,000,000 till 1847, and £43,000,000 from 1848-69, excepting the years I have mentioned above; and if all the necessary modifications from various other circumstances be made, the excess of the imports will be found necessarily much greater. In fact, the United States are no exception to the ordinary laws of political economy, in a country where the rule is a native, and not a foreign, one. I have made up my tables from Parliamentary Returns.

The deficits of £500,000,000 in imports, do not, as I have already explained, show the whole drain; for the English stores, whether Government or private, are all already *included in the imports*, nor is any interest calculated. With interest, the drain from India would amount to a very high figure.

This drain consists of two elements—first, that arising from the remittances by European officials of their savings, and for their expenditure in England for their various wants both there and in India; from pensions and salaries paid in England; and from Government expenditure in England and India: and the second, that arising from similar remittances by non-official Europeans. Over the first we have no control, beyond urging upon our rulers that the present system of administration is an unnatural one, destructive to India and suicidal for England. For the second, it is in our own hands what its extent should be. It is no blame to these European gentlemen for coming here to seek their fortunes—and in fact we had need for them to some extent; but if we are blind to our own national interests and necessities, and if we do not support, encourage, and preserve in every possible way, every talent, trade, industry, art, or profession among the natives, even at certain sacrifices, the fault is our own, and we deserve to be, and shall be, impoverished. In complaining, therefore, about the vast drain from India, and our growing impoverishment, it must be borne in mind that, for a certain portion of it, we have to thank our own blindness to our national interests, but for a large portion the cause is the present system and policy of Indian administration.

We may draw our own inferences about the effects of the drain, but I give you below official opinions on the subject, from early times to the present day, for each presidency.

BENGAL.

Sir John Shore, in 1787, says in his famous minute (appendix to 5th report, Parliamentary Return No. 377 of 1812):—

“129. Secondly, it is a certain fact that the zemindars are almost universally poor. . . . Justice and humanity calls for this declaration.

“130. . . . I do not, however, attribute this fact to the extortions of our Government, but to the causes which I shall hereafter point out, and which will be found sufficient to account for the effect. I am by no means convinced that the reverse would have taken place if the measure of our exactions had been more moderate.

“131. Thirdly, the Company are merchants, as well as sovereigns of the country. In the former capacity they engross its trade, whilst in the latter they appropriate the revenues. The remittances to Europe of revenues are made in the commodities of the country which are purchased by them.

“132. Whatever allowance we may make for the increased industry of the subjects of the State, owing to the enhanced demand for the produce of it (supposing the demand to be enhanced), there is reason to conclude that the benefits are more than counterbalanced by evils inseparable from the system of a remote foreign dominion.

“135. Every information, from the time of Bernier to the acquisition of the Dewani, shows the internal trade of the country, as carried on between Bengal and the upper parts of Hindustan, the Gulf of Moros the Persian Gulf, and the Malabar Coast, to have been very considerable. Returns of specie and goods were made through these channel, by that of the foreign European companies, and in gold direct for opium from the eastward.

“136. But from the year 1765 the reverse has taken place. The Company's trade produces no equivalent returns, specie is rarely imported by the foreign companies, nor brought into Bengal from other parts of Hindustan in any considerable quantities.

“141. If we were to suppose the internal trade of Hindustan again revived, the export of the production of the country by the Company must still prevent those returns which trade formerly poured in. This is an evil inseparable from a European government.”

Page 194.—“A large proportion of the rents of the country are paid into the Company’s treasury, and the manufactures are applied to remit to England the surplus which remains after discharging the claims on this Government, and to augment the commerce and revenue of Great Britain.”

Lord Cornwallis’ minute on land settlements, dated 10th February 1790, says:—“The consequence of the heavy drain of wealth from the above causes (*viz.*, large annual investment to Europe, assistance to the treasury of Calcutta, and to supply wants of other presidencies), with the addition of that which has been occasioned by the remittances of private fortunes, have been for many years past, and are now, severely felt, by the great diminution of the current specie, and by the languor which has thereby been thrown upon the cultivation and the general commerce of the country.”

The East India Company, on finding the provinces of Bengal and Behar continuously deteriorating, caused a long and minute survey of the condition of the people. This survey extended over nine years, from 1807 to 1860. The reports, however, lay buried in the archives of the India House, till Mr. Montgomery Martin brought them to light. He sums up the result of these official minute researches in the following remarkable words (vol. I., page 11):—“It is impossible to avoid remarking two facts as peculiarly striking—first, the richness of the country surveyed; and second, the poverty of its inhabitants.”

Before proceeding further, I must first say that the drain to which these great men have referred was much less than at present. I give the figures in Mr. Martin’s words (page 12):—“The annual drain of £3,000,000 on British India has amounted in 30 years, at 12 per cent. (the usual Indian rate) compound interest, to the enormous sum of £723,900,000 sterling. . . So constant and accumulating a drain, even in England, would soon impoverish her. How severe, then, must be its effects on India, where the wage of a labourer is from two-pence to three-pence a day?”

In volume III., page 4, &c., alluding to the nine years’ survey, Mr. Martin says that the obscurity to which such a survey was consigned was to be deplored, “and can only be accounted for by supposing that it was deemed impolitic to publish to the world so painful a picture of human poverty, debasement, and wretchedness”; and Mr. Martin draws many other painful conclusions.

Coming down to later times, Mr. Frederick John Shore, of the Bengal Civil Service, has left us the following account of the condition of the people in 1837 (vol. II., page 28):—"But the halcyon days of India are over; she has been drained of a large proportion of the wealth she once possessed, and her energies have been cramped by a sordid system of misrule to which the interests of millions have been sacrificed for the benefit of the few." "The gradual impoverishment of the people and country, under the mode of rule established by the British Government, has" &c. &c.

"The English Government has effected the impoverishment of the country and people to an extent almost unparalleled."

For the manner in which the cotton industry of India was destroyed, see note at page 37 of the same volume. In his concluding remarks (vol. II., page 516), Mr. Shore says:—"More than seventeen years have elapsed since I first landed in this country; but on my arrival, and during my residence of about a year in Calcutta, I well recollect the quiet, comfortable, and settled conviction, which in those days existed in the minds of the English population, of the blessings conferred on the natives of India by the establishment of the English rule. Our superiority to the native Governments which we have supplanted; the excellent system for the administration of justice which we had introduced; our moderation; our anxiety to benefit the people—in short, our virtues of every description—were descanted on as so many established truths, which it was heresy to controvert. Occasionally I remember to have heard some hints and assertions of a contrary nature from some one who had spent many years in the interior of the country; but the storm which was immediately raised and thundered on the head of the unfortunate individual who should presume to question the established creed, was almost sufficient to appal the boldest.

"Like most other young men who had no opportunities of judging for themselves, it was but natural that I should imbibe the same notions; to which may be added, the idea of universal depravity of the people, which was derived from the same source."

After stating how his transfer to a remote district brought him into intimate contact with natives, how he found them disaffected towards British rule, and how this conviction in spite of himself was irresistible, he says:—"This being the case, an attempt to discover the reasons for such sentiments on the part of the native population, was the natural

result. Well-founded complaints of oppression and extortion, on the part of both Government and individuals, were innumerable. The question then was, why, with all our high professions, were not such evils redressed? This, however, I was assured, was impossible under the existing system; and I was thus gradually led to an enquiry into the principles and practice of the British-Indian administration. Proceeding in this, I soon found myself at no loss to understand the feelings of the people both towards our Government and to ourselves. It would have been astonishing indeed had it been otherwise. The fundamental principle of the English had been to make the whole Indian nation subservient, in every possible way, to the interests and benefits of themselves. They have been taxed to the utmost limit; every successive province, as it has fallen into our possession, has been made a field for higher exaction; and it has always been our boast how greatly we have raised the revenue above that which the native rulers were able to extort. The Indians have been excluded from every honor, dignity, or office which the lowest Englishman could be prevailed upon to accept.

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“Had the welfare of the people been our object, a very different course would have been adopted, and very different results would have followed; for again and again I repeat it, there is nothing in the circumstance itself, of our being foreigners of different colour and faith, that should occasion the people to hate us. We may thank ourselves for having made their feelings towards us what they are.”

In vol. I., page 162, Mr. Shore says:—“The ruin of the upper classes (like the exclusion of the people from a share in the government) was a necessary consequence of the establishment of the British power; but had we acted on a more liberal plan, we should have fixed our authority on a much more solid foundation.”

Colonel Marriot, at the East India Association meeting in July last, referring to Bengal, said:—“But he had no doubt that he accurately quoted the words of the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in saying that the mass of the population is probably poorer, and in a lower social position, than any in India.”

The “Material and Moral Progress” for 1871-2 (page 100) says that “the Calcutta missionary conference had dwelt on the miserable and abject condition of the Bengal ryots, and there is evidence that they suffer many things, and are often in want of absolute necessities.”

BOMBAY.

Mr. Saville Marriot, 'one of the Commissioners of Revenue in the Deccan,' and afterwards a member of council, says in 1836, in his letter to Sir R. Grant:—"You will readily conceive that my opinions are the result rather of practical experience than deductions drawn from scientific views.

"For many years past I have, in common with many others, painfully witnessed their decline [the peoples]; and more especially that part of the community which has emphatically been styled the 'sinews of the State'—the peasantry of India. It is not a single, but a combination of causes, which has produced this result. Some of these are, and have been from the beginning, obvious to those who have watched with attention the development of the principles of our rule in relation to such as have been superseded, become blended with our system, or are opposed to it in practical effect. Others are less apparent, and some complex; whilst another class of the decline may possibly be involved in obscurity.

"It is a startling but too notorious a fact, that though loaded with a vastly greater absolute amount of taxation, and harassed by various severe acts of tyranny and oppression, yet the country was in a state of prosperity under the native rule when compared with that into which it has fallen under the avowedly mild sway of British administration. Though, in stating the subject, I have used the expression 'a vastly greater absolute amount of taxation,' yet I would beg to be understood as being fully aware those terms must be treated in a qualified sense, since it is manifest that, relatively viewed, a smaller numerical amount of taxation may, with reference to the means of payment, be, in point of fact, more burdensome than a much larger one where the resources are more adequate to the object. But, in the particular case in point, it is, I believe, ability which has diminished; and that, too, to many grades below the proportionate fall in the pecuniary amount of fiscal demand. To the pecuniary injurious result are also to be added the many unfavorable circumstances inseparable for a time from a foreign rule. In elucidation of the position *that this country is verging to the lowest ebb of pauperism*, I would adduce a fact pregnant with considerations of the most serious importance, namely, that of late years a large portion of the public revenue has been paid by encroachment upon the capital of the country, small though that capital is in itself. I allude to the property of the peasantry, which consists of personal ornaments of the

precious metals and jewels, convertible, as occasions require, to profitable purposes, and accommodations in agricultural pursuit, most frequently in the shape of pawn, till the object has been attained. I feel certain that an examination would establish *that a considerable share of this and other property, even to cattle and household utensils, has been for ever alienated from its proprietors to make good the public revenue.* In addition to *this lamentable evidence of poverty*, is another of equal force, to be seen in all parts of the country, in the numerous individuals of the above class of the community wandering about for the employment of hirelings, which they are glad to obtain even for the most scanty pittance. In short, *almost everything forces the conviction that we have before us a narrowing progress to utter pauperism.*"*

Mr. Marriot in another place (page 11) says:—"Most of the evils of our rule in India arise directly from, or may be traced to, the heavy tribute which that country pays to England."

And with regard to this tribute, he quotes the Chairman of a Court of Proprietors held on the 28th February 1845, as follows:—"India paid to the mother-country, in the shape of home charges, what must be considered the annual tribute of £3,000,000 sterling; and daily poured into the lap of the mother-country a continual stream of wealth in the shape of private fortunes." To this should be added all earnings of Europeans, except what they spent in India for Indian supplies; which would show that there is something far beyond even private fortunes which is continuously poured into the lap of England.

Mr. Marriot goes on to say:—"It will be difficult to satisfy the mind that any country could bear such a drain upon its resources without sustaining very serious injury. And the writer entertains the fullest conviction that investigation would effectually establish the truth of the proposition as applicable to India. He has himself most painfully witnessed it in those parts of the country with which he was connected, and he has every reason to believe that the same evil exists, with but slight modification, throughout our Eastern empire."

Again says Mr. Marriot (page 17):—"A different state of things exists in the present day on that point; and, though the people still, and gratefully so, acknowledge the benefits they have derived from the suppression of open violence, yet they emphatically and unanswerably refer their increasing penury as evidencing the existence of a

* Mr. Marriot's pamphlet re-published in 1857, page 13. The italics are mine.

canker-worm that is working their destruction. The sketch which I have given shows a distressing state of things; but lamentable as it may appear, I would pledge myself to establish the facts advanced, and that the representation is not overdrawn."

Mr. Robert Knight says:—"Mr. Giberne, after an absence of fourteen years from Guzerat, returned to it, as judge, in 1840. 'Everywhere'—he told the Commons' Committee on Cotton Cultivation in 1848—"he remarked deterioration," and 'I did not see so many of the more wealthy classes of the natives. The aristocracy, when we first had the country, used to have their gay carts, horses, and attendants, and a great deal of finery about them, and there seems to be an absence of all that. . . . The ryots all complain that *they had had money once, but they had none now.*"

In a private letter, dated 1849, 'written by a gentleman high in the Company's service,' and quoted in a pamphlet in 1851, the decay of Guzerat is thus described:—"Many of the best families in the province, who were rich and well to-do when we came into Guzerat in 1807, have now scarcely clothes to their backs. . . .

Our demands in money on the talookdars are more than three times what they originally paid, without one single advantage gained on their parts. Parties, from whom they have been compelled to borrow at ruinous rates of interest, enforced their demands by attachment of their lands and villages; thus they sink deeper and deeper in debt, without the chance of extricating themselves. What, then, must become of their rising family?"*

Lieutenant A. Nash, after giving a table of the prices of grain from 1809 to 1838 in Indapore (Bombay Government Selections, No. 107, New Series, page 118), says:—"The table is chiefly interesting in showing the gradual diminution in the price of corn from the days of the Peishwas to our own. By comparing the prices at the commencement with those at the end of the table, and then reading the list over, this circumstance will become apparent." I give this table in my notes on prices.

* Mr. Robert Knight's paper read before the East India Association, 3rd March 1868.

Mr. John Bruce Norton, in his letter to Mr. Robert Lowe in 1854 quotes the words of Mr. Bourdillon—"one of the ablest revenue officers in the Madras Civil Service, and a Member of the Commission on Public Works"—about the majority of the ryots:—*Page 21.*—"Now, it may certainly be said of almost the whole of the ryots, paying even the highest of these sums, and even of many holding to a much larger amount, that they are always in poverty and generally in debt." *Page 22.*—"A ryot of this class, of course, lives from hand to mouth. He rarely sees money. . . . His dwelling is a hut of mud walls and thatched roof—far ruder, smaller, and more dilapidated than those of the better classes of ryots above spoken of, and still more destitute, if possible, of anything that can be called furniture. His food, and that of his family, is partly thin porridge made of the meal of grain boiled in water, and partly boiled rice, with a little condiment; and generally the only vessels for cooking and eating from, are of the coarsest earthenware, much inferior in grain to a good tile or brick in England, and unglazed. Brass vessels, though not wholly unknown among this class, are rare."

About the labourer he says:—"As respects food, houses, and clothing, they are in a worse condition than the class of poor ryots above spoken of. It appears from the foregoing details that the condition of the agricultural labourer in this country is very poor. . . . In fact, almost the whole of his earnings must necessarily be consumed in a spare allowance of coarse and unvaried food, and a bare sufficiency of clothing. The wretched hut he lives in, can hardly be valued at all. As to anything in the way of education or mental culture, he is utterly destitute of it."

Such is the testimony in the year 1854. Now let us come down to so late a time as 1869. Mr. (now Sir George) Campbell, in his paper on tenure of land in India, published by the Cobden Club, quotes from an official authority a report made so late as 1869 about the Madras Presidency, as follows:—"The bulk of the people are paupers. They can just pay their cesses in a good year, and fail altogether when the season is bad. Remissions have to be made, perhaps every third year, in most districts. There is a bad year in some one district, or group of districts, every year."

Again the Parliamentary Report of the Moral and Material Progress of India for 1868-9, page 71, says—"Prices in Madras have been falling continuously."

PUNJAB.

The administration report for 1855-6 (Government of India Selections No. 18, 1856) gives the following table:—

Average Prices.

For Ten Years up to 1850-51.	Wheat, Rs. 2 per Maund of 82 lbs.	Indian Corn, Rs. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ per Maund.
1851-2	Rs. 1 per maund.	Rs. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ per maund.
1852-3	„ 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ „	„ 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ „
1853-4	„ 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ „	„ 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ „
1854-5	„ 1 „	„ 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ „
1855-6	„ 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ „	„ 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ „

With the usual effects of the introduction of a foreign rule, and the seasons happening to be good, the result was a fall in prices to nearly half during the five years after the annexation. The political portion of the causes of this depression is well described in a subsequent report, and how a change in that political portion produced a favorable reaction in the province.

The administration report of 1856-8 (Parliamentary Return No. 212 of 1859, page 16), 'prepared under the direction of Sir J. Lawrence, K. C. B., Chief Commissioner of Punjab, by R. Temple, Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Punjab,' says:—"In former reports it was explained how the circumstance of so much money going out of the Punjab contributed to depress the agriculturist. The native regular army was Hindustani; to them was a large share of the Punjab revenues disbursed, of which a part only they spent on the spot, and a part was remitted to their homes. Thus it was that, year after year, lakhs and lakhs were drained from the Punjab, and enriched Oudh. But within the last year, the native army being Punjabi, all such sums have been paid to them, and have been spent at home. Again, many thousands of Punjabi soldiers are serving abroad. These men not only remit their savings, but also have sent quantities of prize property and plunder, the spoils of Hindustan, to their native villages. The effect of all this is already perceptible in an increase of agricultural capital, a freer circulation of money, and a fresh impetus to cultivation."

This is just the cause which, in a far more aggravated form and on a far larger scale, operates on the whole of British India in

its relations with England. Millions are drained to England; and till the reversing cause of the retaining and return of wealth in some way does not come into operation, the evils of the drain cannot be remedied. And what is the condition of a labourer now? Here is the Punjab Government's own answer in the administration report for 1867-8 (page 88). After stating the rates of unskilled labour as ranging from two annas (three-pence) to five annas (seven and a half pence) per diem and alluding to a considerable rise in rates in places affected by the railway and other public works, where labour in any shape commands higher remuneration than formerly, the report says:—"It may be doubted whether the position of the unskilled labouring classes has materially improved."

NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

Colonel Baird Smith's report on the famines of the North-West Provinces (Parliamentary Return No. 29 of 1862), referring to the famine of 1837, says:—*Page 57*.—"From the time of our earliest acquisition of any part of these up to 1833, our fiscal system, notwithstanding some improvements on the native method which were gradually introduced, had been thoroughly bad." *Page 59*.—"Speaking in general terms, therefore, native society in the N. W. Provinces had to face the calamity in 1837, debilitated by a fiscal system that was oppressive and depressing in its influence. . . . In India we all know very well that when the agricultural class is weak, the weakness of all other sections of the community is the inevitable consequence."

I have not come across Mr. Halsey's report on the assessment of Cawnpore, but I take an extract from one given in the *Bombay Gazette* Summary of 21st June 1872, page 12:—"I assert that the abject poverty of the average cultivator of this district is beyond the belief of any one who has not seen it. He is simply a slave to the soil, to the zemindar, to the usurer, and to Government. . . . I regret to say that, with these few exceptions, the normal state of between three-fourths and four-fifths of the cultivators of this district is as I have above shown. It may appear to many to be exaggerated, and, from the nature of the case, it is of course impossible to produce figures in support of it; nevertheless, it is the result of my personal observations, and I feel confident the result of the whole discussion will be to prove I have not overstated the truth."

The figures I have given of the total produce of the North-West Provinces proves by fact what Mr. Halsey gives as his observations

Hardly 27s. per head—say even 30s.—cannot but produce the result he sees.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

Here is the latest testimony about the people. Mr. W. G. Pedder says*—"Who [the people], if an almost universal consensus of opinion may be relied on, are rapidly going from bad to worse under our rule, is a most serious question, and one well deserving the attention of Government."

Lastly to sum up the whole, here is Sir John Lawrence (Lord Lawrence) testifying so late as 1864 about all India:—"India is, on the whole, a very poor country; the mass of the population enjoy only a scanty subsistence." And Lord Mayo, on the 3rd March 1871, says, in his speech in the Legislative Council—"I admit the comparative poverty of this country, as compared with many other countries of the same magnitude and importance, and I am convinced of the impolicy and injustice of imposing burdens upon this people which may be called either crushing or oppressive.

"Mr. Grant Duff, in an able speech which he delivered the other day in the House of Commons, the report of which arrived by last mail, stated, with truth, that the position of our finance was wholly different from that of England. 'In England,' he stated, 'you have a comparatively wealthy population. The income of the United Kingdom has, I believe, been guessed at £800,000,000 per annum; the income of British India has been guessed at £300,000,000 per annum. That gives well on to £30 per annum as the income of every person in the United Kingdom, and only £2 per annum as the income of every person in British India.

"I believe that Mr. Grant Duff had good grounds for the statement he made, and I wish to say with reference to it, that we are perfectly cognizant of the relative poverty of this country as compared with European States."

So here is a clear admission by high authorities of what I had urged in my paper on the "Wants and Means of India," and what I now urge, that India's production was only about 40s. a head.

And now in the year 1873, before the Finance Committee, Lord Lawrence repeats his conviction that the mass of the people of India

* *Times of India* Summary of 6th June 1873.

are so miserably poor that they have barely the means of subsistence. It is as much as a man can do to feed his family or half feed them, let alone spending money on what may be called luxuries or conveniences. Mr. Grant Duff asked Mr. Lawson, so late as in May 1870, in the House of Commons, whether he meant to "grind an already poor population to the very dust."

The following picture about England itself under similar circumstances, may, I hope, enable the British people to realize our condition. The parallel is remarkable, and the picture in certain portions life-like of the present state of India. Draper's "Intellectual Development of Europe," 5th edition:—*Page 365.*—"In fact, through the operation of the Crusades, all Europe was tributary to the Pope (Innocent III.)

A steady drain of money from every realm. Fifty years after the time of which we are speaking, Robert Grostale, the Bishop of Lincoln and friend of Roger Bacon, caused to be ascertained the amount received by foreign ecclesiastics in England. He found it to be thrice the income of the king himself. This was on the occasion of Innocent IV. demanding provision to be made for three hundred additional Italian clergy by the Church of England; and that one of his nephews—a mere boy—should have a stall in Lincoln Cathedral." *Page 397.*—"In England—for ages a mine of wealth to Rome—the tendency of things was shown by such facts as the remonstrances of the Commons with the Crown on the appointment of ecclesiastics to all the great offices, and the allegations made by the 'Good Parliament' as to the amount of money drawn by Rome from the kingdom. They asserted that it was five times as much as the taxes levied by the king, and that the Pope's revenue from England was greater than the revenue of any prince in Christendom." *Page 434.*—"It is manifest by legal enactments early in the fourteenth century.

By the Parliamentary bill of 1376, setting forth that the tax paid in England to the Pope for ecclesiastical dignities is fourfold as much as that coming to the king from the whole realm; that alien clergy, who have never seen, nor cared to see, their flocks, convey away the treasure of the country." *Page 477.*—"The inferior, unreflecting orders were in all directions exasperated by its importunate unceasing exactions of money. In England for instance, though less advanced intellectually than the southern nations, the commencement of the Reformation is perhaps justly referred as far back as the reign of Edward III., who, under the suggestion of Wickliffe, refused to do homage to the Pope;

but a series of weaker princes succeeding, it was not until Henry VII. that the movement could be continued. In that country, the immediately existing causes were, no doubt, of a material kind, such as the alleged avarice and impurity of the clergy, the immense amount of money taken from the realm, the intrusion of foreign ecclesiastics." *Page 478.* — "As all the world had been drained of money by the Senate and Cæsars for the support of republican or imperial power, so there was a need of like supply for the use of the pontiffs. The collection of funds had often given rise to contentions between the ecclesiastical and temporal authorities, and in some of the more sturdy countries had been resolutely resisted."

The result of this drain from England to Italy was the condition of the people, as pictured at pages 494-5, than which nothing could be more painful. Mr. Draper says :—"For many of the facts I have now to mention, the reader will find authorities in the works of Lord Macaulay, and Mr. Froude on English History. My own reading in other directions satisfies me that the picture here offered represents the actual condition of things."

"There were forests extending over great districts ; fens forty or fifty miles in length, reeking with miasma and fever, though round the walls of the abbeys there might be beautiful gardens, green lawns, shady walks, and many murmuring streams. The peasant's cabin was made of reeds, or sticks, plastered over with mud. His fire was chimneyless—often it was made of peat. In the objects and manner of his existence, he was but a step above the industrious beaver who was building his dam in the adjacent stream. Vermin in abundance in the clothing and beds. The common food was peas, vetches, fern-roots, and even the bark of trees. . . . The population, sparse as it was, was perpetually thinned by pestilence and want. Nor was the state of the townsman better than that of the rustic ; his bed was a bag of straw, with a fair round log for his pillow. . . . It was a melancholy social condition when nothing intervened between reed cabins in the fen, the miserable wigwams of villages, and the conspicuous walls of the castle and the monastery. . . . Rural life had but little improved since the time of Cæsar ; in its physical aspect it was altogether neglected."

"England, at the close of the age of faith, had for long been a chief pecuniary tributary to Italy, the source from large revenues have been